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Chicago: its history and
its builders, a century
1912.

De Luxe Edition

No. 2

Chicago: Its History and Its Builders

A CENTURY OF MARVELOUS GROWTH

BY

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Honorary Vice President Illinois State Historical Society, Vice President Cook County Historical Society, Member Chicago Historical Society, American Historical Association, Illinois State Library Association, National Geographical Society, Chicago Geographic Society.

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VOLUME I

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"The domain over which Chicago holds primacy is larger than Austria-Hungary, or Germany, or France; three thousand miles of navigable waters form a portion of its boundaries; the rivers flowing into the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, and the Ohio, give access to every part of the interior, the level prairies invite the railroad and the canal builder; the large portion of arable land makes possible the support of an enormous population; and the abundance and range of the products of earth and forest furnish the materials of traffic. It is no wonder, therefore, that the growth of the Middle West in population and wealth has been phenomenal; and that at the point of convenience a city of the first order has sprung up."— The Chicago Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago."

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INTRODUCTION

THERE is perhaps nothing which so clogs and hampers a historical account as an attempt on the part of a writer to mention everything in the chain of events which spreads out like a panorama to his gaze, but which if treated would amount to a mere catalogue, a list of dates, "first things," and much more that tends to distract the reader and exhaust his attention. It is a wise man who can discriminate between the essentials and the merely incidental occurrences, and who can assign the due proportion to each. Better work will be done by making a clear presentation of fewer matters, rather than a diffused account of many.

As the French say, "the secret of wearying is to say all," which, if indeed it is in some measure accomplished, results in a compendium of tedious prolixity. "Any one who has investigated any period," says Rhodes, "knows how the same facts are told over and over again, in different ways, by various writers," and among them all one must choose from the mass of verbiage and make condensations.

Thucydides, the famous Greek historian, wrote a history of the Peloponnesian war covering a period of twenty-four years. This history is a model of compressed narrative, and in his time there was little or no help to be derived from written documents. "Of the events of the war," wrote Thucydides, "I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eye witnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other."

Comparing Thucydides with Tacitus, Rhodes says, that they are "superior to the historians who have written in our century, because, by long reflection and studious method, they have better digested their materials and compressed their narrative. Unity in narration has been adhered to more rigidly. They stick closer to their subject. They are not allured into the fascinating bypaths of narration, which are so tempting to men who have accumulated a mass of facts, incidents, and opinions."

Criticising a historian addicted to giving a multiplicity of details, an eminent writer said that in many portions of his too elaborated history "he describes a large number of events about which no sensible man can in the least care either how they happened, or whether indeed they happened at all or not." We live indeed in an age of newspapers and magazines when not only great events but a vast "number of trivial incidents are now recorded, and this dust of time gets in our eyes."

Perhaps the following quotation from the works of Sir Thomas Browne may be inserted here as applicable to the writer who would instruct his readers in historical details. "Bring candid eyes unto the perusal of men's works," says the genial old philosopher, "and let not Detraction blast well-intended labors. He that endureth no fault in men's writings must only read his own. . . I should unwillingly affirm that Cicero was but slightly versed in Homer, because in his work 'De Gloria' he ascribed those verses unto Ajax, which were delivered by Hector. . . Who would have mean thoughts of Appolinaris Sidonius, who seems to mistake the River Tigris for Euphrates; and though a good historian and learned bishop of Auvergne had the misfortune to be out in the story of David, making mention of him when the Ark was sent back by the Philistines upon a cart; which was before his time? Though I have no great opinion of Machiavel's learning, yet I shall not presently say that he was but a novice in Roman history, because he was mistaken in placing Commodus after the Emperor Severus. Capital truths are to be narrowly eyed, collateral lapses and circumstantial deliveries not to be too strictly sifted. And if the substantial subject be well forged out, we need not examine the sparks which irregularly fly from it."

The historian of the future as conceived by Mr. James F. Rhodes, one of the most eminent historians of the present day, "will write his history from the original materials, knowing that there only will he find the living spirit; but he will have the helps of the modern world. He will have at his hand monographs of students whom the professors of history in our colleges are teaching with diligence and wisdom, and he will accept these aids with thankfulness in his laborious search. He will have grasped the generalizations and methods of physical science, but he must know to the bottom his Thucydides and Tacitus. He will recognize in Homer and Shakespeare the great historians of human nature, and he will ever attempt, although feeling that failure is certain, to wrest from them their secret of narration, to acquire their art of portrayal of character. He must be a man of the world, but equally well a man of the academy. If, like Thucydides and Tacitus, the American historian chooses the history of his own country as his field, he may infuse his patriotism into his narrative. He will speak of the broad acres and their products, the splendid industrial development due to the capacity and energy of the captains of industry; but he will like to dwell on the universities and colleges, on the great numbers seeking a higher education, on the morality of the people, their purity of life, their domestic happiness. He will never be weary of referring to Washington and Lincoln, feeling that a country with such exemplars is indeed one to awaken envy, and he will not forget the brave souls who followed where they led."

In a sketch printed in one of the useful publications issued by the Chicago Association of Commerce, the writer, Mr. Richard Henry Little, says: "It is extremely difficult to select what is essential to even an approximately thorough description [of Chicago]. At best it must be fragmentary, and whatever is written immeasurably more will be omitted. . .

"The first great charm of Chicago is undoubtedly its location. Chicago is the only one of the world's chief cities that is built on the very edge of a large body of water. The spray from Lake Michigan at times is carried across some of its boulevards and streets. The great pride of Chicago is the wonderful panorama

of the city's shore line. . . No other drive presents such contrasts of city and country, of land and sea."

What the writer says in the paragraph quoted below, while intended to apply to a history of the West in general, is likewise applicable to the portrayals, scenes and incidents which the writer of this history has attempted to depict in the history of Chicago. "A hundred years," says Reuben Gold Thwaites, the well known secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, "is a period quite long enough in our land to warrant the brand of antiquity, although a mere nothing in the prolonged career of the Old World. In the rapidly developing West, a hundred years and less mark the gap between a primeval wilderness and a complete civilization. Time, like space, is, after all, but comparative. In these hundred years the Northwest has developed from nothing to everything. It is as great a period, judging by results, as ten centuries in Europe,—perhaps fifteen. America is said to have no history. On the contrary, it has the most romantic of histories; but it has lived faster and crowded more and greater deeds into the past hundred years than slow-going Europe in the last ten hundred."

Why should the citizen read history, asks a recent writer and critic who proceeds to make some sort of an answer to his own question. Readers have been repelled by the sense of unreality, in that histories are often more statistical than constructive, more intent upon marshalling facts than drawing conclusions for the instruction of readers and guidance in their own public and private affairs. Books of history have often failed to make the average reader understand how much the past belongs to him, and how necessary it is that he refer to it for enlightenment as well as entertainment.

There is, however, a certain inertia in some readers which it is difficult to overcome and which defies the art of the most conscientious historian. Such readers handicap themselves by a mistaken notion that the older time and its vicissitudes bear no application to their own experiences, that the political and economic experiments of the people of another day and generation do not correspond to those of their own, and hence are without vital interest. Such persons give no adequate attention to the past, and so fail to arm themselves with knowledge against errors to which all men are prone without reference to time or place.

Another class more responsive to the teachings of the past readily supply the reflective sequences, often to better purpose than the writer himself is able to do. But to one and all it is due to set forth in clear statement what the writer sees in the picture he is examining, and to bring his readers, so far as he may be able, into a sympathetic knowledge of the life and events that he is attempting to depict.

It has been the purpose in this history to avoid the danger of saying too much, or on the other hand attempting to make a general compendium which says too little while touching upon everything. The patience of readers is terribly tried by long and inconsequential relations which do no more than fulfill a fancied requirement that no event within the view of the historian shall be omitted to be mentioned. A different purpose is expressed in the writings of Tacitus, a historian who loved to generalize on his work. "This I regard as history's highest function," he wrote, "to let no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold out the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds." To this we may add the pregnant words of Thucydides on the same subject. "History will be

found profitable by those who desire an exact knowledge of the past as a key to the future, which in all human probability will repeat or resemble the past."

This work will appear with as few references to authorities as possible. It is the author's observation that readers usually regard references at the foot of the page more of a hindrance than a help. In the earlier chapters of the work foot notes were placed before the force of this objection became apparent, but such as were made in the manuscript are allowed to stand. In the later portions, however, the authorities are usually mentioned in the text.

The placing of notes at the foot of a page, other than reference notes, is a literary device both interesting and useful. Notes thus placed serve to complete a statement, or supply what may be called a side-light;—matter that cannot very well find a place in the main body of the text without deranging the course of the narrative or description in hand. Then again the device is a convenient one for placing in a contiguous positions, matter or information which has come to the knowledge of the writer after the manuscript has been prepared.

In the matter of quotations from authorities consulted it is of course impossible to write a history without quoting largely from others. Indeed it is the only safe course for a writer to pursue. The difficulty comes in employing the exact language of one's authority. If by using quotation marks a passage is embodied, one will not proceed very far before finding that the passage quoted includes something that is not quite to the purpose, but having begun the quotation one does not feel at liberty to alter the language used. On the other hand, if one paraphrases he will fall into literal quotation throughout entire sentences and thus become chargeable with plagiarism; and if he interpolates the necessary explanations the course of the narrative is broken and the reader's interest interrupted. Readers usually want a direct statement and do not care to be troubled too much with sources, relying upon the writer for his accuracy in stating the facts. Thus a compromise has to be adopted, and by an occasional reference in the text, together with a few necessary foot notes, a writer may escape the charge of borrowing, which all writers are especially sensitive about. "Quotation tends to choke ordinary remark," says George Eliot; "one couldn't carry on life comfortably without a little blindness to the fact that everything has been said better than we can put it ourselves;" and, it might have been added, "without stopping to indicate the source of everything that one makes use of in the presentation of his subject."

Many of the old writers, who enjoy deservedly high reputations, were inveterate borrowers. A conspicuous instance is that of Burton, who, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," gathered a mass of quotations from all known writers in a work which is the wonder of all subsequent ages; and has itself become a perfect mine from which later writers have derived material. Beckford said of Burton's work that "half of our modern books have been decanted from it." Indeed quotation and paraphrasing are much more difficult than direct composition. If one's task is to set forth his own views on a subject, or to write a work of fiction, or an "improving discourse," he may sit down at his ease in whatever place he happens to be, and never mind "authorities," or "sources," or books of reference. Such writing may require genius, but historical writing requires hard work.

The joy and satisfaction experienced in dwelling long with the scenes of the past is not the least of the pleasures of the writer of history. He finds the pages

of former historians light up and gleam with the subjects of his own narrative, even while finding, as he constantly does, different accounts and views, affected by the opinions and temperaments of the writers of identical events, persons and situations. These things send him on long quests among other writings for detail corroborative of one view or the other, until he shall become satisfied finally with his own statements. Perplexities and difficulties are encountered often enough, but once the matters are set forth with such accuracy as can be attained, and in as good language as he is master of, the writer finishes his manuscript pages, and, like Marquette when he first beheld the Mississippi, gazes upon the completed task "with a joy that cannot be expressed."

In the preparation of this work the writer has been greatly assisted by his daughter, Mrs. Margery Currey Dell. She has not only carefully read the manuscript after it has left the hands of the writer, but has also fully written several chapters as well as indexed the entire work. The chapters referred to are those on Education, Music and Drama, the Chicago Fire, the Iroquois Fire, the Art Institute, besides many paragraphs throughout the work. Mr. Floyd Dell, the literary editor of the Chicago Evening Post, has contributed the chapters on the Haymarket Riots, which the writer believes have been well done and adds materially to the value of this work.

Acknowledgments are due to Frank W. Smith, cashier of The Corn Exchange National Bank; Hon. Orrin N. Carter, Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court; Frank R. Grover, Vice-President Evanston Historical Society; Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, Librarian of the Chicago Historical Society; Mr. Samuel H. Kerfoot, Jr.; Mr. Walter K. Lincoln, Attorney; Mrs. Nellie Kinzie Gordon, Savannah, Georgia; Judge Robert M. Douglas, Greensboro, North Carolina; Isham Randolph, Consulting Engineer of the Sanitary District of Chicago; Mr. George H. Fergus; Mr. William J. Onahan; Dr. Cornelia B. DeBey; Mr. George P. Upton; Hon. Jesse Holdom; Mr. Francis A. Eastman, City Statistician; Thomas E. Wilder, Elmhurst; Professor Elias Colbert; Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the same institution; Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, of the Illinois State Historical Society; Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois; President Edmund J. James, of the same institution; Carl B. Roden, of the Chicago Public Library; Miss Flora N. Hay, reference librarian at the Evanston Public Library; Mr. William Grinton, Joliet; Mr. John F. Steward; Charles P. Pettus, of the Missouri Historical Society; Mrs. Lydia J. Dale, Boston, Massachusetts; Edwin F. Brown, President Monroe National Bank; Professor John F. Hayford, of the Northwestern University; Mr. M. J. Clay; Horace S. Baker, Assistant City Engineer; Professor Henry J. Cox, of the United States Weather Bureau; Mr. W. J. C. Kenyon; Major Thomas H. Rees, United States Army; Mr. Robert J. Bennett; Dr. William H. Stennett; Mr. Aaron M. McKay; Mrs. Rufus Blanchard; Mr. H. N. Higinbotham; Mr. Jules G. Lumbard; Mrs. Frank Lumbard; Professor George L. Scherger, of Armour Institute; Mrs. William S. Greene, Alexandria, Virginia, Mr. E. W. Blatchford, Mr. J. D. Sherman, Mr. George A. Schilling, and Mr. Charles T. Hallinan.

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LOUIS JOLIET

Chicago: Its History and Its Builders

CHAPTER I

PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

EARLIEST RECORD OF CHICAGO—CHICAGO HISTORY BEGINS WITH JOLIET AND MARQUETTE'S VOYAGE OF 1673—EARLIER VOYAGE TOWARD MISSISSIPPI—APPOINTMENT OF JOLIET AND MARQUETTE TO JOURNEY DOWN THE RIVER—THEIR PREPARATIONS—THEIR TRIP—ENTERING THE MISSISSIPPI—EXPERIENCES ALONG THE WAY—MEETING WITH INDIANS—THE ILLINOIS PROVE FRIENDLY—THE JOURNEY RESUMED—INDIANS WARN EXPLORERS AGAINST APPROACHING MOUTH OF THE RIVER—DECISION TO RETURN UP THE RIVER—LANDMARKS PASSED—LEAVE THE MISSISSIPPI TO GO UP ILLINOIS RIVER—SITE OF CHICAGO VISITED—GREEN BAY REACHED AND VOYAGE ENDED—JOLIET THE LEADER.

HE discovery of the Upper Mississippi river, as well as that of the Chicago river, was made on the celebrated voyage of Joliet and Marquette in 1673. The beginning of the recorded history of Chicago dates from this year and this voyage, and its importance requires some account of the events which marked one of the most brilliant and daring enterprises in the annals of western adventure and exploration.

EARLY EXPLORERS OF THE MISSISSIPPI

The Mississippi had been discovered by a Spaniard, Hernando De Soto in 1541, at a point near the present city of Memphis; but this discovery had been well-nigh forgotten at the period of time here considered. That a great river existed, far to the north of the region where De Soto found and crossed the Mississippi, was well known to the French from the reports made to them by the Indians, vague and indefinite though they were; and these reports excited the imagination and stimulated the ambition of many of the adventurous spirits of the time. Nicollet, while descending the Wisconsin river in 1638, reached a point within three days' journey of its mouth before turning back, and thus narrowly missed making the

discovery of the great river which was reserved for others to make more than a generation later. He supposed, however, that he was within that distance "from the sea," having misunderstood the information given him by the Indians. Father Allouez, while engaged in missionary labors on the shores of Lake Superior, heard of the Sioux and their great river, the "Messippi." [1] In the Algonquin language, the name Mississippi, spelled in a variety of ways by the early chroniclers, meant "Great River."

It does not appear to have been suspected by any of the early French explorers that the Great River of which the Indians told them, was one and the same with that discovered by the Spanish explorer, more than a century before. Many conjectures were made as to where it reached the sea, on which point the Indians could give no reliable information. Some thought that it emptied into the "Sea of Virginia," [2] others contended that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, while Frontenac, the governor of New France, was convinced that it discharged its waters into the Vermilion Sea, that is the Gulf of California; and that by way of it, a passage might be found to China.[3]

Reports having reached France, regarding the "Great River of the West," as it was often spoken of, the French minister, Colbert, wrote to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec, in 1672, that efforts should be made "to reach the sea;" meaning to explore the great unknown river and solve the mystery of its outlet. This was followed by appropriate instructions. Father Dablon, in the "Jesuit Relations," says: "The Count Frontenac, our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, then our Intendant, recognizing the importance of this discovery [to be made], . . . appointed for this undertaking Sieur Joliet, whom they considered very fit for so great an enterprise; and they were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party."

JOLIET AND MARQUETTE TO EXPLORE MISSISSIPPI

They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Louis Joliet. He was a native of Quebec, had been educated by the Jesuits, and had taken the minor orders of that priesthood at the age of seventeen. These he renounced in a few years and became a fur trader. At the time he was chosen to command the expedition, he was a young man twenty-eight years old, possessing all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking; he had had experience among the Indians, and knew their language; he had tact, prudence and courage, and, as the event proved, he fulfilled all the expectations which were entertained of him by his superiors. Father James Marquette was a Jesuit missionary, thirty-six years old, who for six years had been stationed at missions in the North. He was born in France, one of an honorable old family, and had entered the priesthood, impelled by his natural piety and religious enthusiasm. In 1666 he was sent to the Jesuit missions of Canada, and during the next few years learned to speak six Indian languages. In addition to his zeal for the conversion of the Indians, he was filled with a burning desire to behold the "Great River" of which he had heard so much. He was stationed at this time at St. Ignace, and here Joliet joined him

[1] Parkman: "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West" (Ed. 1879), pp XXIII-XXIV.
[2] Parkman, pp. 30-64.
[3] "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, pp. 87-163.

From a painting at St. Mary's College, Montreal

MARQUETTE

late in the year 1672, and brought him the intelligence of his appointment to go with him in the conduct of the expedition. "I was all the more delighted at this good news," writes Marquette in his journal, "since I saw that my plans were about to be accomplished; and since I found myself in the blessed necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these peoples, and especially of the Illinois, who had very urgently entreated me, when I was at the point of St. Esprit, to carry the word of God to their country." Here at St. Ignace they passed the winter.

As the spring advanced, they made the necessary preparations for their journey, the duration of which they could not foresee. In two bark canoes, manned by five Frenchmen, besides the two intrepid leaders, the party embarked, "fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an enterprise;" and on the 17th of May, 1673, the voyage began at the mission of St. Ignace. Father Marquette writes in his journal: "The joy that we felt at being selected for this expedition animated our courage, and rendered the labor of paddling from morning to night agreeable to us. And because we were going to seek unknown countries, we took every precaution in our power, so that if our undertaking were hazardous, it should not be foolhardy." The journal of Father Marquette is the principal source of our information, and is full of detail and written in a simple style. Joliet also kept a record and made a map, but, most unfortunately, all his papers were lost, by the upsetting of his canoe in the St. Lawrence, while he was returning to Quebec the following year to make a report of his discoveries. Thus it happens that Marquette's name is more frequently and prominently mentioned in all the accounts than that of Joliet.

The adventurous voyagers proceeded along the northern shore of Lake Michigan, the only portion of the lake which had at that time been explored and entered Green Bay. They arrived at the mission establishd by Father Allouez two years before,[4] and from here they began the difficult ascent of the Fox river.[5] On its upper waters they stopped at a village of the Mascoutins, from whom they procured guides; and by these friendly savages they were conducted across the portage into the upper waters of the Wisconsin river, whence the travelers made their way alone. As the Indians turned back, they "marveled at the courage of seven white men, venturing alone in two canoes on a journey into unknown lands."[6]

They were now embarked on the Wisconsin river and soon passed the utmost limits of Nicollet's voyage on this river[7] made thirty-five years before. "It is very wide," writes Marquette, "and has a sandy bottom rendering the navigation difficult. It is full of islands covered with vines, and on the banks one sees fertile land, diversified with woods, prairies and hills." Their route lay to the southwest, and, after a voyage of seven days on this river, on the 17th day of June, just one month from the day they started from St. Ignace, they reached its mouth and steered their canoes forth upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi, "with a joy that I cannot express (*avec une joye que je ne peux pas expliquer*)," wrote Marquette.

[4] Wisconsin Historical Collections, XVI, 104.
[5] Hennepin: "A New Discovery," p. 639.
[6] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 20 et seq.
[7] Albach: "Annals of the West," p. 52.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER IS REACHED

"Here, then, we are," continues the good Father in his journal, "on this so renowned river." Westward, coming down to the water's edge, were lofty wooded hills intersected by deep gorges, fringed with foliage. Eastward were beautiful prairie lands; while great quantities of game—deer, buffalo and wild turkey—were seen everywhere. In the river were islands covered with trees and in the water they saw "monstrous fish," some of which they caught in their nets. Following the flow of the river, they note the changes in the scenery, while passing between shores of unsurpassed natural beauty, along which a chain of flourishing cities was afterwards to be built.

But it is still a far cry before the adventurers reach the portage and the river which in time came to bear the name of Chicago, and which is the chief concern of this narrative. They are now fairly on the way, a round-about way indeed, but none the less surely will they accomplish the journey and float their canoes on the still waters of its river and repose themselves on its grassy banks. The broad plain and woodland where the present city of Chicago stands with its throngs of humanity and its "unexampled prosperity," still remain in a state of primeval wildness, as yet unvisited by civilized men, and only await the arrival of our devoted band of explorers to make their remarkable natural features and situation known to the world and to future times. Many strange adventures by flood and field are before them, and we will continue to follow their advance into the unknown.

Steadily they followed the course of the river towards the south, and on the eighth day they saw, for the first time since entering the river, tracks of men near the water's edge, and they stopped to examine them. This point was near the mouth of the Des Moines river, and thus they were the first white men to place foot on the soil of Iowa. Leaving their men to guard the canoes the two courageous leaders followed a path two leagues to the westward, when they came in sight of an Indian village. As they approached, they gave notice of their arrival by a loud call, upon which the savages quickly came forth from their huts and regarded the strangers attentively. Some of their number who had evidently visited the mission stations recognized them as Frenchmen, and they responded to Marquette's greeting in a friendly manner and offered the calumet, or peace pipe, which greatly reassured the visitors. Four of the elders advanced and elevated their pipes towards the sun as a token of friendship; and, on Marquette's inquiring who they were, they replied, "we are Illinois;" at the same time inviting the strangers to walk to their habitations. An old man then made them a speech in which he said, "All our people wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our cabin in peace."

HOSPITALITY OF ILLINOIS INDIANS

The Illinois Indians lived at this time beyond the Mississippi, whither they had been driven by the fierce Iroquois from their former abode, near Lake Michigan. A few years later most of them returned to the east side and made their abode along the Illinois river. Indeed, as we shall see, Joliet and Marquette found a large village of them on the upper waters of the Illinois, while ascending that river a few weeks later. It may be remarked here, however, that the Illinois Indians never fully recovered from the disastrous defeats they suffered from the Iroquois,

From Blanchard's Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, Edition of 1881

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST

Portion of Franquelin's Map of 1684, redrawn by John F. Steward and so printed in his "Lost Maramech."

FRANQUELIN'S MAP OF 1684

and held only a precarious possession of their lands along the Illinois river after that time; until a century later, the last broken remnant of them was exterminated at Starved Rock by the Pottawattomies [8] and Ottawas.

While still at the village of these Illinois Indians, a grand feast was prepared for the travelers, and they remained until the next day, when they made preparations for their departure. The chief presented them with "belts, garters, and other articles made of hair of bears and cattle [Buffalo], dyed red, yellow and gray." It will grieve those of our readers who have the collecting mania, to learn from the good father that "as they were of no great value, we did not burden ourselves with them."

But the chief made them two more gifts which were a valuable addition to their equipment namely, an Indian lad, the chief's own son, for a slave, and "an altogether mysterious calumet *(un Calumet tout mysterieux)*, upon which the Indians place more value than upon a slave." The possession of this "mysterious calumet," was the means of placating several bands of hostile Indians, whom they met later in their journey. The chief, on learning their intention to proceed down the river "as far as the sea," attempted to dissuade them on account of the great dangers to which they would expose themselves. "I replied," says Marquette, "that I feared not death, and that I regarded no happiness as greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him, who has made us all. This is what these poor people cannot understand." These were no idle words of Marquette's, for before the lapse of two years from that date, he died of privation and exposure, a martyr to the cause he had so much at heart.

The sequel to the story of the little Indian boy mentioned above was a sad one. He accompanied the voyagers to the end of their journey. In the following year, when Joliet was on his way to Quebec to make the report of his discoveries, his canoe was overturned in the rapids of the St. Lawrence near Montreal, as previously stated. The rest of the narrative is quoted from Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History." "His box of papers, containing his map and report, was lost, and he himself was rescued with difficulty. Two of his companions were drowned; one of these was the slave presented to him by the great chief of the Illinois, a little Indian lad ten years of age, whom he deeply regretted, describing him as of a good disposition, full of spirit, industrious and obedient, and already beginning to read and write the French language."

DANGERS AND WONDERS OF THE JOURNEY

On the departure of the party, Marquette promised the Indians to return to them the next year and instruct them. They embarked in the sight of the people, who had followed them to the landing to the number of some six hundred. The people admired the canoes and gave them a friendly farewell. We cannot fail to note the harmony which existed between the two leaders on this expedition, in such striking contrast with the bickerings and disagreements observed in the accounts of other expeditions of a like nature. For there is no severer test of the friendly

[8] Note:—The spelling "Potawatomi" is now authorized by the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, though, the older spelling of the name has been retained in this work as being more familiar to readers.

relations between officers of an exploring expedition than a long absence in regions beyond the bounds of civilization. Joliet and Marquette were friends long before they started together on this journey, and both were single minded in their purpose to accomplish its objects. No more lovely character appears in the history of western adventure than that of Marquette, a man who endeared himself to all whom he came in contact with, and made himself an example for all time. Joliet, in turn, "was the foremost explorer of the West," says Mason, "a man whose character and attainments and public services made him a man of high distinction in his own day."

Continuing their journey the voyagers passed the mouth of the Illinois, without special notice, but when in the vicinity of the place where the city of Alton now stands, and while skirting some high rocks, they "saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made them afraid." The paintings were "as large as a calf," and were so well done that they could not believe that any savage had done the work. Joutel saw them some eleven years later, but could not see anything particularly terrifying in them, though the Indians who were with him were much impressed. St. Cosme passed by them in 1699, but they were then almost effaced; and when, in 1867, Parkman visited the Mississippi, he passed the rock on which the paintings appeared, but the rock had been partly quarried away and all traces of the pictures had disappeared.

They had scarcely recovered from their fears before they found themselves in the presence of a new danger, for they heard the noise of what at first they supposed were rapids ahead of them; and directly they came in sight of the turbulent waters of the Missouri river, pouring its flood into the Mississippi. Large trees, branches and even "floating islands" were borne on its surface, and its "water was very muddy." The name Missouri which was afterwards applied to this river, means in the Indian language "muddy water," and the river is often spoken of to this day as the "Big Muddy." They passed in safety, however, and continued on their journey in good spirits and with thankful hearts.

FURTHER ENCOUNTERS WITH SAVAGES

They now began to think that the general course of the river indicated that it would discharge itself into the Gulf of Mexico, though they were still hoping to find that it would lead into the South Sea, toward California. They passed the beautiful plateau, where the city of St. Louis was afterwards built, and reached the mouth of the Ohio; thus having coasted the entire western boundary of what is now the State of Illinois. As they passed the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the shores changed their character. They found the banks lined with extensive fields of canebrakes; mosquitoes filled the air, and the excessive heat of the sun obliged them to seek protection from its rays by stretching an awning of cloth over their canoes. While they were thus floating down the current of the river, some savages appeared on the banks armed with *guns,* thus indicating that they were in communication with Europeans, probably the Spaniards of Florida. Just as in recent times, the explorer Stanley, while floating down the Congo, knew that he was approaching European settlements by finding the natives armed with muskets instead of the rude weapons of the tribes of the interior. The savages at

first assumed a threatening attitude, but Marquette offered his "plumed calumet," so called because of the feathers it was adorned with, which the Illinois chief had given him, and the strangers were at once received as friends. These savages told them that they were within ten days' journey of the sea, and with their hopes thus raised they soon resumed their course.

They continued down past the monotonous banks of this part of the river for some three hundred miles from the place where they had met the Indians just spoken of, when they were suddenly startled by the war-whoops of a numerous band of savages who showed every sign of hostility. The wonderful calumet was held up by Marquette, but at first without producing any effect. Missiles were flying, but fortunately doing no damage, and some of the savages plunged into the river in order to grasp their canoes; when presently some of the older men, having perceived the calumet steadily held aloft, called back their young men and made reassuring signs and gestures. They found one who could speak a little Illinois; and, on learning that the Frenchmen were on their way to the sea, the Indians escorted them some twenty-five miles, until they reached a village called Akamsea. Here they were well received, but the dwellers there warned them against proceeding, on account of the warlike tribes below who would bar their way.

Joliet and Marquette here held a council whether to push on, or to remain content with the discoveries they had already made. They judged that they were within two or three days' journey from the sea, though we know that they were still some seven hundred miles distant from it. They decided however, that beyond a doubt the Mississippi discharged its waters into the Gulf of Mexico, and not to the East in Virginia, or to the West in California. They considered that in going on they would expose themselves to the risk of losing the results of their voyage, and would, without a doubt, fall into the hands of the Spaniards, who would detain them as captives. The upshot of their deliberations was the decision that they would begin the return voyage at once. The exploration of the river from this point to the sea was not accomplished until nine years later, when that bold explorer, La Salle, passed entirely down the river to its mouth; where he set up a column and buried a plate of lead, bearing the arms of France; took possession of the country for the French King, and named it Louisiana.[9]

DECISION TO MAKE THE RETURN JOURNEY

The party were now at the mouth of the Arkansas, having passed more than one hundred miles below the place where De Soto crossed it in the previous century, had sailed eleven hundred miles in the thirty days since they had been on the great river, an average of about thirty-seven miles a day, and had covered nine degrees of latitude. On the 17th of July, they began their return journey, just one month to a day after they had entered the river, and two months after they had left the mission at St. Ignace.

The voyage up the river in the midsummer heat was one of great difficulty, but steadily they "won their slow way northward," passing the mouth of the Ohio and that of the Missouri; until at length they reached the mouth of the Illinois river. Here they left the Mississippi and entered the Illinois, being greatly charmed

[9] Parkman: p. 286.

"with its placid waters, its shady forests, and its rich plains, grazed by bison and deer." They passed through the wide portion of the river, afterwards known as Peoria lake, and reached its upper waters, where, on the south bank, rises the remarkable cliff, since called "Starved Rock." They were thus "the first white men to see the territory now known as the State of Illinois." [10]

SETTLEMENTS AND LANDMARKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI

On the opposite bank of the river, where the town of Utica now stands, they found a village of Illinois Indians, called Kaskaskia, consisting of seventy-four cabins. It should here be stated that the Indians removed this village, some seventeen years later, to the south part of the present State of Illinois, on the Kaskaskia river, where it became noted in the early annals of the west. The travelers were well received here, and, on their departure, a chief and a number of young men of the village joined the party for the purpose of guiding them to the Lake of the Illinois, that is, Lake Michigan. A few miles above they passed the place where the present city of Ottawa is situated, and where the Fox river of Illinois flows into the Illinois river from the north.

The course of the river was now almost directly east and west, and the voyagers could not fail to notice the ranges of bluffs flanking the bottom lands through which the stream meanders in its flow. This broad channel once carried a mighty volume of water from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, at a time when the glaciers were subsiding and the lake level was some thirty feet higher than in historic times.

None of the countries they had seen compared with those they beheld while voyaging up this river "as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods;" and they found it "more beautiful than France."

La Salle at a later time described the country as "so beautiful and so fertile, so free from forests, and so well supplied with prairies, brooks and rivers, so abounding in fish, game and venison, that one can find there in plenty and with little trouble all that is needed for the support of flourishing colonies." Indeed, one is reminded when reading these enthusiastic descriptions of the country by the early explorers, of the words of that stirring song which we Illinoisans love so well, celebrating the glories of the land in which we live, beginning:

"By thy rivers ever flowing,
Illinois, Illinois;
By thy prairies verdant growing,
Illinois, Illinois."

The travelers soon arrived at the confluence of the Desplaines and the Kankakee rivers which here, at a point some forty-five miles from Lake Michigan, unite to form the Illinois river. Under the guidance of their Indian friends they chose the route by way of the Desplaines as the shortest to the lake; and after proceeding some thirteen miles in a northeasterly direction, they came in view of that remarkable natural feature afterwards called Mount Joliet, now almost entirely vanished

[10] Address of L. E. Jones, in Evanston Historical Society Records.

Herman A. MacNeil, Sculptor

Detail from bronze relief on Marquette Building

MARQUETTE AND JOLIET LAUNCHING THEIR CANOE ON THE HEAD WATERS OF THE WISCONSIN

from view owing to the steady work of gravel diggers continued over several generations. Although not mentioned by Marquette in his journal, it was described by St. Cosme when he passed this point a few years later. He notes a tradition among the Indians regarding it, "that at the time of a great deluge one of their ancestors escaped, and that this little mountain is his canoe which he turned over there." The party soon after passed the site of the present flourishing city of Joliet, and began the laborious ascent of the rapids a few miles above.[11] On reaching the place where the portage into the waters tributary to Lake Michigan was to be made, their Indian guides aided them in carrying their canoes over the "half league" of dry land intervening. As this portage is much longer than that, it is likely that the "half league" mentioned by Marquette referred to one stage of the portage, between the Desplaines and the first of the two shallow lakes which they found there and on which they, no doubt, floated their canoes several miles on their way to the waters of the south branch of the Chicago river.

They were now at the summit of the "divide" between the two great water systems of the west. The river they had left had its source more than a hundred miles to the north of the portage, and was a tributary of the Mississippi, eventually reaching the Gulf of Mexico; while the waters of the south branch of the Chicago river, which they were about to enter, reach the sea at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Here their Indian friends left them while they made their way down the five miles that yet intervened before they would reach Lake Michigan. Groves of trees lined its banks, beyond which a level plain extended to the margin of the lake. This level plain was the only portion of the "Grand Prairie" of Illinois which anywhere reached the shore of Lake Michigan, a space limited to some four miles south of the mouth of the Chicago river. They were not long in coming into view of that splendid body of water which they were approaching, and must have beheld its vast extent with the feelings of that "watcher of the skies" so beautifully written of by Keats, "when a new planet swims into his ken."

SITE OF CHICAGO FIRST VISITED BY WHITE MEN

No date is given by Marquette in his journal of the arrival of the party at this point, but it was probably early in September of the year 1673 that the site of the present city of Chicago was first visited by white men.[12] It is quite possible that *coureurs de bois* ("wood-rangers") may have visited the spot while among the Indian tribes, but no record was ever made of such visits before the time that Joliet and Marquette arrived upon the scene, and made known the discovery to the world. The mouth of the river is shown on all the early maps as at a point a quarter of a mile south of the present outlet, owing to a long sand spit that ran out from the north shore of the river near its confluence with the lake, which has long since been dredged away. This was Joliet's first and only view of the Chicago river and its banks, as he never passed this way again. Marquette's later voyage to the "Chicago portage" will be mentioned in another chapter.

The stimulating breath of the lake breezes which met them as they issued forth

[11] Shea: "Early Mississippi Voyages," p. 56.
[12] Blanchard: "History of the Northwest," I, 20.

upon the blue waters of the "Lake of the Illinois," must have thrilled the explorers with feeling of joy and triumph, having escaped so many dangers and won such imperishable renown. Turning the prows of their canoes northward, they passed the wooded shores still in their pristine loveliness. The emerald hues of the prairies which they had left behind them, were now replaced by the mottled foliage of the early autumn, and the waves breaking on the beach of sand and gravel must have impressed them deeply as they proceeded on their way. The shores began to rise and form bluffs as they passed the regularly formed coast on their course. Few and unimportant are the streams that flow into the lake from the narrow water shed of the west shore, and the bluffs are occasionally broken by ravines running back far beyond the range of vision.

Some thirteen miles north of the outlet of the Chicago river they pass that high point of land where now stands a lofty lighthouse, called Gross Point, and which lake sailors of later times were wont to call by the romantic name of "Beauty's Eyebrow." One of our local poets, in referring to this spot, describes it thus:

> "A dreadful point when furious north winds roar,
> And Michigan's soon-roused, fierce billows roll;
> But Uncle Sam, with wise and prudent care
> Has placed a far-seen light as signal there."

JOURNEY OF DISCOVERY SAFELY ENDED

Throughout their journey the voyagers gaze on scenes, familiar now to millions of people, then unknown to civilized man. They see the gradual increase in the height of the bluffs, reaching an elevation at the present town of Lake Forest of one hundred feet or more above the surface of the lake. No comments are made regarding the events of this part of the journey by Marquette in his journal, and it most likely was made without special incident. He closes his narrative by saying that "at the end of September, we reached the Bay des Puants [Green Bay], from which we started at the beginning of June."

JOLIET THE HEAD OF THE EXPEDITION

The world renowned voyage of Joliet and Marquette thus ended at the mission of St. Francis Xavier, where the village of De Pere, Wisconsin, now stands. The explorers had traveled nearly twenty-five hundred miles in about one hundred and twenty days, a daily average of nearly twenty-one miles, had discovered the Mississippi and the Chicago rivers, as well at the site of the present city of Chicago; and had brought back their party without any serious accident or the loss of a single man. Here they remained during the fall and winter, and in the summer. of the following year (1674), Joliet set out for Quebec to make a report of his discoveries to the governor of Canada. It was while nearing Montreal on his journey that his canoe was upset in the rapids, his Indians drowned, and all his records and a map that he had carefully prepared were lost. Joliet never returned to the west. He was rewarded for his splendid services with a grant of some islands in the lower St. Lawrence, including the extensive island of Anticosti, and

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MARQUETTE'S MAP

Showing the western part of Lake Michigan and route of Joliet's expedition of discovery in 1673. Joliet and Marquette began their journey at Green Bay, proceeded up the Fox River and down the Wisconsin River; followed the Mississippi down as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River, and returned by way of the Illinois River and the Des Plaines-Chicago Portage.

died in 1700. As regards the credit due Joliet for the discovery made, the late Mr. Edward G. Mason in his valuable work entitled, "Chapters from Illinois History," says:

"Popular error assigned the leadership of the expedition which discovered the Upper Mississippi and the Illinois valley to Marquette, who never held or claimed it. Every reliable authority demonstrates the mistake, and yet the delusion continues. But as Marquette himself says that Joliet was sent to discover new countries, and he to preach the gospel; as Count Frontenac reports to the home authorities that Talon selected Joliet to make the discovery; as Father Dablon confirms this statement; and as the Canadian authorities gave rewards to Joliet alone as the sole discoverer, we may safely conclude that to him belongs the honor of the achievement. He actually accomplished that of which Champlain and Nicollet and Radisson were the heralds, and, historically speaking, was the first to see the wonderful region of the prairies. At the head of the roll of those indissolubly associated with the land of the Illinois, who have trod its soil, must forever stand the name of Louis Joliet."

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, in his "Story of Wisconsin," says that Marquette, "though merely a subordinate in the expedition, has been accorded by most writers far greater credit than its leader. It is his statue, rather than Joliet's, which the Wisconsin legislature voted to place in the capitol at Washington; and while Marquette has a county and a town in Wisconsin named in his honor, Joliet has not even been remembered in the list of crossroad postoffices. Illinois has been more considerate of historical truth."

It seems a strange omission, however, that here in Chicago we have no street or avenue named for Joliet, no building, park or monument to commemorate his name and splendid services. Marquette has fared better in this regard in having a stately building, situated on one of our principal streets, named in his honor; and, owing largely to the simplicity and sincerity of his character, his memory is held in high and affectionate regard by the people of Chicago. The honor that accrues from such memorials as we have spoken of are greatly in favor of La Salle, a man whose memory indeed is worthy of such distinction, but who preferred another route to the Mississippi on his first journey, and when at a later time he did pass over the Chicago portage he reported disparagingly upon Joliet's suggestion of a navigable waterway.

Father Marquette was destined never to return to the French colonial capital. His health had become impaired on account of the hardships he had suffered during the return journey on the Mississippi, and he remained nearly a year at St. Francis Xavier in an effort to recover and prepare himself for another journey to the Illinois Country, as he had promised his Indian friends he would do. How he again visited the portage between the Chicago and Desplaines rivers in the following year, and spent the winter there, will be related in the succeeding chapter of this history.

CHAPTER II

FRENCH DOMINATION—1671

INCREASE IN FRENCH TERRITORY—MARQUETTE'S SECOND JOURNEY TO ILLINOIS COUNTRY—WINTER QUARTERS OF MARQUETTE—AT KASKASKIA—DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE—FATHER ALLOUEZ A MISSIONARY TO INDIANS—COMING OF LA SALLE—TONTY—PREPARATIONS FOR JOURNEY—HARDSHIPS ENCOUNTERED—FORT CREVECOEUR ESTABLISHED—LA SALLE RETURNS TO CANADA—TONTY FORCED OUT OF ILLINOIS COUNTRY—LA SALLE RETURNS WITH SUPPLIES—EXPLORES THE MISSISSIPPI—GOES IN SEARCH OF TONTY—THE EXPLORERS MEET—A THIRD START MADE—GULF OF MEXICO REACHED—FORT ST. LOUIS ESTABLISHED—LA SALLE AT CHICAGO—HIS APPEAL TO FRENCH COURT—TONTY FINDS A FORT AT CHICAGO—LA SALLE COMES FROM FRANCE—DEATH OF LA SALLE—TONTY IN SEARCH OF LA SALLE—THE FATE OF TONTY—HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES.

BEGINNING OF FRENCH SOVEREIGNTY

THE discovery of the Illinois Country and the western shore of Lake Michigan brought a large accession of territory under the dominion of the French crown. In 1671, two years previous to the discovery of the Illinois Country, St. Lusson had taken possession, with much ceremony at Sault Ste. Marie, of all the countries then occupied by the French, as well as of countries "which may be discovered hereafter." [1] The Illinois Country was thenceforth included within the scope of the French authority and was part and parcel of the Kingdom of France ruled over at that time by the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV.

MARQUETTE'S RETURN TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

Early in the summer of 1674, that is, about seven or eight months after his return to Green Bay from the voyage described in the previous chapter, Joliet started on his journey to Quebec to inform the authorities regarding the new countries he had found. As already related, Joliet met with disaster on this journey, and had it not been for the journal kept by Marquette we should have had no detailed record of the explorations of the previous year, though Joliet gave some oral accounts afterwards, records of which have only in recent years come to light.[2] Later in the same year Marquette, having recovered from the poor health he had been suffering, received "orders to proceed to the mission of La Conception

[1] Parkman's "La Salle," p. 43.

[2] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 30.

From a photograph taken for this history

MEMORIAL TO MARQUETTE AND JOLIET AT THE INTERSECTION OF ROBEY STREET AND THE SOUTH BRANCH

among the Illinois." [3] On the 25th of October, 1674, accordingly, he sat out with two companions, named Pierre and Jacques; one of whom had been with him on his former journey of discovery.[4] From this journey Marquette was destined never to return; and indeed it would seem to have been a most perilous risk for him to have taken considering his physical condition, having only recently been "cured," as he says, of his "ailment," and starting at a time of year when he would soon be overtaken by the winter season. But no toils or exposure could deter those devoted missionaries of the cross from engaging in any undertaking which seemed to hold out the least prospect of saving souls, as the history of those times abundantly shows.

The route taken was by way of the difficult portage at Sturgeon Bay, where now there is a canal cutting through the peninsula, and which saved them a circuit of nearly one hundred and fifty miles. Accompanying his canoe was a flotilla of nine others, containing parties of Pottawattomie and Illinois Indians; and in due time they embarked their little fleet on the waters of Lake Michigan. They encountered storms and the navigation proved difficult, but at length the party arrived at the mouth of the Chicago river, which Marquette calls "the river of the Portage," early in December. Finding that the stream was frozen over, they encamped near by at the entrance of the river and engaged in hunting, finding game very abundant. While here the two Frenchmen of the party killed "three buffalo and four deer," besides wild turkeys and partridges,[5] which, considering the locality as we of this day know it, seems difficult to imagine; and this passage in the journal composes the first sketch on record of the site of this great city of the West.

Having followed the course of the river some "two leagues up," Marquette "resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther." His ailment had returned and a cabin was built for his use and protection. There he remained with his two Frenchmen while his Indian companions returned to their own people. It must be borne in mind that Marquette's destination was the village of Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia on the Illinois river, where he and Joliet had been entertained the year before; and that the cabin here spoken of was merely a temporary shelter where he would remain only until spring. But sometime during the interval of the fifteen months since Marquette had previously passed the portage, two Frenchmen had established themselves, about "eighteen leagues beyond, in a beautiful hunting country," and these men in expectation of the holy father's return had prepared a cabin for him, stocked with provisions. This cabin Marquette was not able to reach, and the two hunters, hearing of the good Father's illness, came to the portage to render such assistance as was in their power. One of these Frenchmen was called "the Surgeon," perhaps because he possessed some knowledge of medicine, but his true name is not given. The other was called "La Taupine," that is, "the Tawney," whose proper name was Pierre Moreau, a noted *coureur de bois* of the time. Indians passing that way also gave assistance, and late in March Marquette found himself with strength recovered and able to set out on his journey to the Illinois, though not before he was driven out of his

[3] "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 165.
[4] Parkman, p. 67.
[5] Mason, p. 32.

winter cabin by a sudden rise of the river which obliged him to take refuge near the place now called "Summit."

As in the previous year, Marquette kept a journal which has come down to us among that valuable series of papers called the "Jesuit Relations." This journal is the sheet anchor of all the writers treating of the history of the two journeys of discovery and exploration which we are here narrating. Marquette occupied a portion of the time during his stay at the cabin in writing the memoirs of his voyages. In his journal the good Father breathes the spirit of self-sacrifice, the concern for the conversion and spiritual welfare of the savages; and with it all he shows a keen curiosity and interest in the manners and customs, the country and habitations, of the tribes he meets with.

WINTER QUARTERS OF MARQUETTE

The location[6] of the cabin in which Marquette spent the winter of 1674-5 is now marked with a cross made of mahogany wood, at the base of which is a bronze tablet with an inscription. The site was fixed upon in 1905 by a committee of the Chicago Historical Society under the guidance of the late Mr. Ossian Guthrie, an intelligent and devoted student of our local antiquities, with a view of marking the spot in a suitable manner. An entire day was spent by the party in driving and walking over many miles of country in order to compare the topography with the journal of the missionary, and a series of photographs taken. The investigations resulted in confirming the opinions of Mr. Guthrie, namely, that Marquette's winter cabin was situated on the north bank of the South branch of the Chicago river at the point where now it is intersected by Robey street, and from which at the present time can be seen, by looking westward, the entrance to the great drainage canal. While the Society was making plans for placing a memorial on the spot other parties took up the project and placed the cross and inscription there; though it is to be regretted that no mention was made in the inscription of Mr. Guthrie's researches in identifying the site; for it was solely due to his investigations that the site was determined. The "Marquette Cross" stands about fifteen feet high, firmly planted on a pedestal of concrete; and near it stands a wrought iron cross about three feet in height, which, however, has no historical connection with the famous missionary, as it was taken from a burying ground in Cahokia, where it marked the grave of some old time French resident.

There is also a monument at Summit a few miles distant from the site of Marquette's winter cabin, marking the spot where Marquette landed after being flooded out of his winter quarters at Robey street. This monument is constructed of boulders taken from the Drainage Canal while in process of building, and was placed there in 1895 by the Chicago and Alton railroad company. The inscription on the monument reads, "Father Marquette landed here in 1675."

MARQUETTE'S SOJOURN AT KASKASKIA

Marquette reached the Illinois village which he called Kaskaskia in the journal of his first visit, and which he refers to as the "mission of La Conception" in his

[6] MS. report, by Miss C. M. McIlvaine, of the Chicago Historical Society.

later journal. This was on the 8th of April, 1675, and on reaching the village "he was received as an angel from heaven." There was always an atmosphere of peace wherever the good missionary went, and, no matter how unfavorable the circumstances were, he was the object of solicitude and kind attentions from his followers. From the time that he crossed the portage he discontinued his journal, probably owing to his increasing weakness. The account of the remainder of his journey is written by Father Dablon, his superior at Quebec. He summoned the Indians to a grand council and "displayed four large pictures of the Virgin, harangued the assembly on the mysteries of the Faith, and exhorted them to adopt it." [7] His hearers were much affected and begged him to remain among them and continue his instructions.

LAST DAYS OF MARQUETTE

But Marquette realized that his life was fast ebbing away, and that it was necessary if possible to reach some of the older missions where he could either recover his health or hand over his responsibilities to others. Soon after Easter he started on his return, pledging the Indians on his departure that he or some other one would return to them and carry on the mission. He set out with many tokens of regard on the part of these good people, and as a mark of honor a party of them escorted him for more than thirty leagues on his way, and assisted him with his baggage.[8] Some writers have supposed that he took the route by the Desplaines-Chicago portage, but it is more probable, according to Mason, that he ascended the Kankakee, guided by his Indian friends, and reached the Lake of the Illinois by way of the St. Joseph river. His destination was St. Ignace and his course lay along the eastern shore, which, as yet, was unknown except through reports from the Indians. Now alone with his two companions, he pushed forward with rapidly diminishing strength, until, on the 19th day of May the devoted priest felt that his hour had come, and being near a small river, he asked to be placed ashore. Here a bark shed was built by his companions, and the dying man was placed within its rude walls. "With perfect cheerfulness and composure," relates Parkman, "he gave directions for his burial, asked their forgiveness for the trouble he had caused them, administered to them the sacrament of penitence, and thanked God that he was permitted to die in the wilderness, a missionary of the Faith and a member of the Jesuit brotherhood." Soon after he expired, and was buried by his companions at that place, while they made their way to St. Ignace with their sad tidings. Two years later a party of Ottawa Indians, who were informed of the death and burial place of Marquette, were passing that way, found the grave, opened it, washed and dried the bones, and placed them in a box of birch bark; and bore them, while chanting funeral songs, to St. Ignace, where they were buried beneath the floor of the chapel of the mission. A statue now stands in a public place near the water front at the town of St. Ignace placed there in recent years.

Thus ends the story of Marquette, who is, one may say, the patron saint of the people of Chicago. He participated with Joliet in discovering the Chicago river

[7] Parkman, p. 70.
[8] Jesuit Relations, Vol. 59, p. 191.

and looked out upon its vast expanse of plain and forest. He came again and spent a winter in a rude cabin on the river bank, and from here passed on to his chosen field of work where his last missionary labors were performed. Memorials of him have been placed all over the west, where he spent the last two years of his brief but memorable career. The story has been often told but never loses its interest. Let it be told in every Chicago home, and "every good cause in this city will feel the beneficent results of its influence," in awakening a pride in our earliest annals, "and quickening the spirit of service in all our people." [9]

FATHER ALLOUEZ A MISSIONARY TO THE ILLINOIS

The promise made by Marquette to the Illinois Indians did not long remain unkept. Father Claude Allouez was summoned by his superior to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Father Marquette, and promptly responded to the call. Allouez, with two companions, embarked in a canoe at St. Francis Xavier in October, 1676, just two years after Marquette had set out from the same place; but owing to the ice in Green Bay they were not able to reach Lake Michigan until the following February. At length in April, 1677, the party reached "the river that leads to the Illinois," that is, the Chicago river,[10] where they met eighty Indians coming towards them. The chief presented a fire brand in one hand and a feathered calumet in the other, from which Allouez discreetly made choice of the latter. The chief then invited the little party of whites to his village, which was some distance from the mouth of the river, "probably," as Mason says, "near the portage where Marquette had passed the winter" two years previously. Allouez remained at this village a short time and then passed on to the Illinois river mission, which he reached on the 27th of April. After erecting a cross at the mission he returned to Green Bay, as he had made the journey, it seems, "only to acquire the necessary information for the perfect establishment of the mission." He came again the next year, but retired to the Wisconsin Mission in 1679 "upon hearing of the approach of La Salle, who believed that the Jesuits were unfriendly to him, and that Allouez in particular had sought to defeat his plans." "The era of the discoverer and missionary was now giving place to that of the explorer and colonist," and the great figure of Robert Cavelier de La Salle appears upon the scene.

EARLY LIFE OF LA SALLE [11]

At the time of his coming to Canada in 1666, La Salle was a young man of twenty-three. He was a younger son of an honorable old citizen family in Rouen, France, where he was born. He was given a good education there, showing himself especially proficient in mathematics and the exact sciences. When he was very young he became connected with the Jesuits, but a youth of his high spirit, ambition and energy would not long endure the restraint of that Order, in which the individual is completely effaced. He left the Jesuits, remaining all his life, however, a good Catholic. As he was deprived by law of his inheritance, on ac-

[9] E. J. James.
[10] Mason, pp. 44-50.
[11] Parkman, Chaps. I and II.

Photograph by A. W. Watriss

MONUMENT TO MARQUETTE AT SUMMIT, ILLINOIS

count of his connection with the Jesuits, he determined to go to Canada, perhaps even then fascinated by the dreams which later urged him to accomplish the exploration of the Mississippi River. With a small allowance he came to Montreal in 1666. At that time the Seminary of St. Sulpice, a conservative body of ecclesiastics, was proprietor and feudal lord of Montreal, and was granting out lands on the St. Lawrence River, above Montreal, to settlers, whose holdings would make a continuous line of habitation which would form an outpost to give warning of a possible attack of the Iroquois. On one of these tracts of land, about nine miles from Montreal, La Salle settled, and began clearing ground and building on his seigniory, which was later called *La Chine* by some of La Salle's men, it is said, in derision of his dreams of finding a westward approach to China. He, in turn, granted pieces of land to settlers, laying out a village and a common.

LA SALLE HEARS REPORT OF THE OHIO

Here came Indians to him, Seneca Iroquois (now peaceable on account of a treaty), and told him about "a river, called the Ohio, rising in their country, and flowing into the sea, but at such a distance that its mouth could only be reached after a journey of eight or nine months." This aroused him—it might be a means of getting to China. He resolved to explore this river, and went to the governor, Courcelle, and the intendant, Talon, with his plan. They gave their approval and authority for making the expedition, but furnished no financial aid. To raise the money La Salle sold his land with its improvements back to the Sulpitian Seminary, and having now the means to do so, he engaged fourteen men, and bought four canoes and supplies for the journey. In July, 1669, he started from La Chine in company with another party in charge of two priests from the Seminary—Dollier, who was in search of heathen converts, and Galinee, who knew how to survey and could make a map of the route. The combined parties comprised twenty-four men with their canoes, having with them some Indians as guides.

Coasting along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, they were met by some Indians who took La Salle and a few of the men to their village. Being unable to procure guides there to go with him to the Ohio, La Salle left this village, and the party continued their way along the shore of the lake. Farther along he found Indian guides who assured him that the Ohio could be reached in six weeks. At the same place he met Louis Joliet returning to Quebec after an unsuccessful attempt to discover and explore the copper mine district of Lake Superior. Joliet showed the priests of the party his map of those parts of the Upper Lake region which he had visited. The priests immediately decided to go northward to carry their religion to the Indians of whom Joliet told them, though La Salle remonstrated against such a detour. Finding the priests determined, he invented a pretext for amicably parting with them and continued on his own way toward the Ohio. Of his adventures during the next two years, little is known except that he discovered the Ohio River, and learned enough of the country farther west to form broad plans of exploration. Returning, he found a cordial supporter of his plans and purposes in Count Frontenac, the Governor; and soon after he went to France to obtain official countenance and aid, in which he was successful. He was granted a seigniory at the entrance to Lake Ontario, where he built a fort

which he called Fort Frontenac, and which he used as the base of operations for his expeditions into the far West. He found it necessary to visit France again, and this time he obtained authority from the King "to make discoveries and to build forts in the western parts of New France, through which it was believed a way might be found to Mexico."

Returning to Canada, in September, 1678, with a small army enlisted in his service, he made his plans to reach and occupy the land of the Illinois. One of his officers, whom he brought with him from France, was the celebrated Henri de Tonty, who had been in the French military service, and became La Salle's most devoted friend and trusted lieutenant. Tonty was a Neapolitan who had enlisted in the army of France and fought bravely in her wars. During one campaign he had lost a hand, in place of which he had one of iron, which he usually wore gloved. Much might be said in praise of his devotion to La Salle, his splendid courage and resourceful perseverance. He was an invaluable aid in his ability to command an expedition made up of mutinous Frenchmen and grumbling priests; and it was he who was best able to placate Indians who were hostile or suspicious. Among them the severe blows occasionally dealt by his iron hand gave him a reputation as a powerful "medicine man," for they did not know how he could strike so hard. In his memoir, which is so simply written that the reader would scarcely suspect the importance of Tonty's part in the expedition, his account of the attempts to establish French supremacy throughout the country drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, is direct and matter-of-fact.[12]

LA SALLE'S FIRST ATTEMPT TO REACH THE MISSISSIPPI

Having learned from messengers sent forward the previous year that copper had been discovered in the far West, and that buffalo skins were to be obtained in large quantities in the Illinois country, La Salle ordered a party to "set out in canoes laden with valuable merchandise" to establish trade relations with the Indians. The usual route to the West at this time was by way of the Ottawa river, thence by a portage to French river, passing into Georgian Bay and so on to Sault Ste. Marie and St. Ignace. A second party was dispatched a short time later to proceed by way of the Niagara portage through Lake Erie. The French knew from the Indians that there was a portage at Niagara, but had been debarred from its use by reason of the hostility of the Five Nations. Frontenac, however, had temporarily subdued their enmity, and La Salle's party was the first to make use of the Niagara portage. Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollet priest, accompanied this second party and was "the historian of the expedition and a conspicuous actor in it." La Salle, with the rest of his force, was to follow as soon as he could finish his preparations. On their way up the Niagara river Hennepin with his party saw the falls and thus became the first of Europeans to behold the mighty cataract of which he wrote the earliest description. La Salle and Tonty soon followed and established a fortified post on the Niagara river. The winter had now set in, and the time was employed to build a small sailing vessel of about forty-five tons for use on the upper lakes, which La Salle named the Griffin. It was not until August, 1679, that he set sail on Lake Erie and in due time reached Mackinac, where he

[12] "Illinois Historical Collections," Vol. I, p. 128.

was surprised to find his first party, "whom he had supposed to have long since established themselves among the Illinois." On reaching Green Bay he met Michael Ako, his advance messenger to the Illinois country, who was returning with a quantity of peltries. These he loaded on the Griffin and started her back to the Niagara river commanding that she return to Mackinac for orders, while he himself "pushed on with fourteen men along the western shores of Lake Michigan, called by him Lake Dauphin." They coasted the shore of the lake just as Marquette had done five years before, with much the same experience from storms and exposure to cold.

At length La Salle and his party reached the shore of the "land of the Illinois," but he made no pause at the Chicago river other than possibly a night encampment in its vicinity. He had formed the plan to reach the Mississippi by way of the St. Joseph river, and therefore he passed around the southern shore of the lake to the mouth of that river, where now is located the city of St. Joseph. Here Tonty, with his party of twenty men, who had been left at St. Ignace with orders to proceed to this point along the eastern shore, was to have met him; but many days elapsed before he appeared. The Griffin, which had also been ordered to meet him at this point (as soon as she had returned from Niagara), did not appear at all. In fact, the Griffin had been lost with all her precious cargo of furs soon after La Salle had parted from her, though the unfortunate pathfinder did not learn of this until long afterward.

It was now the beginning of December. The winter was at hand, the streams, as yet open, would soon be frozen; and there was urgent need for a forward movement if the Illinois river was to be reached that season. After vainly waiting nearly three weeks for the missing vessel, La Salle, with his party, now consisting of thirty-three men, ascended the St. Joseph river about thirty miles, where they found the portage to the headwaters of the Kankakee, near the present city of South Bend. In due time they arrived at the great town of the Illinois Indians, near the present village of Utica, where Marquette's mission of La Conception had been established several years before. They found the village entirely unoccupied, the Indians being absent on their winter hunt. They pushed on, therefore, until they reached the point where the city of Peoria now stands, and found another Indian village. There La Salle lost six of his men by desertion; for, as Parkman remarks, it was to the last degree difficult to hold men to their duty when once they were fairly in the wilderness, freed from the usual restraints of civilization. A spirit of lawlessness often broke out among them, and, attracted by a life of unbridled license, they would become in manners and habits assimilated to the savages among whom they chose to dwell. In this way, hundreds of Frenchmen disappeared in the forest, where they spent the remainder of their lives. One observer who knew the character of the French, said of them that "it was much easier for a Frenchman to learn to live like an Indian than for an Indian to learn to live like a Frenchman." [13]

LA SALLE'S RETURN TO CANADA FOR SUPPLIES

Near this village La Salle erected a palisaded defense which he called Fort Crevecoeur, and set his men to construct a vessel for carrying the party down the

[13] The Settlement of Illinois, p. 11.

Mississippi. Needing equipment for the vessel, he determined upon making a return journey to Lake Michigan; and set out, accompanied by four Frenchmen and an Indian, expecting to procure the necessary articles from the Griffin, which he fondly hoped was awaiting him at the St. Joseph. On his arrival there he became assured of the fate of the vessel, and at once decided on making a journey to Canada for the purpose of renewing his outfit. Taking with him three followers, he pushed onward through the unknown wilds of southern Michigan, and after a most arduous journey he at length reached Fort Frontenac, on the 6th of May, 1680, having been sixty-five days on the way. At Frontenac news reached La Salle of what had taken place since his departure from Fort Crevecoeur. It seems that Tonty had gone up the Illinois with a part of his force for the purpose of building a fort on the Rock of St. Louis, now called "Starved Rock," in pursuance of La Salle's plans and instructions. A mutiny breaking out among the men left behind, they had wantonly destroyed the tools and provisions that had been brought there at such great labor and expense, and the mutineers had set out to return to Canada. Some of the men, however, remained true to their duty, joined Tonty up the river, and thus apprised him of what had happened.

TONTY ESCAPES FROM DANGERS AMONG THE ILLINOIS

Just at that time there was an Iroquois invasion of the Illinois Country, and Tonty was obliged to retire; which he did by way of Chicago and along the west shore of Lake Michigan, reaching Green Bay in December. This was Tonty's first visit to the site of Chicago,[14] a place he passed often in later years. While La Salle was making his preparations for a return to the Illinois Country, messengers arrived with the news that the mutineers from Crevecoeur were on the way. La Salle made his plans to intercept them, which he did as they were nearing Frontenac, killing two and making prisoners of the others.[15] Still hoping that Tonty was keeping a foothold on the Illinois—for he had not heard of his retirement to Green Bay—, he set out on the 10th of August, with a fresh body of men and supplies to reinforce his faithful lieutenant.

LA SALLE'S FIRST SIGHT OF THE MISSISSIPPI

La Salle arrived again at the mouth of the St. Joseph river on the 4th of November, where, leaving a part of his force, he anxiously pushed on with six Frenchmen and an Indian. Passing over the portage he descended the Kankakee, hearing nothing of Tonty on the way. On the Illinois river he saw the ruin and desolation caused by the recent Iroquois invasion, and, arriving at the Rock of St. Louis, where he hoped to find Tonty, he found no signs of an occupation by the French. Astonished and confounded, he passed on to Fort Crevecoeur looking for signs of his friend on the way. At the fort there were only the ruins of the structure which he had left in the early spring. No Indians were visible, no tidings of Tonty,—only the vessel left on the stocks, fortunately uninjured. Still hoping to find his Frenchmen he descended the river to its mouth, where on the 7th of December, he

[14] Mason, p. 108.
[15] Parkman, pp. 188-197.

From "The Indian and The Northwest"

ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

Explorer and colonist, who in 1679 entered the land of the Illinois, in his explorations to find a route to Mexico.

HENRI DE TONTI

From photograph taken for this history

STARVED ROCK

Upon this cliff La Salle and Tonti erected a fort in 1682, which they named Fort St. Louis. For twenty years the fort was used as a military post, then as a traiding post, and finally burned by the Indians in 1718. In 1769 a band of Illinois Indians who had sought refuge on the cliff from the attacks of hostile Indians were besieged for twelve days, when, destitute of food and drink, they made a gallant but hopeless and unsuccessful sortie in which they were massacred. From the catastrophe the cliff takes its name, Starved Rock. The tracts of land in which Starved Rock is located was in 1911 purchased by the state of Illinois to be used as a state park.

saw before him the broad current of the Mississippi, the "object of his day-dreams, the destined avenue of his ambition and his hopes." But though this was La Salle's first view of the great river he had no time for reflection, and the prow of his canoe was turned northward. On the 11th, he had again reached the Rock of St. Louis where he had left three of his men concealed on an island in the river. These men rejoined him with their canoe and thus they pushed on to the junction of the Kankakee and Desplaines. At this time the great comet of that year was visible in all its splendor, and night after night the men watched it as it reached its culmination, and during the following month as it slowly faded away.[16]

La Salle felt sure by this time that Tonty had passed north by way of the Desplaines, then called the Divine river (having been so named by Joliet), and began the ascent of this river. The winter being then far advanced, and the smaller stream closed by ice, on the 6th of January, 1681, he left two of his men with a great part of his equipment at a point a few miles above the mouth of the Desplaines, and proceeded on foot with his five remaining men. Turning in the direction of St. Joseph he crossed the open country, through heavy snows, and at the end of January he was again at the mouth of the St. Joseph, but did not find Tonty; who, as we have seen, had gone north three months before by way of the Chicago portage and along the west shore of the lake.

LA SALLE FINDS TONTY

At Fort Miami, the name given by La Salle to the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph, he found the men and supplies he had left. Here he was told by a wandering Indian that Tonty was no more, that he had been burned at the stake by the Illinois Indians. This falsehood, deliberately contrived by his enemies, was the last and bitterest drop added to La Salle's cup of sorrow. However, his first duty was to return to the men whom he had left on the Desplaines; and accordingly he set forth on the 1st of March with all of his men, including those who had been left at Fort Miami, traveling on snow shoes. He encountered some Indians who had lately been at Green Bay and who informed him that Tonty was safe and well. This good news animated La Salle and his party with fresh ambition, and soon after he found his men on the Desplaines, the greater part of the reunited force returning to Miami. La Salle sent a party to Mackinac to communicate with Tonty and request him to come to that point, where La Salle could meet him. The message was good news to Tonty, who had believed that La Salle was dead. After making some important agreements with the Indians La Salle himself departed for Mackinac, where, on the 4th of June, 1681, the two heroes who had parted "more than fourteen months before and had believed each other dead, greeted one another as if they had returned from the spirit land."

A THIRD EXPEDITION IS SUCCESSFUL

It was now necessary that La Salle should go to Fort Frontenac to procure a fresh outfit, on which journey he was accompanied by Tonty. In the early autumn another start was made, the third beginning of his cherished enterprise; and

[16] Mason, p. 92.

late in the season he was once more at the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Here he found a few Indians whom he added to his twenty-three Frenchmen, and thus proceeded with a total of fifty persons in the expedition. Instead, however, of ascending the St. Joseph, as he had done on his two previous journeys, he set out along the shore of the lake to the Chicago river, where he and his party arrived in the dead of winter. The stream was frozen, so they made sledges, on which were placed the canoes and baggage; crossed from the Chicago to the Desplaines, and filed in a long procession down its frozen course. At length they reached the open water below Lake Peoria.[17]

La Salle abandoned his idea of building a vessel for the navigation of the Mississippi, resolving to trust to his canoes alone. "They embarked again, floating prosperously down between the leafless forests that flanked the tranquil river; till, on the 6th of February, 1682, they issued upon the majestic bosom of the Mississippi."

Following the river in its southward flow they passed the Indian village which was the limit of Joliet's exploration, and "with every stage of their adventurous progress the mystery of this vast New World was more and more unveiled." At length the party issued forth upon the Gulf of Mexico, and La Salle's grand work was accomplished; the Mississippi was now explored from its upper waters to its mouth, a distance of more than two thousand miles. A column containing an inscription was set up on a spot of dry ground, there was a salute by a volley of musketry, and the occasion was solemnized by religious services. The date given on the column was April 9, 1682. "On that day," says Parkman, "the realm of France received on parchment a stupendous accession. The fertile plains of Texas; the vast basin of the Mississippi, from its frozen northern springs to the sultry borders of the Gulf; from the woody ridges of the Alleghanies to the bare peaks of the Rocky Mountains;"—all this territory passed beneath the sceptre of the King of France. La Salle bestowed upon this vast domain the name of Louisiana in honor of the French King.

La Salle now began retracing his course, and after many hardships he and his party safely reached Mackinac, by way of Fort Miami, in September; but only to remain long enough to recuperate from the effects of "a deadly disease" which had attacked him while on the Mississippi. He did not attempt to make the journey to Quebec, as he was in no condition to endure the hardships incident thereto, though it would have been for his interest to have done so. But later in the fall, finding himself much improved in health, he started again for the Illinois Country to rejoin Tonty.

FORT ST. LOUIS

By the 2nd of December, 1682, La Salle was back once more on the St. Joseph river and later in the month had arrived at Ft. Crevecoeur. La Salle and Tonty now determined to establish their fort and settlement at the Rock of St. Louis, and early in January of 1683, they began the work of fortifying its summit. Palisades and redoubts were constructed, with dwellings and storehouses within the enclosure at the summit. In March the work was completed and the royal ensign of France was unfurled above the walls of Fort St. Louis.

[17] Parkman, pp. 276-288.

Owing to a change in the governorship, by which La Barre had succeeded Frontenac, La Salle's improved prospects had become clouded again. La Barre commissioned an officer to proceed to the Illinois and relieve La Salle, and take possession of the fort which the latter had after so many years of titanic effort built and occupied. This officer was Olivier Morel de La Durantaye, who had been a captain in one of the "crack regiments" of France. His commission recited that he had been selected because he was a man of experience, worth and approved wisdom. During the succeeding spring and summer La Salle had gathered around him four thousand or more Miami and Illinois Indians to oppose the advance of another Iroquois invading force. The Miamis had retired from their usual dwelling places near the St. Joseph river, had coasted along the southern shore of Lake Michigan and swarmed over the Chicago and Desplaines portage on their way to the Illinois river fortress. La Salle himself came up to Chicago from the Illinois and for a time inhabited a log house enclosed by a little stockade. "This was the first known structure of anything like a permanent character upon the site of Chicago, and the first habitation of white men there since Marquette's encampment in the winter of 1674." From here La Salle forwarded a letter to the Governor dated, "Du portage de Chicagou, 4 Juin, 1683," which is, as Mason says, "probably the first document wholly written at that place, and comes next in point of time to that portion of Marquette's journal actually indited there."

LA SALLE AT CHICAGO

La Salle's previous visit to the Chicago portage was made in mid-winter, when one could not easily determine the character of the region. On this occasion he came in the early summer, and doubtless then prepared or obtained the facts for his description of the place, probably written later in 1683. He says: "The portage de Checagou is an isthmus of land at forty-one degrees and fifty minutes north latitude[18] to the west of the lake of the Illinois, which is reached by a channel formed by the meeting of many rivulets or rainfalls of the prairie. It is navigable about two leagues to the border of the prairie a quarter of a league westward. There, there is a little lake divided into two by a beaver dam about a league and a half in length, whence there flows a little stream which, after meandering half a league among the rushes, falls into the river Checagou, and by it into the river Illinois. This lake, when filled by the great rains of summer or the floods of spring, flows into the channel leading to the lake of the Illinois, the surface of which is seven feet lower than the prairie in which the former lake lies. The river Checagou does the same in the spring when its channel is full; it discharges by this little lake a part of its waters into the lake of the Illinois. And at this time, which would be the summer, Joliet says that a little canal a quarter of a league long from this lake to the basin which leads to the lake of the Illinois, would enable barks to enter the Checagou and descend to the sea. That perhaps might happen in the spring, but not in summer, because there is then no water in the river as far as Fort St. Louis, where the navigation of the Illinois commences in summer time and thence is good as far as the sea. It is true, there

[18] The official determination of the latitude is 41 degrees, 53 minutes.

is besides a difficulty that this ditch would not be able to remedy, which is that the lake of the Illinois always forms a bank of sand at the entrance of the channel leading from it. And I greatly doubt, whatever any one says, whether this could be swept away or scattered by the force of the current of the Checagou, if made to flow there, since much stronger ones in the same lake have not been able to do it. Furthermore, the utility of it would be small, since I doubt whether, when all was completed, a vessel would be able to ascend against the great flood which the currents cause in the Checagou in the spring, much more violent than those of the Rhone. Then it would be for only a little time, and at most for only fifteen to twenty days a year, after which there would be no more water. What confirms me besides in the opinion that the Checagou would not be able to keep the mouth of the channel clear, is that the lake is full of ice which blocks the navigable openings at the time in question, and when the ice is melted, there is not water enough in the Checagou to prevent the sand from stopping up the channel. Indeed I would not have mentioned this matter, if Joliet had not proposed it, without having sufficiently guarded against the difficulties." The channel first spoken of is the present Chicago river, the little lake is Mud Lake, since drained away, and the then Checagou is now the Des Plaines, whose spring floods rushing through the Chicago river to Lake Michigan are but a thing of yesterday, while the sand bar at the junction of river and lake is not yet forgotten. In every particular the description coincides so exactly with the existing or former characteristics of the place that it alone determines the location of the Chicago portage within the limits of the present city of the name, beyond the shadow of a doubt.

LA SALLE AT FRENCH COURT APPEALS FOR AID

La Salle's letter of April 2d, 1683, to the Governor [19] was a protest against the treatment he was receiving at his hands. Tonty, who had remained at Fort St. Louis ("Starved Rock"), was obliged to send word to his chief while he was still at the Chicago portage that it was necessary for him to return to the Illinois in order to defend the fort against a threatened attack from the Iroquois, which he did. But Durantaye was on the way with the Governor's commission in his pocket, while La Salle, finding no urgent need of his presence at the fort, started on a journey to Quebec, intending to proceed to France and make an appeal in person to the King. On his way he met the advance guard of Durantaye's party in charge of De Baugy, his deputy. This young officer read the Governor's orders, and thus La Salle found himself superseded. De Baugy passed on to the fort, where his authority was acknowledged by Tonty, and La Salle continued his route to the Chicago portage, which he reached by the first of September. On that day he wrote another letter, dated "at Checagou," to the people at the fort, advising them to obey the new authorities, follow Tonty's council, and wait patiently for his own return. This was La Salle's "farewell to the region in which he had toiled and suffered, hoped and sorrowed in the cause of civilization in the west, of which he was the pioneer. As he pursued the long and weary way which led to the settlements on the St. Lawrence, the beautiful land of the Illinois must

[19] The original letter is in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society, and has never been published.

have been often in his thoughts. He never failed to sound its praises in all that he wrote thereafter. And it held a most important place in his future plans, which always contemplated his return thither. But fate was adverse, and he never saw it more."

Durantaye himself did not arrive at the fort on the Illinois, until May of the following year, and when he did at length do so, Tonty surrendered his charge and set out for Quebec, which he reached some time in September, 1684, after an absence of six years. Meantime, La Salle had sailed for France, where as soon as the King heard his story he reversed La Barre's action, and "issued a new commission to La Salle as commandant of the whole region from Fort St. Louis on the river of the Illinois" to Mexico. For Tonty, he ordered to be sent to him the well-deserved commission of a captain in the French army, and the appointment of Governor of Fort St. Louis. By June, 1685, Tonty was back at the fort and was warmly greeted by the little garrison there. De Baugy and his party then quitted the fort, thus passing out of our history.

La Salle's plans were now to obtain ships and go to the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, and thus open a water route to his proposed settlement on the Illinois. He meant to establish "a colony of French and Indians to answer the double purpose of a bulwark against the Iroquois, and a place of storage for the furs of all the western tribes." [20] Having secured four vessels from the King with which to reach the Mississippi by way of the Gulf of Mexico, he embarked with a large force with the intention of establishing a colony at the mouth of the river as well as in the Illinois Country.

During the autumn of 1685 reports reached Tonty at Fort St. Louis that La Salle would attempt to join him by way of the Gulf and the Mississippi, but having received no official notice he determined to go to Mackinac and learn the truth of the reports.

TONTY FINDS A FORT BUILT AT CHICAGO

Arriving at Mackinac he was rejoiced to hear that La Barre had been superseded by the Marquis of Denonville as Governor of New France, and he also learned definitely of La Salle's expedition to the Gulf of Mexico. The faithful lieutenant at once resolved to go with a party down the river to meet his chief, to whom he felt he owed his first duty. He left Mackinac November 30th, 1685, but as they skirted the western shore of the lake, his party encountered floating ice in such quantities that they were obliged to abandon their canoe and make their way along the shore, which they traversed on foot, suffering greatly from want of provisions and the severe weather, until they at length arrived at Chicago. Here they found a fort, a new structure, apparently built during the previous summer. A map, known as Franquelin's map of 1684, however, shows no fort at Chicago, although it indicates the location of an Indian village there; the fort which Tonty found had apparently been built in the interest of parties hostile to La Salle; for when Fort St. Louis was restored to the latter by the King's command, the royal commission was construed to mean that La Salle's jurisdiction no longer extended to Lake Michigan. The Chicago river, being one of

[20] Parkman, p. 292.

the natural routes to the interior, had been selected as the headquarters of the interests hostile to La Salle's settlement on the Illinois; and a fort had been constructed which seems to have occupied a different position from that of La Salle's stockade of 1683. Mason thinks that it was probably located at the junction of the two branches of the Chicago river, and further says, "this structure or a successor upon the same site was doubtless that referred to more than a hundred years later in Wayne's treaty (Treaty of Greenville, 1795) with the Northwestern Indians, which identifies the Chicago river as the place *where a fort formerly stood.*" Durantaye, now shorn of his authority over the Illinois river, was placed in command there, and this "was the beginning of civilized government where the western metropolis now stands. The name of Olivier Morel, Sieur de La Durantaye, should be remembered in this connection as that of a brave and able officer who was the first commandant at Chicago."

LA SALLE APPROACHES MISSISSIPPI RIVER BY SEA

Returning to La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi, the four ships, two of which were men-of-war, sailed from Rochelle, France, on the 24th of July, 1684.[21] A hundred soldiers were enrolled, and besides these there were thirty volunteers, including gentlemen and burghers of condition, five priests, "as well as a number of girls lured by the prospect of almost certain matrimony." For La Salle's plans not only included colonization and missionary work among the savages; he also intended to make an attack on the Spaniards in Mexico.

Joutel, a fellow townsman of La Salle, a veteran officer of the French army, was a volunteer in this expedition and became its historian,—characterized by Parkman as "an honest and intelligent man." Matters went badly, for the reason, mainly, that La Salle did not certainly know where the mouth of the Mississippi was, as his previous observations had been taken for latitude but not for longitude. The fleet passed about four hundred miles beyond it; and at last, the ships becoming scattered, La Salle with his party of colonists and soldiers landed to search for the "fatal river," as Joutel calls it in his history. Two of the ships were wrecked and the others returned to France. The rest of the story is told by Joutel, who remained with him to the last.

DEATH OF LA SALLE

A fort was built near the shores of the Gulf, and from this as a base La Salle made excursions in different directions to find the Mississippi, but his efforts were unavailing. The river could not be found. At last he told off a party of men with which he started to reach the Illinois Country overland. In the party he left behind were all the women who had thus far survived the terrible hardships, to the number of seven, besides several children among the families of the colonists. While still on the march northward one of the men, believing that La Salle would never able to reach his destination, shot him from ambush, killing him instantly.[22]

"Thus in the vigor of manhood," says Parkman, "at the age of forty-three, died

[21] Ibid., pp. 331-351.
[22] Parkman, p. 406.

From Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. IV

THE MURDER OF LA SALLE

Robert Cavelier de La Salle," after more than twenty years of travel, discovery and exploration in the great and unknown west; "without question one of the most remarkable explorers whose names live in history."

TONTY'S SEARCH FOR LA SALLE

Tonty, meantime, in pursuance of his intention to meet La Salle, whom he expected to come to the Illinois by way of the Mississippi, left his station at Fort St. Louis and went down to meet him. He [23] reached the mouth of the river and examined the shores of the Gulf a long distance in both directions without finding the least trace of him or his ships. Returning, he stopped at the mouth of the Arkansas, where he left a small party to look out for La Salle if he should be seen ascending the Mississippi, while he himself went back to the Illinois. So faithful was the watch kept by this party that they remained a year on this forlorn lookout station. At last the wretched survivors, reduced to six persons, now in charge of Joutel, appeared in the forest on the opposite shore of the Arkansas where Tonty's followers had established themselves, and beheld the wooden cross and cabin which had been erected there.

Their wants were quickly relieved and soon after the united party began the ascent of the Mississippi, and on the 14th of September, 1687, they reached the cliff on the Illinois crowned with the palisades of Fort St. Louis, and were welcomed by Tonty himself. It was not until October of the following year that Joutel and his party reached France. Joutel made it his first business to see that the party of colonists left behind on the shores of the Gulf were rescued, but his efforts met with failure. It had been his hope that the King would send a ship to the relief of the wretched band, but Louis XIV hardened his heart and left them to their fate.

In 1689 the viceroy of Mexico, having heard of the presence of the French on the shores of the Gulf, sent a force to search for the colonists. On arriving at the spot where La Salle had erected his fort the Spanish found it deserted. The palisades were broken down; arms, implements and articles of every description scattered about in confusion. "Here, too, trampled in mud and soaked with rain, they saw more than two hundred books, many of which still retained the traces of costly bindings." Not a living soul except some sullen looking savages was to be seen. At last they heard that there were some survivors among the tribes of the vicinity and succeeded in finding some six or seven of them living. Of these only one was a woman, all the other women and girls who had come out with the party of colonists having perished. The Spanish procured their release and carried them back to Mexico, whence they eventually reached Europe.

Thus ended the wild and mournful story of La Salle's attempt to colonize the lower Mississippi. Of all his "toil and sacrifice no fruit remained but a great geographical discovery, and a grand type of incarnate energy and will. Where La Salle had ploughed, others were to sow the seed; and on the path which the undespairing Norman had hewn out, the Canadian D'Iberville was to win for France a vast though a transient dominion." [24]

[23] Ibid., pp. 428-446.
[24] Parkman: "La Salle," p. 446.

In 1690 Tonty returned to Fort St. Louis from an expedition of investigation down the Mississippi, in which he sought information about the survivors of La Salle's last trip to the mouth of the river. There, on the plain at the foot of Fort St. Louis he had gathered an immense encampment of twenty thousand Indians, which included tribes hitherto hostile to each other. The purpose of this was for mutual protection against the Iroquois and against the encroachments of the English in extending their fur trade into the western territory. For ten years Tonty ruled these Indians with masterly tact, and so delayed the coming of the Iroquois and the conquest of the English. He alone realized the importance of this territory to the French crown, which, however, was strangely indifferent to his efforts in enlisting its interest for further establishment and conquest. In 1702 a royal decree ordered the fort to be abandoned,[25] and Tonty, disappointed by the French but loyal to them, left the beautiful rock overlooking miles of Illinois Country which was so dear to him, and went to joint some French colonists who had come with D'Iberville to settle in Louisiana. There he was living in 1704, when the settlement was almost completely destroyed by a plague of yellow fever. While attending to the sick and burying the dead, Tonty himself became a victim. The loyalty of Tonty to La Salle, his tact and ability and his zeal equal to that of La Salle, whose enterprise this was, make him a romantic figure, as charming as he was courageous.[26]

THE WORK OF THE HISTORIANS OF THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

Since the appearance in 1869 of Francis Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," this work has held the first place as authority for the period covered by its title. Some years afterward M. Pierre Margry, director of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, printed a collection of documents especially relating to La Salle, which he had for many years been gathering. Parkman had been aware of the existence of these documents in the French archives, but had found them inaccessible when he was writing his history. On their appearance he immediately set about a thorough revision of his work with the help of this new material, at the same time changing the title to conform to the increased prominence which the great explorer had acquired in the narrative. This revised history was issued in 1878, under the title of "La Salle, and the Discovery of the Great West."

"The most distinctive quality of Parkman's narratives," says Professor Bourne, of Yale, "is picturesqueness. The action is set in a scene artistically reproduced from the author's careful observation. Knowing his human agents from personal study of the type, as well as of their literary memorials, sensitive to all the varied aspects of nature, and familiar with each locality, he visualizes the whole action with extraordinary vividness. It passes his eyes like a panorama. The natural scene plays no such part in the work of any other historical writer, and the search for such exquisite pictures of wild nature in America as abound in his pages would not be an easy one, even in our voluminous literature of outdoor life and nature study." [27]

[25] Parkman's "La Salle," (11th Ed.), p. 441.
[26] See Henry E. Legler's "Henry de Tonty," in Parkman Club Papers.
[27] Bourne's Historical Studies.

The value of Parkman's work to one writing on the early history of the West can well be imagined, and the present writer freely acknowledges his obligations to that brilliant historian in this work. Since Parkman wrote, however, another historian has appeared whose work claims our profound respect and admiration. Edward Gay Mason, well known as a resident of Chicago, and president of the Chicago Historical Society at the time of his death, made the period now occupying our attention the subject of a most painstaking chapter, entitled "The Land of the Illinois." He had intended, in his lifetime, to write a complete history of Illinois, and, had it been possible for him to have carried out his intention, this chapter would have formed a part of the history. "The Land of the Illinois" was written in 1896, and, with some other papers, was published in 1901 under the title of "Chapters From Illinois History." Mason carefully studied the Margry papers in the original French and made extensive use of the valuable material contained in them. A wide range of authorities, both English and French, was also consulted by him in the preparation of his treatise, making his work one of the most useful and entertaining productions of recent years. While there are many whose works have been consulted by the writer of this history, none has inspired greater confidence in its accuracy and reliability than the work of Mason.

THE FIVE NATIONS

The Iroquois Indians, so often spoken of in all histories of the West in early times, had their habitation in the central part of New York state. The name Iroquois was a general term for the confederacy known as the Five Nations. This confederacy or league was the work of genius, and it possessed one of the highest forms of government, next to the Aztecs, found on this continent by the discoverers. "In its conception, in its details, and in its execution," says Dellenbaugh, "it was one of the most extraordinary primitive governments" of which we have any record. "From a comparatively weak people, it placed the Iroquois, though they were far inferior in numbers to surrounding tribes, in a commanding position, and enabled them to extend their sway over a vast territory. They made no attempt to hold the region that was subject to their devastation, but probably, had not the European appeared on the scene, they would have gradually expanded until their villages covered many times the area which they specifically claimed when our people first came. An increase of population which would have overtaxed the game supply would have pushed the development of their agriculture and forced the confederacy to move along higher and broader lines. One great drawback to Indian progress, internecine wars, was entirely obliterated by the masterly organization of the Iroquois league, while at the same time they gained by their union a strength for offense and defense that, together with their fertile and well-watered domain, rendered their organization impregnable. . . . It only remained for these Indians to discover the secrets of smelting and forging, and they were apparently on the brink of these discoveries, to step into a foremost place of development and progress."

To this quotation from Dellenbaugh's "North Americans of Yesterday," may be added the following from Mrs. Van Rensselaer's recently issued "History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century:"

"As the early French missionaries at once perceived, they [the Iroquois] were the most ferocious, ambitious and intelligent of the aborigines; and their station gave them full chance to profit by their energies. Commanding important routes from east to west and from north to south. . . . They sent their war parties so widely and so successfully afield that they ruled or intimidated the other tribes from Maine to the Mississippi, and southward to the Savannah and the Tennessee. Yet even in the days of their greatest strength and power, during the first half of the seventeenth century, when they had procured firearms from the white men, they numbered not more than four thousand warriors, twenty thousand souls in all. Twice as many of their descendants, it has been computed, now survive in and near the State of New York."

THE TRIBE OF ILLINOIS INDIANS

The Illinois Indians, from whom our state takes its name, were a numerous tribe, and were first met with by Father Allouez on Lake Superior about 1665, where they had been attracted for the purpose of trading[28] and to take part in a council to which the French had invited several tribes. As we have seen, Joliet and Marquette again met them while descending the Mississippi on their voyage of discovery in 1673, and their relations with the French were uniformly of a friendly character. They were domiciled mainly along the Illinois river, and "they seem to have had entire control of all the northeastern portion of Illinois as far back as any record can be found." Mr. Frank R. Grover, in an address before the Evanston Historical Society in 1901, said: "The Chicago portage seems to have been a frequent and popular rendezvous [of the Illinois Indians], and they were so identified with this locality that Lake Michigan was generally known to the early explorers as the 'Lake of the Illinois.'" "The Illinois," says the same authority, "were a kindly people; hospitable, affable and humane. . . . They lived by hunting and tilling the soil, raising great crops of Indian corn and storing away a surplus for future use; they were great travelers by land, but, unlike most northern Indian tribes, used canoes but little. They had permanent dwellings as well as portable lodges; they roamed many months of the year among the prairies and forests of their great country, to return again and join in the feasts and merry-making, when their whole population gathered in the villages."

In September, 1680, soon after La Salle and Tonty reached the Illinois Country, the Iroquois attacked the Illinois, and, says Caton, "with a great slaughter they defeated this hitherto invincible people, laid waste their great city, and scattered them in broken bands over their wide domain." The sequel of their tragic fate is related by Grover, as follows: "During the succeeding century the Illinois, broken in spirit, their courage gone, decimated by drink and disease and scattered by their enemies, struggled with waning fortunes, ending their existence in the historic tragedy of Starved Rock, about the year 1770, from which but eleven of their number escaped. An Indian boy, a Pottawattomie, saw the last remnant of this once proud and powerful nation, brave warriors, their women and little children, huddled together upon the half acre of ground that crowns the summit of Starved Rock; saw the fierce and warlike Pottawattomies and Ottawas swarm for

[28] H. W. Beckwith: Illinois and Indiana Indians, p. 100.

From Blanchard's "The Northwest and Chicago"

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST

From Northern Indiana Historical Society, I, page 10
Courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

LOCATION OF ST. JOSEPH-KANKAKEE PORTAGE

days around them; and perform by torture of siege and starvation what they could not do by force of arms. When the little stock of food was gone and despair drove the Illinois to make the last brave dash for liberty in the darkness of the stormy night, he heard the yells and clash of the fighting warriors and the dying shrieks of the helpless women and children. Years afterwards, when this Indian lad, Meachelle, had grown to be the principal chief of the Pottawattomies, he related these incidents to Judge Caton, who embodied them in his well-known historical sketch, 'The Last of the Illinois.'"

Besides the tribes above mentioned, other tribes from time to time occupied parts of Illinois, among them the Miamis, Winnebagoes, Pottawattomies, Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos. Still other bands of less prominence are met with in the histories of the aboriginal inhabitants of this region, a full account of which can be found in the late Judge Hiram W. Beckwith's historical sketch published in the Fergus Series. Mr. Frank R. Grover, of Evanston, has also written fully on this subject in a valuable pamphlet entitled "Our Indian Predecessors." In the opening paragraph of this treatise the author says: "Since the discovery of this continent the North American Indian has ever been the subject of constant study, discussion and contention. His origin, his traditions, his character, his manners and customs, his superstitions, his eloquence, the wars in which he was engaged, his tribal relations, his certain destiny, the wrongs he has done and those he has suffered, have for four centuries been favorite themes for the historian, the poet, the philanthropist, the ethnologist. And yet, with all the countless books that have been written upon the subject, there is still room for inquiry, for speculation, for historical research."

CHAPTER III

CHICAGO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ORIGIN OF NAME CHICAGO—DISPUTED SOURCES—ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS ABOUT CHICAGO—CHICAGO PORTAGE FALLS INTO DISUSE—CAUSES OF DISUSE—BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY OVER WESTERN COUNTRY—AMERICAN CONTROL OF NORTHWEST—GEORGE ROGERS CLARK—NORTHWEST TERRITORY FORMALLY ORGANIZED—ORDINANCE OF 1787—TREATY OF GREENVILLE—"SIX MILE SQUARE" TRACT—THE BATTLE OF SOUTH CHICAGO—THE SPANISH IN ILLINOIS—EARLY SETTLERS—ABOUT MAPS—AMERICAN ABORIGINES—INDIAN TRAITS—SUMMARY.

THE name Chicago appears in many forms of spelling in old records and maps. It was a name borne by the river as we know it, by the portage between the Chicago and Desplaines rivers, and by Indians of the Illinois tribe at different periods. The first mention of the name seems to have been in Marquette's journal of his second voyage, under the date of November 1, 1674, where he speaks of an Illinois Indian whom he met on the Sturgeon Bay portage by the name of *Chachagouessiou,* a man "greatly esteemed among his nation."[1] Mason considers it probable that the name mentioned by Marquette is identical with the name Chicago.[2] The name is applied by Hennepin, in his "New Discovery," to the fort built by La Salle near where Peoria now stands. He entitles Chapter XXXIV in his book, "An Account of the building of a new fort on the river of the Illinois, named by the savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecoeur."[3] It does not appear, however, that the name was used in this connection at any time afterwards, as we find no mention of it except in Hennepin's account.

In some of the various forms of spelling the name Chicago was applied to both the river and the locality by the savages when the French first came. Indeed the name was very loosely applied by the early chroniclers and map makers, sometimes to the Desplaines, sometimes to the Illinois, and even to the Mississippi.[4] La Salle was clearly aware that the name Checagou, as he spelled it, belonged to the river and portage. This is shown in his letter quoted in the previous chapter, in which he uses the name repeatedly. The meaning of the name in the language of the Indians was *wild onion,* a plant found in great quantities near the banks of the river.[5] In the early harvest time one may see the prairies about the Chicago

[1] "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 167.
[2] Mason's "Land of the Illinois," p. 32.
[3] "A New Discovery," Hennepin, p. 170.
[4] Hurlbut "Chicago Antiquities," p. 121.
[5] J. F. Steward: "Lost Maramech," p. 355.

From Kirkland's "Story of Chicago," Vol. I

WILD ONION PLANT

The Indian name for the wild onion plant is Chi-ca-gou, from which word the name of the city of Chicago probably comes.

and Desplaines rivers covered with the blossoming plants (of the wild onion) having a pale pink hue. There are those who think the word in the Algonquin language—that used by our Illinois Indians—was the name of the small quadruped scientifically known as *Mephitis Americana,* or in less elegant and cryptic parlance, skunk. The Indian word for the latter, however, was identical with that for the wild onion; a circumstance possibly explained by the assault of each upon the olfactories; though in the early records when the name is met with in formal descriptions, such as deeds from the Indians, reports of officials, and treaties, it is often with an explanatory addition, as, for example; Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinac in 1695, in making a report to the governor of Canada on the territory under his control, refers to Chicago, which signifies, he says, "river of the onion."

A deed given by various tribes to one William Murray, of an extensive tract of Illinois lands, describes the boundaries in part as follows: "then up the Illinois river, by the several courses thereof, to Chicagou, or Garlick Creek.[6] Col. A. S. Storrow, of the United States Army, made a report in 1817, in which he refers to "the river Chicago," or in English, "Wild Onion river."[7] La Salle, writing in 1683, said in reference to the portage called Chicagou, "the land there produces naturally a quantity of roots good to eat, as wild onions." As to whether the word Chicago, in the original Indian form, possesses one or the other of the two meanings spoken of, should be decided according to the understanding of those whose words we have quoted above. "It is noticed," says Haines, "that all who contend that the word Chicago, as applied to the river and city of that name," has either of the meanings mentioned, "derive their convictions on the subject from the mere coincidence of sounds." It hardly seems necessary to look for a more satisfactory derivation of the name than that indicated above.

Another derivation that has been claimed for the word Chicago still remains to be noticed. Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau-Bun," says that the Indians "all agree that the place received its name from an old chief, who was drowned in the stream in former times," which, she says, "must have occurred in a very remote period." There is no sufficient evidence, however, that such was the case. The late Henry H. Hurlbut, writing to the Chicago Tribune in 1879 (published in the issue of August 15), comments on this passage from "Wau-Bun," as follows: "This is a pretty story enough; yet Indian gossip, called tradition, is rather a feeble staff to lean upon, particularly where it reaches back centuries." There is also the name, among other Indians of less prominence, of Chicagou, the Illinois chief, who, in company with some other Indians, visited Paris in 1725, and was distinguished by a presentation to the India Company.[8] He was named in all probability long after the Chicago river and portage were known, and, if it was not merely a coincidence, the name given to the chief was more likely derived from the river and locality near which his tribe had their habitations, than vice versa; and hence it cannot be maintained consistently that the name had any such origin as that from the Indian chief.

"Chicago is the oldest Indian town in the west of which the original name is re-

[6] Hurlbut, p. 274.
[7] Stennett: "Origin of Place Names," p. 55.
[8] Shea's "Charlevoix," v. VI, p. 76.

tained."[9] The great variety of forms in which the name was spelled before it settled into the present usage is shown by Dr. Stennett in a "few samples," as he humorously calls them, in his valuable book entitled, "Origin of Place Names on the North-Western Railway," naming a score or more of uncouth combinations. President John Quincy Adams once said that during his administration no two government officers, writing from Chicago, ever spelled the name the same way.[10] But the form in which the name is most frequently met with, before the year 1800, is with the ending *ou*, or with the character generally used by the old French chroniclers and map-makers as an abbreviation for those two letters. This character is somewhat puzzling to those who only occasionally encounter it, and is in the form of a figure 8 open at the top. For example, on Marquette's map a tribe of Indians, which the composer has located somewhat to the south of Lake Michigan, is indicated by the name Cha8anon (that is, Shawanoes), and to the west of the Mississippi a tribe bearing the name of Pe8area (Peorias); which to one unacquainted with the significance of the character renders it unpronounceable. It is explained in a note by J. G. Shea, on St. Cosme's "Voyage down the Mississippi," as follows: "The names in this memoir have suffered greatly in transcription, and the copyist seems to have been especially bothered by the 8, which he replaces by a double v, or w, and sometimes by r and k. As a vowel it corresponds to the English double O (French *ou*), as a consonant to W." This character often stood at the end of the name Chicago, being used in place of the final letter as we write it.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

In 1696, Father Francois Pinet, a Jesuit missionary, founded a mission which he called the "Mission of the Guardian Angel" at or near the Chicago portage, in order to work among the Miami bands located there.[11] But this mission was broken up in the following year through Frontenac's hostility to Jesuit activity. It was, however, resumed a year later, and continued until 1699, when it was finally abandoned.

Father Pinet's "Chicago Mission," as it was called, is frequently referred to by St. Cosme in his letter given by Shea in his "Early Mississippi Voyages." Mr. Frank R. Grover, who has made a careful study of the history of this mission, locates it in the neighborhood of the present village of Gross Point, one mile west of Wilmette, on the borders of a small body of water. This small lake has since become a marsh known at the present time as the "Skokie." The marsh is the headwaters of the North Branch of the Chicago river. Here St. Cosme's party in eight heavily loaded canoes, with the ever-faithful Tonty as protector and guide, visited Father Pinet and his associates, Father Bineteau, late in the season of 1698, at their house "built on the banks of the small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other."[12] This interesting fact was made the subject of a lecture by Mr. Grover before a joint meeting of the Chicago Historical

[9] Larned: "Literature of American Hsitory," Article 1761.
[10] Hurlbut, p. 442.
[11] "Jesuit Relations," 64, 278.
[12] Shea: "Early Voyages on the Mississippi," p. 53.

Society and the Evanston Historical Society, on November 27, 1906, and is published in the proceedings of the former society.[13]

DECLINE OF THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

After the abandonment of Pinet's "Mission of the Guardian Angel" in 1699, there seems to have been no further activity on the part of the French for some years in the vicinity of the Chicago portage. The French, having lowered their flag on Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) in 1702, retired to the settlements on the Mississippi where they had become established at Cahokia and Kaskaskia.[14] Communication having been opened between the Illinois Country and the lower Mississippi,[15] the long and dangerous route from the St. Lawrence by way of the Chicago portage fell into disuse. However, in 1718, one Logan was sent by the governor of Pennsylvania to spy out the route of French trade in the western country,[16] and he reported that there was a fort at the mouth of the Chicago river called Fort Miamis, occupied by a French force. This report seems to have been the basis of a "representation" made by the English Lords of Trade to the King in 1721,[17] in which it is again mentioned by the name of Fort Miamis. About this time "the fort was probably entirely abandoned."[18]

Indian troubles still further contributed to the decline of the Chicago portage as an avenue of approach from the St. Lawrence to the Illinois Country. Frequent wars among the tribes made the neighborhood dangerous,[19] though the French, at length, assisted by Indian allies, endeavored to maintain order in the region.[20] The siege of Maramech, near the present town of Plano, where three hundred Indians of the Fox Tribe were killed in 1730, was expected to accomplish this result, for the French commander after the battle reported that this hostile Indian nation had been "humiliated to such an extent that they will no more trouble the earth." (The spot is marked by a massive boulder with an inscription placed there by Mr. John F. Steward, the author of an interesting and valuable book, entitled "Lost Maramech.") The Indians, however, became troublesome again, and the Chicago portage was practically a forsaken spot for several decades thereafter.

It may here be remarked in passing that the long series of the wars of the Foxes extending over nearly sixty years, of which this massacre was an episode, aided materially in bringing about the final downfall of the French power. The Fox wars proved to be the "entering wedge of ruin for the French dominion in America," says Hebberd in his work, "French Dominion in Wisconsin." In a paper published in the "Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1907," Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, a well informed writer, says: "The obstinate resistance of this one barbarous tribe in the forests of Wisconsin changed French policy in the Western Country, weakened French dominion over her savage allies,

[13] Chicago Historical Society Report, 1906, p. 155.
[14] Reynolds: "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 40.
[15] Shea: "Catholic Missions," p. 420.
[16] Carl Dilg in "Daily News," June 13, 1901.
[17] N. Y. Colonial Documents, V, 621.
[18] Andreas, I, 79.
[19] Andreas, I, 69; N. Y. Colonial Documents IX, 890.
[20] Steward, p. 235.

and set in motion forces that gave the rivers and prairies of the Great West to the English speaking race."

For a century or more after La Salle's last visit to the Chicago portage the center of interest in the western country was at the settlements on the Mississippi. The French established themselves near its mouth, and trade routes sought its channel, as the natural route for Illinois commerce was down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Later in the eighteenth century emigration began to flow towards these settlements from Virginia and Kentucky by way of the Ohio. The Indians of the Illinois country were kept in a turmoil by reason of the evil activities of the Iroquois, those scourges of the wilderness.

As there were several portages available as routes of travel for the trade that was carried on directly between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, one or the other would be chosen with regard to their safety from molestation by the savages, as well as conditions of navigation. The route by way of the Chicago portage was the shortest, but, in stages of low water, the Desplaines was a difficult stream for loaded canoes, as its flood was shallow and there were many rapids in its course. Thus the St. Joseph and Kankakee route, though considerably longer, was often preferred because of the greater facility of navigating those rivers.

CHANGE OF SOVEREIGNTY

The seven years' war between the English and French having terminated by the fall of Quebec, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1763, which "left France without a foothold on the American main." [21] By the terms of the treaty Great Britain "acknowledged a limit to the western extension of her seaboard colonies, by accepting the Mississippi river as the boundary of her western possession." This boundary, however, was disregarded by the colonies "with their impracticable sea-to-sea charters," [22] and "when the King's proclamation followed, and the colonies found themselves confined to the sea-ward slope of the Appalachians, their western extension made crown territory to be given over to the uses of the Indians, and all attempts to occupy it forbidden,—there were signs of discontent," [23] which, added to the irritation of the colonists over the Stamp Act, created a feeling of resentment among them which was one of the contributing causes of the Revolutionary War.

During the British occupation a land transaction of great interest to the dwellers in the present city of Chicago took place. The King's proclamation, above referred to, had forbidden all attempts to occupy western lands which were reserved for the uses of the Indians; but, notwithstanding this prohibition, one William Murray, a resident of Kaskaskia, bought a tract of land from the Indians, which included the site of the present city of Chicago. There was a council with the chiefs of several tribes of Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia, and in July, 1773, a

[21] Winsor: "Westward Movement," p. 1.

[22] Franklin wrote in reference to these charters: "that the from 'sea-to-sea' colonies, having boundaries three thousand or four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred in breadth, must in time be reduced to domains more convenient for the common purposes of government."—(Hinsdale's "Old Northwest," p. 111.)

[23] Winsor: "Westward Movement," p. 2.

Chicago Portage.

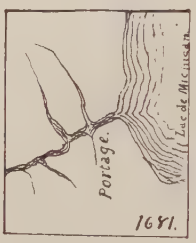
The actual location of the Chicago Portage can be gathered by reference to John Andrew's map of 1782, Hull's map of 1812, the Govt. survey of 1822 and Lowe's map of 1852, fragments of which are here given.

Marquette's journal, La Salle's letters and, in fact, nearly all left by the French travelers, regarding the way from Lake Michigan to the Des Plaines river explain what the maps show.

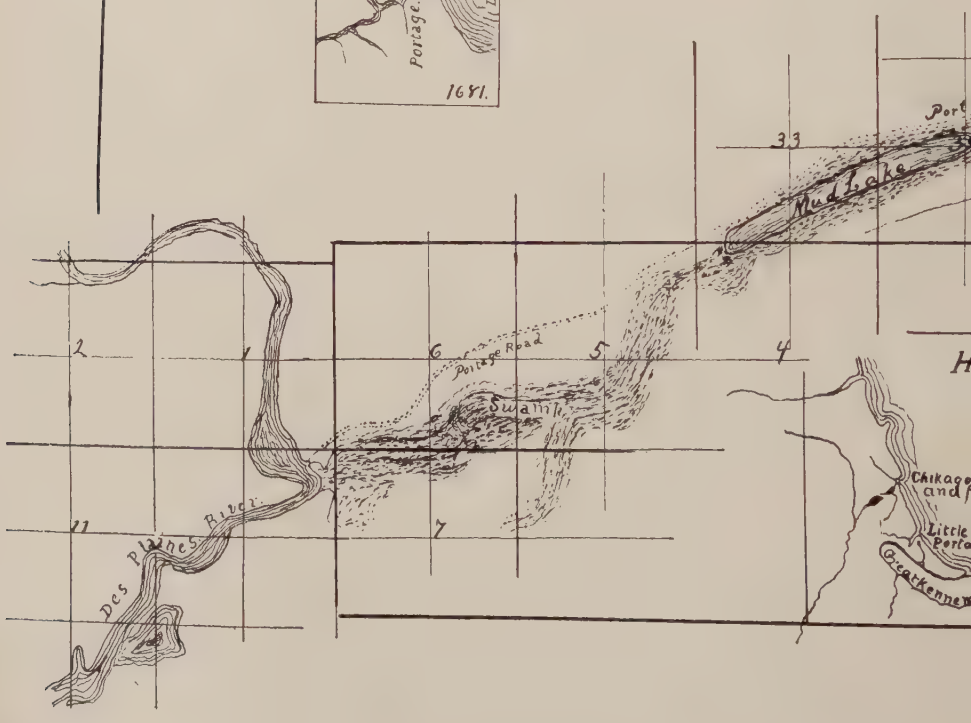
The wintering place of Marquette, 1764-5 was at or near the "Portage House," and the beaver dam, referred to by La Salle, was undoubtedly between Mud Lake and the little lake eastward therefrom.

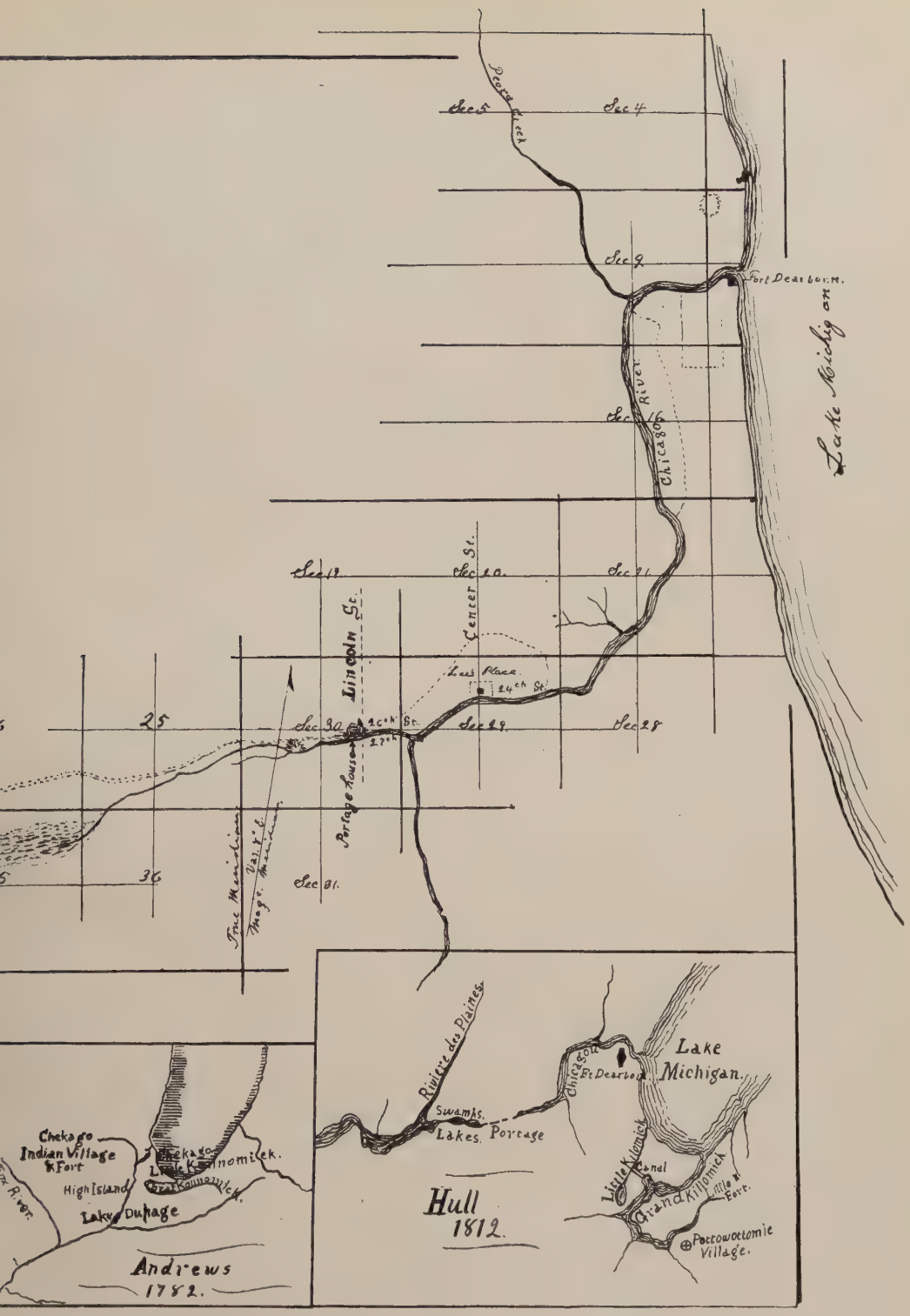
J. R. Steward. 1904

Note... The portage road follows the survey of 1822
The marshes follow that and Lowe's map



This fragment is sketched from one resembling Thevenot's in Ayer's collection.




Peoria Creek
Sec 5
Sec 4
Sec 9
Fort Dearborn
Lake Michigan
Chicago River
Sec 16
Sec 17
Sec 20
Sec 21
Center St.
Lincoln St.
Lewis Place
24th St.
Sec 30
20th St.
27th St.
Sec 29
Sec 28
25
36
Sec 31
Portage Avenue
True Meridian
Magn. Meridian
Chekago Indian Village
Fort
Chekago Lake
Kaumimomilek.
Grand Kaumimomilek.
High Island
Lake Dupage
Fox River
Andrews
1782.
Riviere des Plaines
Swamps.
Lakes. Portage
Chicago
Ft. Dearborn
Lake Michigan.
Little Kinzie
Canal
Grand Kinzie
Little Fort.
Pottowottomie Village.
Hull
1812.

deed was signed by the chiefs present, by which there were conveyed "two tracts of land east of the Mississippi, one of which was north of the Illinois river and extended beyond the present site of Chicago." [24] The consideration for this immense territory was "the sum of five shillings to them in hand paid," and certain goods and merchandise. Murray transferred this property, quite in the spirit of modern financial methods, to a regularly organized company called the "Illinois Land Company." This purchase was made in the presence of the British officers stationed at Kaskaskia, but without their sanction.[25] The deed here spoken of was that in which the phrase "or Garlick Creek" in connection with the word Chicagou was used.

The war of the Revolution coming on soon after, no official confirmation of the title to the lands thus acquired could be procured. In 1791, however, the claims of the company were submitted to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia,[26] coupled with a proposal to convey all the lands to the United States on condition that one-fourth of them should be reconveyed to the company. After prolonged consideration the company's petition was finally dismissed.

ACQUISITION OF NORTHWEST BY AMERICANS

Virginia took the lead in the War of Independence, and it was by means of forces raised and paid for by her that the Northwest was won for the Americans. An act for establishing "the County of Illinois" passed the Virginia legislature December 9, 1778. The new county was to include "the inhabitants of Virginia north of the Ohio river," but its location was not more definitely prescribed. Governor Patrick Henry sent instructions to George Rogers Clark, then in the Illinois Country, to assume command of the troops there and of those later to be sent out. The success of the expeditions of Clark "rendered it easier for the American commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of 1782, to include the ample domain within the American Union.[27]

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

A brief account of the operations of Colonel George Rogers Clark in the southern part of what is now the state of Illinois is appropriate here. Before the Revolutionary war the colony of Virginia claimed jurisdiction over the western territory on both banks of the Ohio river. After the war had been in progress some years the Virginia legislature passed the act establishing the "County of Illinois." That renowned patriot, Patrick Henry, was governor of Virginia at this time, and knowing that the British were in possession of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, the two most important towns of that region, he began to form his plans to invade the country and get possession of these places.

The country south of the Ohio had been for some years in process of settlement, and, prominent among the actors in the numerous conflicts between Indians and whites were Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark. Clark was a young man

[24] Andreas: I, 69.
[25] Boggess: "The Settlement of Illinois," p. 10.
[26] "History of Congress" (1789-1792), p. 431.
[27] Winsor, p. 2.

about twenty-five years of age, six feet in height, stout of frame, possessed of "red hair, and a black, penetrating, sparkling eye." He was courageous and hesitated not at any adventure of a dangerous character in the performance of duty.

Clark realized that so long as British influence was in the ascendant in the country north of the Ohio, the hostility of the savages would keep the feeble settlements in the Kentucky region in a state of turmoil. He started overland for Virginia in August, 1777, to consult with Governor Patrick Henry, and lay before him a plan of capturing the British posts north of the Ohio. He found the governor in sympathy with his plans at once, and authority was given to him by the Virginia legislature whereby he could raise a company for service against the British. He was made a lieutenant-colonel and provided with a sum of money for the expenses of the proposed campaign.

SMALL SIZE OF CLARK'S ARMY

It was May of the following year before he was able to collect a force of one hundred and fifty borderers, from the clearings and hunters' camps of the Alleghany foothills.[28] At the head of this rough lot of backwoodsmen Clark floated down the Ohio, and in June, 1778, was joined by a few volunteers from Kentucky, while passing the "Falls of the Ohio," at the present city of Louisville.

At Fort Massac Colonel Clark landed his force with the intention of striking across the country in the direction of Kaskaskia, a distance of something over two hundred miles in a northwesterly direction. The Indians occasionally met with in that part of the country were mostly in the British interest, and Clark feared that his advance would be reported to the British commandant at Kaskaskia before his own arrival, as he intended to capture the place by surprise. With great caution he pushed through the extensive plains along his route, "much afraid," he says, "of being discovered in these meadows, as we might be seen in many places for several miles."[29]

TOOK KASKASKIA BY SURPRISE

On the evening of the fourth of July the little army of less than two hundred men reached the east bank of the Kaskaskia, where on the opposite side, some three miles above, could be seen the town. Near it was the fort armed with several pieces of cannon, while from the flagstaff floated the British colors; but not a soldier could be seen anywhere about the fort, thus showing that the garrison had no suspicion that an invading force was anywhere in the vicinity.

Remaining under cover until the evening, the Americans advanced along the bank of the river, and presently came to a farm house about a mile from the village. They made the family prisoners and learned from them that Philippe de Rocheblave, a Frenchman in the English service, was in command of the fort, with a force of four or five hundred men, more than double the force of the Americans. The British force consisted of the local militia, mostly formerly French subjects,

[28] Account taken largely from Thwaites' "How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest," pp. 18-62.

[29] Quoted by Thwaites from a letter by Clark.

who greatly feared the "Big Knives," as they called the frontiersmen from Virginia and Kentucky.

Colonel Clark was not only resolute but quick in his decisions, and finding a good supply of boats in which to cross the river, he lost not a moment of time in transferring his little army safely and silently to the opposite bank. Here he divided his force into two parties, one to surround the town which was at a little distance from the fort; the other to accompany their leader and a French guide from the farm house. The latter party made their way under the brow of the river's bank along the edge of the water to the western gate of the fort.

DID NOT FIRE A SHOT

In the narratives of this thrilling adventure, it has often been said that Colonel Clark and his men could hear the sounds of French fiddles and shouts of laughter, while a dance was in progress within the fort; and that even the sentinels had deserted their posts to join the festivities. But the investigations of less imaginative historians have shown that there is no foundation for these tales. What they did do was thrilling enough, for while Clark and his party of about a dozen men were creeping along the river bank behind the fort, they were discovered by the keen-scented dogs, and a great barking was set up. But strange to say this did not disturb the little garrison.

Finding the gate open they entered the fort and pushed on in the direction of Rocheblave's house, which was pointed out by the French guide. Making the unsuspecting governor prisoner, they gave [30] "a loud huzza, answered by the other party," which had now divided into small squads. Yelling like mad, the now united Virginians easily overcame the garrison of Creoles, and "in fifteen minutes," says Clark, they were masters of the place without firing a gun.

This brilliant exploit was of far-reaching importance in the settlement of the question of possession, when the treaty of peace was concluded, four years later, between Great Britain and the United States. The Americans retained possession of the post of Kaskaskia, notwithstanding persevering efforts were made by the British to recapture the place.

DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING VINCENNES

Early in the following year, Colonel Clark set out from Kaskaskia, with a force of his "Big Knives," to reach and capture Vincennes on the Wabash. In order to surprise the place he struck directly across the present state of Illinois during the wintry season, while the country was covered over with wet snow, and in places flooded from the rivers which had overflowed their banks. They reached the "drowned lands" of the Wabash, and beheld before them a wide stretch of submerged country extending many miles. Nothing daunted, the men constructed a large canoe to ferry themselves across the deep places, while in shallower places they waded up to their armpits.

They were now approaching Vincennes, and the men were almost worn out with fatigue and exposure. In the midst of falling rain, they came to the banks of a

[30] Quoted by Thwaites.

stream usually small enough to cross without trouble, but now a raging flood. They had been twelve days on the journey, and on the morning of their approach, after a night without food or fire, they could hear across the waste of waters the sound of the morning gun at Vincennes. Reaching the Wabash, they set about the task of building canoes to make the crossing. Clark, in writing to a friend, said that if he should give the details of their sufferings in crossing those waters, it would be "too incredible for any person to believe except those that are well acquainted with me, as you are, or had experienced something similar to it."

BOLD ATTACK ON THE FORT

At length Clark and his intrepid company learned from a Creole hunter, whom they had made prisoner, that there was not the remotest suspicion of his approach. At the fort Clark resolved upon a daring course. He wrote a letter to the inhabitants of the place that he was about to attack the fort, and that everyone must keep within their houses and they would be well treated. The town being separated by a short distance from the fort, it was possible for the people to hold a hasty meeting to hear the message contained in Clark's letter. They gave no alarm, however, and soon the attacking party was at the walls of the fort pouring in a fusillade of rifle shots to which the garrison responded very ineffectively.

All that night, which was brilliantly lighted by the moon, the firing went on. In the morning Clark paused long enough to refresh his men with a breakfast prepared from the supplies they had obtained since their arrival, and took the opportunity of sending to the commandant a summons to surrender. After some hesitation the British commander agreed to the terms offered by Clark, and the post with all its stores passed into the possession of the Americans.

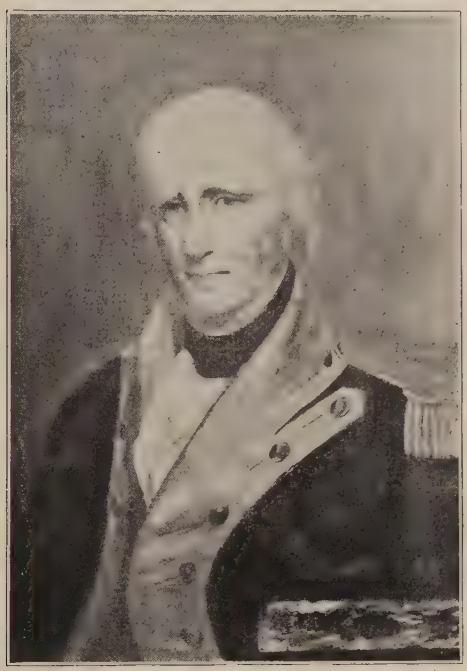
EVENTS NOTABLE IN HISTORY

"The capture of Vincennes," says Thwaites, "was one of the most notable and heroic achievements in American history. Clark had conducted a forced march of about two hundred and thirty miles through almost unheard of difficulties. With a small party of ragged and half-famished militiamen, nearly half of whom were Creoles, he had captured, in the heart of a strange and hostile country, without the aid of his artillery, a heavy stockade mounted by cannons and swivels and manned by a trained garrison. It was a bold scheme, of his own planning, and skilfully carried out. At his back were some of the best fighting men on the border, but with him rests the principal credit."

We are proud of the military achievements of Colonel George Rogers Clark; and proud, too, that one of the principal streets in Chicago is named in his honor. A statue was erected to his memory in Quincy, Illinois, in May, 1909, and a statue ought to be erected in Chicago, thus suitably commemorating one of the heroes of our beloved commonwealth.

WESTERN LANDS CEDED BY VIRGINIA TO GENERAL GOVERNMENT

In 1784 Virginia ceded her western lands to the general government and thus transferred the question of land titles which had become an insoluble problem to



From a copy by Edwards of Jarvis portrait, the copy being in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

By the operations of George Rogers Clark in the southern part of our present state of Illinois, the Americans were able to make an advantageous settlement concerning this territory, in the treaty with England after the Revolutionary war.

her statesmen. This step was as much a tribute to her shrewdness as to her generosity, for while she held jurisdiction over the Illinois Country the difficulties of its government increased, and at last she actually failed to maintain any authority whatever. "The country had been in a state of unconcealed anarchy for more than two years previous to 1784, all semblance of authority having ceased," says Boggess.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

Then followed the organization of the Northwest Territory under the famous "Ordinance of 1787." This ordinance was passed by Congress on July 13th, two months before the Constitution of the United States was adopted. The ordinance of 1787 has been called the "American Magna Charta," because it engrafted upon the organic law of all the states thereafter admitted to the Union the principles of human freedom and equal rights. The Ordinance, which has served as a model for all subsequent American territorial government, provided for freedom of religion, civil rights of the individual, inviolability of contracts, prevention of primogeniture, humane treatment of the Indians, prohibition of slavery in all future times northwest of the Ohio, the encouragement of schools and learning, and that the said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of the American Union.[31]

Under this Ordinance the Northwest Territory was formed, which comprised the territory afterwards divided up into the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin.

"It is not surprising," says Boggess, "that the population of the Illinois Country decreased from 1765 to 1790. During these years British and Americans had attempted to impose upon the French settlers a form of government for which they had neither desire nor aptitude. The attempt to immediately transform a subject people was a signal failure."

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

The following paragraph from the Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago," issued in 1909, is a forceful and appropriate summary of the effects of the famous Ordinance of 1787.

"Chicago is the metropolis of the Middle West, a term applied to the area known a century ago as the Terrtiory Northwest of the Ohio River. No section of the country, except New England, has so distinct a history. Conquered by Virginia troops at the very time when the Colonies were wresting their independence from Great Britain, and held for the United States by the sagacity of Franklin and the pertinacity of John Jay when the treaty of 1783 was negotiated, the Old Northwest was the first territorial acquisition of the new republic. Then, while the British still held the posts and only Indians and fur-traders roamed its forests, the Congress of the Confederation gave to the Northwest Territory, in the Ordinance of 1787, a charter which contained two provisions that during the years of development exercised a unifying force, comparable only to that brought about by the extension

[31] The full text of the Ordinance of 1787 is printed in Greene's "Government of Illinois," page 213.

of Christianity and the civil law during the Middle Ages,—the prohibition of slavery, and the encouragement of free popular education. The continuous struggle to preserve human freedom against all the forces determined to extend slavery to the fertile fields of the new West, and the establishment of schools and colleges supported from a public treasury, brought about common aims and aspirations." [32]

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE

The leading events of the territorial development of the Northwest having thus been traced in the foregoing paragraphs, we may now proceed to the narrative of the military operations which led up to the Treaty of Greenville, by which the Indians ceded to the United States the celebrated "piece of land six miles square" at the mouth of the Chicago river.

The American government made a serious attempt to establish good order and civil institutions in the new and extensive regions which had come under its control after the termination of the British regime. The first efforts of the general government, of which Washington was then at the head, were weak and hesitating.[33] But the aggressions of the Indians finally drove the government to make a resolute attack upon them and bring them to submission. General Arthur St. Clair, then governor of the Northwest Territory, was sent with an army of about three thousand men, which met with a disastrous defeat in November, 1791. The scene of this battle with the Indians was at a point a few miles east from where the present city of Ft. Wayne now stands.

The government organized another expedition in 1794, consisting of about the same number of troops as that of St. Clair's army. General Anthony Wayne was placed in command. He succeeded in totally defeating the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers, and followed his victory by laying waste their villages and fields. "The Indians were utterly downcast over their defeat," says Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West." "The destruction of their crops, homes and stores of provisions was complete, and they were put to sore shifts to live through the winter." General Wayne went into winter quarters at Greenville, a town in the present state of Ohio, and there the chiefs of the hostile tribes sought him out and made proposals for a treaty of peace. They were inclined, however, to prolong the negotiations, until Wayne bluntly told them "that hitherto the Indians had felt only the weight of his little finger, but that he would surely destroy all the tribes in the near future, if they did not make peace." [34]

THE "SIX MILE SQUARE" TRACT

It was not, however, until the following summer was far advanced that the Treaty of Greenville was at length concluded. The date of that important instrument was August 3, 1795. By its terms various tracts were ceded to the United States "as an evidence," to use the language of the treaty, "of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and its de-

[32] Chicago Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago," p. 31.
[33] Roosevelt: "Winning of the West," Vol. IV, pp. 13, 30.
[34] Roosevelt: "Winning of the West," IV, p. 94.

sire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties."

There were sixteen pieces of land thus ceded, most of them described as "pieces six miles square," though in the others not so described different dimensions were given. The fourteenth was described as "One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood." The boundaries of the tracts referred to were not given, as they were left to be determined by surveys thereafter to be made. This was the first occasion that Chicago was recognized in any official document of the general government.

The surveys which would have been necessary to determine the boundaries referred to were never made. Before the government surveyors had reached this site, other treaties with the Indians had supervened, and thus obviated the necessity for establishing such boundaries. For this reason such maps as show the tract ceded by the Treaty of Greenville are arbitrarily placed by the map makers so as to include the mouth of the Chicago river, but they have no further claim for accuracy of position. None of the maps of the Chicago Title and Trust Company shows the boundary lines of the "piece six miles square," though the lines established in subsequent treaties are clearly traced and have become well recognized base lines in the description of property.

There has been some speculation by writers as to what fort was referred to in the Treaty of Greenville, which "formerly stood" at the mouth of the Chicago river. But no doubt a succession of forts and stockades had existed at one period or another since the time when some of La Salle's men erected a "little stockade" in the winter of 1682-83, where La Salle himself stayed for a time in the following summer.[35] Shea says that in 1685 Durantaye erected a fort at Chicago, "where it became a kind of depot;"[36] and one James Logan, of Pennsylvania, sent by the governor of that colony to ascertain the routes of French trade, reported in 1718 that a fort "not regularly garrisoned" was situated at the mouth of the Chicago river. It would not have been strange if a tradition of these old forts, now abandoned and gone to decay, was current among the French traders at the time the treaty was made, notwithstanding the doubt expressed in a quotation made by Andreas that "at the time of the Treaty of Greenville, the oldest Indian then living had no recollection of a fort ever having been at that place." The recollections of Indians are, however, notoriously unreliable, and the framers of the treaty probably relied more upon the recollections of the whites than upon those of the Indians when they used the words "where a fort formerly stood."

THE BATTLE OF SOUTH CHICAGO

It seems strange enough that any events connected with the Revolutionary War could have taken place within the present limits of the city of Chicago; and yet an action involving the loss of four lives, and a number of prisoners taken, is a part of the history of this city as well as an episode of that war.

The "battle of South Chicago," as it is referred to in one of the volumes of the

[35] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 144.
[36] Cited by Hurlbut, p. 164.

Wisconsin Historical Society, took place on December 5, 1780. The account of the raid—for it was hardly more than that—which ended in the "battle" may be found in Boggess' "Settlement of Illinois," [37] and in volume XVIII of the Wisconsin Historical Collections.

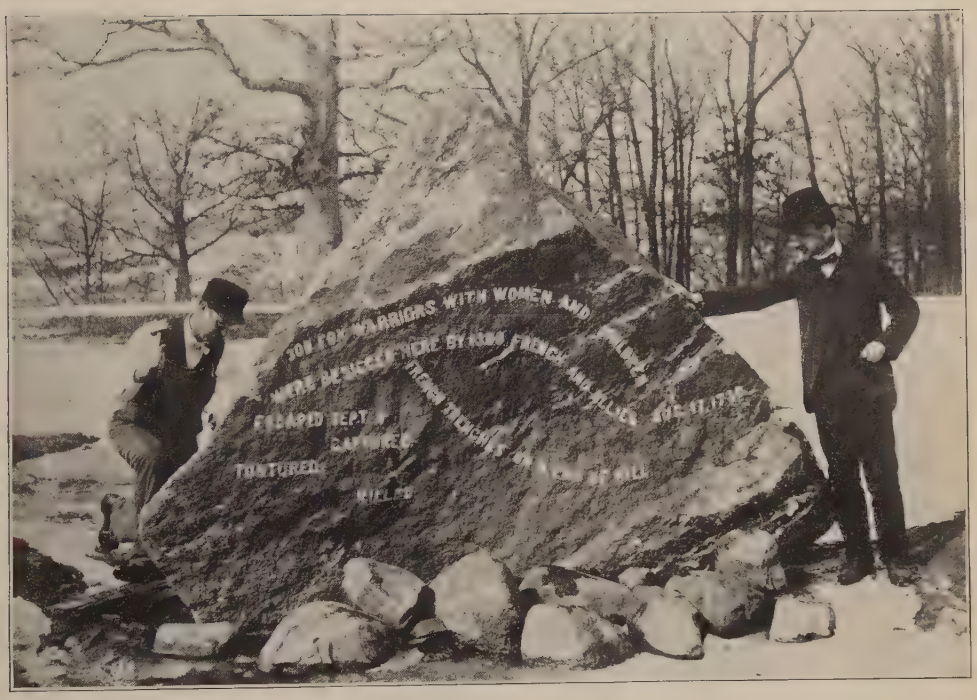
In the autumn of 1780 a party of seventeen men from Cahokia started on an expedition against the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, then in the possession of the British. The invading force was in command of Jean Baptiste Hamelin, with Thomas Brady as his lieutenant. Although this party was in the interest of the Americans, the expedition was not authorized by the then commander of the American forces in Illinois, Colonel George Rogers Clark, who was absent at the time in another part of the country. The commander, Hamelin, was "a half Indian," [38] while Brady was an American, the only American of the party, the others composing the force having been recruited in Cahokia, presumably French residents of that place.

The attack on Fort St. Joseph was so timed as to take place when the Indians of the vicinity were away on their hunting trips. The fort was garrisoned by a force of twenty-one British regulars,[39] but the attacking party surprised them and quickly obtained possession of the post. "Fort St. Joseph," says Mason,[40] "had been so uniformly taken and plundered whenever anyone set out to do it that capture had become its normal state and seemingly the object of its existence." It well fulfilled the description applied to some forts on the Atlantic coast, given by an American officer, "as places to get out of as soon as the enemy opens fire."

Laden with plunder the victorious party started on its return journey, intending to pass down the valley of the Illinois by way of the Chicago portage.[41] But the British officer in command, Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre, had escaped capture when the fort was taken; and gathering a force of Indians in the British interest, followed the retreating party in the hope of recovering the property and punishing the invaders. The British "pursued them as far as *Petit Fort,* a day's journey beyond the *Riviere du Chemin,*" where they were overtaken and summoned to surrender. This place is described by the editor of the "Wisconsin Historical Collections" as "not far from South Chicago." "The *Riviere du Chemin,*" says Boggess in the "Settlement of Illinois," "is a small stream in Indiana, emptying into the southeastern part of Lake Michigan." This "small stream" is now known as Trail Creek, at the mouth of which Michigan City, Indiana, is situated. Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," says that the retreating party "was overtaken at the Calumet, a few miles southeast of Chicago." This was written long before Chicago had extended its limits to include the Calumet region.

The summons to surrender being refused, the attack was made, and in the fight that followed four of Hamelin's party were killed, including himself, three escaped "in the thick woods," and the rest were made prisoners. All the property was recovered. Among the prisoners was the American Brady, who, however, made his escape afterwards and returned to Illinois by way of his native state, Pennsyl-

[37] Boggess, p. 37.
[38] Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 450; Boggess, p. 37.
[39] Reynolds: "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 90.
[40] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 301.
[41] Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, X, 450.



MERAMECH HILL AND MONUMENT

Erected about a mile southwest of Plano, Illinois, by John F. Steward

vania.[42] He lived in Cahokia for many years and was sheriff of St. Clair county in 1790; he had the reputation of being "an honest correct citizen."

The prisoners were sent to Detroit, where they were looked upon as entitled to scant consideration, very much as "guerrilas" were regarded in the war of the rebellion. "I look upon these gentry," wrote Colonel De Peyster, the commandant at Detroit, "as robbers and not prisoners of war, having no commission that I can learn of other than a verbal order from M. Trottier." (Francois Trottier was the justice of the court at Cahokia, and the leading man in authority during the absence of Colonel Clark.) As all prisoners, however, were duly exchanged at the close of the war, these no doubt finally reached their homes safely.

It would be interesting to know the precise location of this so called "battle," and if it can be definitely ascertained it should be suitably marked with a monument, as this event is the only one in our history that is directly connected with the War of Independence. An act passed by the Illinois legislature in 1907 authorizes municipal bodies to erect monuments and mark historical sites, and it would be a fitting and proper exercise of the authority thus conferred to fix and mark the spot on which the "battle of South Chicago" was fought.

THE MARCH OF THE SPANISH ACROSS ILLINOIS

The failure of the ill-starred raid of Hamelin and Brady against Fort St. Joseph did not, however, terminate the troubles of the British at that post. At that time the Spanish were in possession of St. Louis, and were nominally the allies of the Americans against the British. Early in 1780, Don Eugenio Pierro (or, as some accounts have it, Pourré) left St. Louis with a force of sixty men and a contingent of Indians, marched some two hundred leagues across the Illinois Country, and fell upon St. Joseph, which he captured, making the garrison prisoners. The Spaniards were back in St. Louis within three months from the time of starting on the expedition. This exploit greatly alarmed the Americans, who feared that the Spanish government would base a claim for territory in Illinois in the treaty of peace which it was generally anticipated would soon be negotiated.[43]

Just as it was expected, the Spanish made the claim that the country around the Illinois river was conquered for the Spanish King, although Pierro's return march had been harassed by Indians, and he did not even dare leave a garrison at the captured post.[44]

It soon came to be known that the whole movement had been inspired by the Spanish court, and Franklin, then in Paris, wrote regarding it as follows: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois Country," and he denounced their pretensions in strong terms. As we know, Spain accomplished nothing by all this in the final treaty, and was obliged to be contented with the territory of which she was already in possession.

[42] Reynolds, p. 90.
[43] Winsor: "Westward Movement," p. 189.
[44] Roosevelt: "Winning of the West," II, p. 179.

THE EARLY SETTLERS

It is rather hazardous for one who has a due regard for his reputation as a writer on historical subjects to name anything or anybody as "the first;" and it is especially unsafe to name anyone as the "first settler." No matter who may be thus distinguished, it is usually found that there was some "original," whose claims to the title are set forth with sufficiently strong proofs, and, accordingly, he is moved up to the head of the class. This continues until some delver into the "musty records of the past" rises up and announces that he has found another who is entitled to the honor; and finally one feels that no certainty can be felt that anyone can be called "first settler," "first arrival" or "first" anything.[45]

A few of the first settlers who came to the place even then known as Chicago, in the eighteenth century, will be mentioned here.

In the work entitled "Pioneer History of Illinois," by John Reynolds, one of the early governors of Illinois, he speaks of one "Saint Ange, or Pelate, as he was sometimes called, as having settled at Chicago" about 1765. But he only makes this mention incidental to an account he gives of one of the pioneer women who passed the greater part of her life in Cahokia, then one of the principal towns of the state. But nowhere else do we find any further reference to the man Saint Ange. There was, indeed, a French officer by the name of St. Ange de Bellerive, the last French commander in the Illinois Country, but he was an entirely different individual.

In giving the early history of Chicago, the Indians say, with great simplicity, "the first white man who settled here was a negro." This is a passage from Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-Bun," referring to Jean Baptiste Point de Saible, whom the author just mentioned calls "Point-au-Sable." De Saible, or Point-au-Sable, was at Chicago some time in 1778, or previous thereto. He was a native of San Domingo, and before settling on the banks of the Chicago river he had lived among the Peorias.[46] "He built a cabin on the north bank of the Chicago river, where it turned to the south, and at the head of the point of sand which extended thence between the river and the lake. Here he lived until 1796—seventeen years," when he returned to his former place of residence among the Peorias. There is a further mention of him in the "Recollections of Augustin Grignon," published in the Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in 1857. Grignon says: "At a very early period there was a negro lived there [at Chicago] named Baptist Point de Saible; my brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794, and told me that Point de Saible was a large man; that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular object, or from what government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely. I know not what became of him."

De Saible came under the observation of the watchful Colonel Arent Schuyler

[45] In a letter to the author from Mr. R. G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, he says: "I doubt if . . . any known person can safely be called the 'earliest settler' of Chicago. The habitants and traders went back and forth like Arabs. Chicago was long a noted point for Indian gatherings and trade. No doubt there was a succession of temporary visitors, residing any time from a few months to several years at this site during the entire French regime, but especially in the eighteenth century, concerning which period the records are unfortunately scanty."

[46] Andreas, I, 71.

de Peyster, who was the British commander at Mackinac from 1774 to 1779; and in a volume of "Miscellanies" written by him, under date of July 4, 1779, he makes mention of "Baptist De Saible, a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschecagou, but much in the French interest."

In a report made by Lieutenant Thomas Bennett, of the "King's Regiment," on September 1, 1779, addressed to his superior officer, Colonel De Peyster, he writes: "I had the negro, Baptiste Point au Sable, brought prisoner from the river du Chemin [to Detroit]. Corporal Tascon, who commanded the party, very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his home, or doing him any injury. He secured his packs, etc., which he takes with him to Michilimackinac. The negro, since his imprisonment, has in every respect behaved in a manner becoming to a man in his situation, and has many friends who give him a good character."

In a note by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, appended to the printed copy of this letter, in the Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, he says: "It would appear from this and preceding documents that Baptiste Point du Sable was driven from Chicago by Langlade, probably in the spring of 1779; that he removed his effects to Riviere du Chemin [near Michigan City, Indiana], . . . and that he was there taken into custody by Lieutenant Bennett, and transplanted to Mackinac." [47]

De Saible's only neighbors were the Indians of the Pottawattomie tribe. Between the two races, the negro and the Indian, there is usually a strong affection, and Jean Baptiste the more readily imposed on his Indian friends by making them believe that he had been a "great chief" among the whites. "Perhaps," says the author of "Wau-Bun," "he was disgusted at not being elected to a similar dignity by the Pottawattomies, for be quitted this vicinity, and finally terminated his days at Peoria, under the roof of his friend, Glamorgan, another St. Domingo negro."

In 1796, De Saible, when about to return to Peoria, sold his cabin to Joseph Le Mai, a French trader.[48] Le Mai made some improvements and occupied it as a residence and trading post until 1804, when he sold it to John Kinzie, who arrived that year.

Some time before 1800 there was a man by the name of Guarie, who had a trading house up on the North Branch, located on the west side of the river, near the present Fulton Street. This part of the river was called "River Guarie," according to a statement made by Gurdon S. Hubbard in 1880, printed in Blanchard's "Discovery of the Northwest." He says: "This house was enclosed by pickets. He [Guarie] located there prior to 1778. This tradition I received from Messrs. Antoine Deschamps and Antoine Besom, who, from about 1778, had passed from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river yearly; they were old men when I first knew

[47] The frequent reference made in this history to the historical collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society only emphasizes the deficiencies of our own state in the matter of published records, memoirs and other historical material. Wisconsin is far ahead of us in that respect, and although our own state Historical Society is doing a noble work with limited resources, its activities date from a comparatively recent period; while those of our sister state were begun half a century ago and have always been abundantly provided for by her legislature. The historical material relating to Illinois in the possession of the Wisconsin society is vastly greater than that which can be found in our own state, and its collection rivals that of any similar collection of the kind in the country.

[48] Andreas, I, 72.

them in 1818. This tradition was corroborated by other old voyageurs. The evidences of this trading house were pointed out to me by Mr. Deschamps; the cornhills adjoining were distinctly traceable, though grown over with grass."

Antoine Ouilmette, a Frenchman who married a squaw of the Pottawattomie tribe, came to Chicago in 1790, as he states in a letter dictated by him and addressed to John H. Kinzie, in 1839. The letter is signed with a mark, as he was apparently not able to write himself. A portion of the letter runs as follows: "I came into Chicago in the year 1790, in July, witness old Mr. Veaux, who knows I was there."[49] He also cites other witnesses of his early residence.

In an exhaustive account of this pioneer, published in 1908 by the Evanston Historical Society, Mr. Frank R. Grover states that he was born near Montreal in 1760, and when he came to Chicago was an employe of the American Fur Company. He was not an Indian chief, as many have supposed, but "was a type of the early French voyageurs, who lived and died among their Indian friends, loving more the hardships and excitements of the western frontier than the easier life of eastern civilization." Archange, his Indian wife, though mentioned as a "Pottawattomie woman" in the treaty of Prairie du Chien, concluded with the Indians of several tribes in 1829, is spoken of by Mrs. Kinzie in "Wau-Bun" as a half breed. She and her sister were in later years of great assistance in saving the life of Mrs. Helm at the time of the Chicago massacre in 1812, as will appear in a later part of this work.

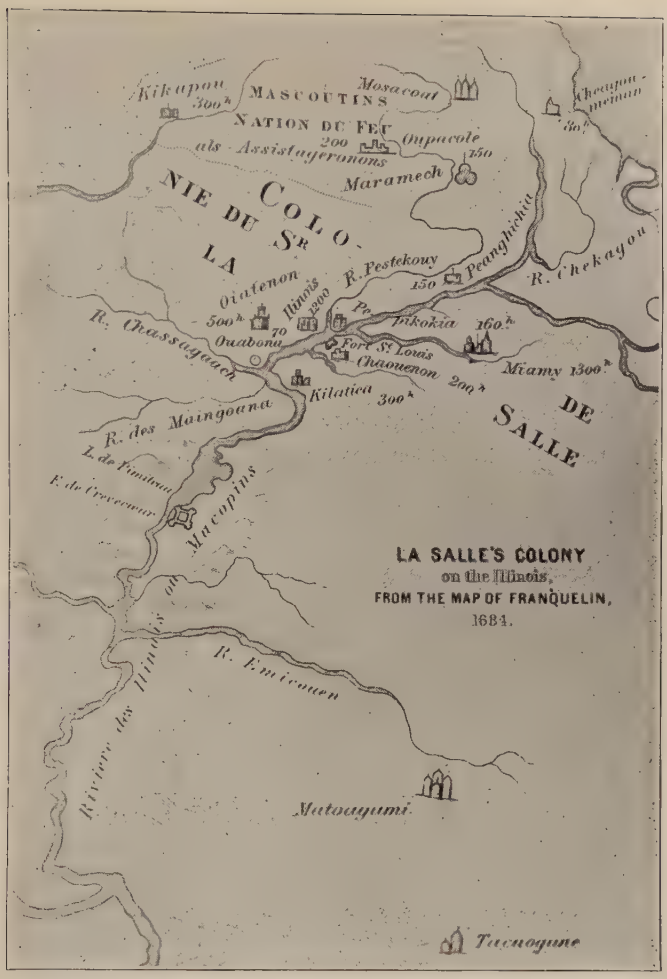
MAPS

The early maps of the Great Lakes and the Western country require some notice in this place. On Marquette's map the western shore of Lake Michigan, which he calls "Lac des Ilinois," is defined, but the eastern shore is indicated by a dotted line probably conjectured from the reports of the savages. The Illinois river is continued without a break from its mouth to Lake Michigan. The general course of the rivers over which the journey of Joliet and Marquette was made is surprisingly correct, however. The Mississippi is called "Riviere de la Conception," that being the name given to it by Marquette. No Indian tribe is shown as occupying the neighborhood of the Chicago portage, though it is well known that the region at that time was a part of the hunting grounds of the Illinois Indians.[50]

Joliet's map, drawn by him from memory after his return to Quebec—for it will be remembered that all his records were lost when his canoe was overturned in the St. Lawrence, while returning from his voyage of discovery—shows the course of the Chicago river without, however, attaching any name to it, but designating the adjoining locality as a "portage." The general course of the Illinois river is shown with the name of "Riviere de la Divine." The Mississippi is shown with the name of "Riviere de Buade," which was the name given to the river by

[49] This Mr. Veaux was Andrew Jacques Vieau, Sr. (the family name being variously spelled), whose interview with the editor of the Wisconsin Historical Collections is contained in those records. Of his surname he said, "The family name was originally De Veau; but as that meant calf or veal, other children would annoy my ancestors in their youth, by bleating in their presence; so the name was changed to Vieau in self-defense. (Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 218.)

[50] "Old Northwest Leaflet," Vol. I, No. 1, p. 13.



From Parkman's "La Salle"

FRANQUELIN'S MAP OF 1684

Made in Quebec from the descriptions of the returning explorers.

From Steward's "Lost Maramech"

JOLIET'S MAP

In this map, which Joliet drew from memory after his return to Quebec, the course of the Chicago river is shown, though there is no name attached to it.

From "Michigan Under Four Flags" by Daniel McCoy

JOHN MITCHELL'S MAP OF 1755, MADE IN VIRGINIA

Originals in the Congressional Library, Washington, D. C., and the Ryerson Library, Grand Rapids, Michigan. This map was used by the commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783 between England and the United States.

Joliet in honor of Frontenac, Buade being his family surname.[51] As on Marquette's map, no tribes are indicated as occupying the region at the mouth of the Chicago river.

Franquelin, a young engineer living at Quebec, made a map from the descriptions of the returning explorers. This map was very elaborately executed, was six by four and a half feet in size, and was known as the "Franquelin map of 1684." On it is shown a number of Indian villages, one at the mouth of the Chicago river, with the name Cheagoumeman opposite the river's mouth, while a branch of the Illinois river, occupying a position near the course of the Desplaines, has the name "Riviere Chekagou." In this map the Mississippi is called by its present name, though it is given the alternative name of "Riviere Colbert," thus called in honor of the great French minister.[52] None of these names bestowed by the explorers upon the great river,—Conception, Buade, or Colbert—were of long duration. The original Algonquin name still remains,—a good example of the survival of the fittest. The Indian villages are shown with the number of warriors in each. The village near Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) was that of the Shawanoes, spelled by the maker of the map Chaouenons. The information for the composition of this map was undoubtedly supplied by La Salle himself. In a letter of La Barre, Governor of Canada, to the French Minister, in 1683, he says, "The young man who made these maps is named Franquelin; he is as skillful as any in France, but extremely poor, and in need of a little aid from his Majesty as an engineer." [53]

The map known as "Mitchell's map" bears the date of 1755, having been made by Dr. John Mitchell, a resident of Virginia. All the previous noteworthy maps had been the work of French, Spanish or Italian cartographers. This map was reprinted frequently, and was used by the commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain. On this map appears the name of "Quadoghe," applied to the region west of the St. Joseph river. There is an explanatory remark following the name, as follows: "So called by the Six Nations [to indicate] the extent of their territories and bounds of their deed of sale to the crown of Britain [in] 1701, renewed in 1720 and 1744." [54] This name of Quadoghe was used on maps of later date, that of Gibson's map of 1763 and others. Hurlbut, in his book "Chicago Antiquities," regards the name as that of an Indian tribe, but Mr. John F. Steward, who has one of the most complete collections of early maps in the country, considers that the name Quadoghe was a term used by the Iroquois indicating the boundary or limit of their territorial claims in that region. This view is in harmony with the inscription quoted above, and also with the general tenor of the "deed of sale" itself, which is printed in full in the "New York Colonial Documents," volume IV, page 908.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

No picture of the times, however, can be complete without including the figure of the ubiquitous red man. "No Indians, no trade" might well have been the motto

[51] Andreas, I, 48. Joliet's first map is referred to in Andreas' text. Joliet made a later map, dedicated to the French minister, Colbert, in which the Mississippi river is named in Colbert's honor. See Parkman's "La Salle" [1879] p. 453.

[52] Parkman: "La Salle" [1879], pp. 295, 455.

[53] N. Y. Colonial Documents, IX, 205.

[54] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 268.

of the traders who were settled on this spot. No white man would have taken up his residence on this lonely frontier because of its natural attractions, for it had very few, nor in anticipation of its glorious future, of which he did not dream. But the prospect of profitable barter with the Indians was a sufficient attraction for the traders, and no place was so remote but that as soon as the discoverers had pointed out the locality the traders quickly established themselves. Indeed the *coureurs de bois,* half savages as they were, penetrated the wilderness oftentimes before the discovery of its hidden mysteries was made known to the world.

The Indians on the occasion of their visits needed no provision for their accommodation in cabin or hut. Like true nomads they brought their own wigwams, and came and went as the whim seized them; always, however, watchfully observant of the movements of other tribes with whom their own unwritten laws and rude authority would carry little or no weight.

POTTAWATTOMIES AND IROQUOIS

The surrounding region was generally recognized at that time as the roaming ground of the Pottawattomies, although other tribes related to them resorted here in lesser numbers, and were regarded as friends. Among these were the Winnebagoes, Ottawas and Chippewas.[55] All these tribes had, like the Iroquois, been invaders of the Illinois Country, and these invasions had finally resulted in the extermination of the Illinois Indians at Starved Rock a few years before; and they now occupied this region through the sufferance of those ferocious conquerors, the Iroquois.

The degree of subserviency of the western tribes to the Iroquois of New York is, however, difficult to estimate. The Pottawattomies were "French Indians" in their sympathies and trade relations up to and even after the close of the French regime in 1763. They were reluctant to acknowledge the sway of the British during the period of their possession, but through the commanding influence of the New York Indians, they kept the peace that was guaranteed by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. This treaty was made between the whites and the Iroquois, with their "dependent tribes," which presumably bound the western Indians,[56] though afterwards the latter resented the proceedings.[57] Narrowing the view to the Pottawattomies, it appears that, up to the close of the war of 1812, the latter tribe were strongly under British influence, though a few were loyal to the Americans; and that the British agents probably made use of the old terms of subserviency to the Iroquois, in order to strengthen their hold upon them. At the conclusion of the War of 1812, the Iroquois were largely removed to Canadian territory, north of Lake Ontario, and we hear no more of Iroquois participation in treaties in which the western tribes took part.

There were two branches of the Pottawattomies, one branch called the Pottawattomies of the Woods, the other the Pottawattomies of the Prairies. Their different bands would unite and separate according to the abundance or scarcity of game or the emergencies of war. "The Pottawattomies of the Woods," says

[55] Grover: "Our Indian Predecessors," p. 12; Beckwith, Fergus' Hist. Series, No. 27, p. 163.
[56] New York Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII, p. 135.
[57] Winsor: "Westward Movement," p. 268.

Grover, "became in time a different people from their western brethren; they were susceptible to the influence of civilization and religion; and took kindly to agriculture to supplement the fruits of the chase."

"It was very different, however, with the Prairie Indians," writes Judge Caton. "They despised the cultivation of the soil as too mean even for their women and children, and deemed the captures of the chase the only fit food for a valorous people. . . Nor did they open their ears to the lessons of love and religion tendered them by those who came among them and sought to do them good. . . They enjoyed the wild roving life of the prairie, and, in common with almost all other native Americans, were vain of their prowess and manhood, both in war and in the chase. They did not settle down for a great length of time in a given place, but roamed across the broad prairies, from one grove or belt of timber to another, either in single families or in small bands, packing their few effects, their children and infirm on their little Indian ponies. They always traveled in 'Indian file' upon well-beaten trails, connecting, by the most direct routes, prominent points and trading posts. These native highways served as guides to our early settlers, who followed them with as much confidence as we now do the roads laid out and worked by civilized man." [58]

The life of the savage is of absorbing interest and attraction to the civilized man living among the restraints of modern life. And yet with all the freedom he enjoys, he is constantly exposed to dangers from enemies and from natural calamities, has few comforts, and his longevity is curtailed. The races of the savages do not increase, but rather tend to diminish in numbers, while there is little inclination among them to make progress along the lines in which the white race has improved itself.

In his "Pioneer History of Illinois," Governor John Reynolds, whose acquaintance with Indian disposition and habits of life was of the most intimate character, thus describes them:

"The Indians are somewhat like the Arabs in their migrations. They travel together with several families, more or less, according to circumstances. They have their summer and winter residences similar to the gentry of large cities; but for different considerations. These natives travel with all their wealth, except at times they *cache* some articles in the earth, as the French call it; that is, they hide the article in the ground until they return. A family or a caravan of traveling Indians would make a good subject for a painter. These moving parties are generally going or returning from their winter hunting-grounds and have with them their wives, children, dogs, horses and all their assets of every description. Each family has its own organization and government. In the evening when they camp, the females do all the work in making the camp, fire, etc., while their lords take their ease in smoking. The whole Indian race of the males is grave, sedate, and lazy. Some may go out to hunt while the squaws are working. They generally stop early in the evening to prepare for the night.

"This traveling with the Indians is a living as much as if they were stationary in their towns. They have nothing changed in their peregrinations, only a very short distance of latitude or longitude, or a little of both, on the surface of the

[58] Caton: "Miscellanies," p. 124.

earth. Therefore their migrations may be termed traveling residences. Under this system, they make as much improvement at each camp as they do at their winter hunting-grounds or in their towns. The small children are often tied on the horses' backs, to pack-saddles, so they can not fall off; the still younger ones are tied on boards, and while traveling, the boards are suspended by the side of the horse. These boards answer a valuable purpose to the Indians in traveling as well as at home. They are light and nicely made; are longer than the child and some wider. A hoop of strong hickory wood is bent over the face of the papoose and the ends made fast in the plank. Holes are pierced in the edges of the board, through which straps are passed to secure the bed and the child fast to the plank. Blankets and other clothes are placed between the infant and the wood and likewise around the small one; so that it and its bed are safely and securely made fast to the board. The hoop is often covered with a cloth or small piece of blanket, so that the child is perfectly at its ease and safe from external violence. At the end of the board a strap is passed through a hole and the ends tied together. When the squaws are busy, they hang the boards and children up out of the way from a limb of a tree; so the infants are safe while the mothers do the work. Sometimes they lean the board and child against a tree or post for safe-keeping. This is better for the child than sleeping in a cradle. Children placed on these boards grow straight, which is the reason the Indians are generally more erect than white men.

"The Indians in their diet are not fastidious or tasty. They display no unfriendly feelings to dirt or filth. They often pack their meat, in their journeys, by running a tug-rope through each piece, which is cut six or seven inches square, and tying the tug to the saddle; the meat is suspended by the side of the horse, exposed to flies, dirt, etc. In their journeys, the males mostly ride and make the females walk. The manner in which the females are treated in any country is an exact index to the barbarity or civilization of the community." [59]

INDIAN TRAITS

The Indian is a man, indeed, but one in the child stage of development, in which passions and impulses are stronger, and reasoning powers more feeble, than they are with civilized men. His powers of observation are highly trained, yet on matters without the range of his limited experience he reasons like a child. Indians are savages and have the vices of savages, but they also have savage virtues, many of which are admirable. Among them a liar is regarded with contempt, and when a man has once been detected in an untruth it is difficult for him to regain his reputation.

"Nowhere in the world was property more safe than in the old time Indian camp," says a writer in the "Atlantic Monthly." It is related that some years ago two white men and an interpreter visited an Indian Camp in the West. Leaving their belongings lying loose in a lodge to go out for a stroll, one of the men said to the interpreter, "I have left all my things inside; will they be safe?" "Safe," replied the other, "sure, they'll be safe. There ain't a white man within thirty miles of here." There are no locks and keys in an Indian encampment; such de-

[59] Reynolds, "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 283.

By permission of the Chicago Historical Society. From Catlin's "North American Indians"

INDIAN DANCE

By permission of the Chicago Historical Society. After a picture from Catlin's "North American Indians"

AN INDIAN ENCAMPMENT

vices are only necessary among white people. Dr. Charles Eastman, a full-blooded Sioux Indian, when he was first brought East to attend school, relates that on arriving in Chicago, he was cautioned against pickpockets. "Evidently," he wrote, "there were some disadvantages connected with this mighty civilization, for we Indians seldom find it necessary to guard our possessions."

But though we are obliged to chronicle his evil deeds, which indeed more quickly arrest our attention and are the most conspicuous in the annals of the American Indian, yet when we consider the better side of his nature we may regard him in a spirit of indulgence and charity; and the dismal tale of his warfares and hostility to the superior race, which has finally overwhelmed him, may be relegated to the limbo

> "Of old, unhappy, far off things,
> And battles long ago."

SUMMARY

Having now arrived at the end of the eighteenth century in the progress of our history, let us look about us and take a survey of what we find within our view. At the mouth of the river, at a point about where the foot of Pine street now is, stood the cabin and trading house of Le Mai, and near it, a few yards to the northwest, was the less pretentious cabin of Ouilmette, and two others. Near these cabins were the gardens of the occupants. The landscape was the same as that looked upon by the discoverers a century and a quarter before. There was little sign of the life and activity which were soon to manifest themselves in such a marvelous manner on this spot. There was the glorious view of the lake to the eastward, its blue waters extending beyond the utmost stretch of the vision, just as it is today and just as it has been since the dawn of creation. Looking south along the shore its superb curve, rivaling even that of the Bay of Naples, trended easterly until the distant shores were lost to view. Along the beach low ranges of sand dunes met the eye, and back of them the prairie stretched away far to the southwest beyond the range of vision,—this being that portion of the "Grand Prairie" of Illinois which, for a space of some four or five miles, bordered on the shore of Lake Michigan. Towards the west and southwest along the course of the river clumps of timber could be seen in the distance, while to the north the forest held sway completely from lake to river, a forest that continued unbroken except in marshy tracts as far as the timber line in the extreme north.

CHAPTER IV

CHICAGO FROM 1803 TO 1812

SIGNIFICANCE AND RESULTS OF LOUISIANA PURCHASE—PROPOSED FORT ON LAKE MICHIGAN—FORT ORDERED AT CHICAGO—ARRIVAL OF THE GARRISON—DESCRIPTION OF FORT DEARBORN—CAPTAIN WHISTLER—GENERAL DEARBORN—JOHN KINZIE'S ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO—THE AFFAIR WITH LALIME—THE KINGSBURY PAPERS—VOYAGEURS—SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND CONDITIONS UNTIL 1812—WESTERN EMIGRATION—ILLINOIS TERRITORY—CHICAGO FROM 1803 TO 1812—WAR OF 1812 FORESHADOWED—CAPTAIN HEALD AT FORT DEARBORN—MARRIAGE OF CAPTAIN HEALD—CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS—INDIANS ATTACK HARDSCRABBLE.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE: ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND RESULTS

THE "Louisiana Purchase," consummated on April 30, 1803, added a vast territory to the American possessions beyond the Mississippi, and greatly increased the responsibilities of the general government. The public men of that day but dimly realized the full import and meaning of the situation created by this immense acquisition to the territory of the United States; but with characteristic energy and good sense they set about the task before them. "The winning of Louisiana . . . followed inevitably upon the great westward thrust of the settler-folk," says Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West," "a thrust which was delivered blindly, but which no rival race could parry, until it was stopped by the ocean itself."

Now that the land had been acquired, there must be protection provided for the settlers against the tribes of savages which they might encounter, and a wise exercise of governmental authority instituted. The new regions must be explored and an adequate knowledge of their natural features and extent obtained.

President Jefferson planned an expedition of exploration into the unknown country which the nation had just purchased. This expedition was organized and placed under the command of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark, a younger brother of the celebrated Colonel George Rogers Clark. It started from St. Louis in May, 1804, and reached the Pacific Coast in the fall of the following year. The Northwest Territory had been organized in 1787, from which the state of Ohio was formed and admitted in 1803. Already Kentucky had been admitted (1792), and Tennessee came into the Union four years later. Western emigration was increasing at a marvelous rate, and protection by the military forces of the government was essential to the safety of the settlers. The Indians, notwithstanding the sound thrashing they had received at the battle of Fallen Timbers, were becoming restless at many points on the frontier, the activities of British intrigue

keeping them in a ferment. The posts at Detroit and Mackinac were at last in the possession of the Americans, the British having continued to occupy them long after the treaty of peace of 1783.

The Indians, however, little regarded the transfer of authority from one civilized government to another. "They were as little affected by the transfer as was the game they hunted. . . . The National Government was making its weight felt more and more in the West," says Roosevelt, "because the West was itself becoming more and more an important integral portion of the Union."

PLANS FOR A FORT ON LAKE MICHIGAN

In pursuance of its policy to get a firmer grasp on its western possessions the authorities at Washington determined to establish a fort on Lake Michigan. Blanchard in his history, following a memoir printed in the Michigan Pioneer collection, says that the mouth of the St. Joseph River, nearly opposite Chicago on Lake Michigan, was at first selected by commissioners sent from Washington for the purpose of finding a suitable location for the proposed fort. The memoir quoted from says that preparations were made to build the fort at St. Joseph, when the Indians of the country withheld their consent for its construction, and the commissioners, having no power to take possession, were obliged to select another place.[1] In the Treaty of Greenville previously described a tract "six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago river" had been ceded by the Indians to the United States, together with various other small tracts in different parts of the West. The locality at the mouth of the St. Joseph River was one of the tracts mentioned in that treaty.

The Michigan pioneer from whom we have our information further says in regard to the abandonment of the first selection made by the commissioners, "we conclude that had the fort been built at St. Joseph there would have been no Chicago."[2] Mason, in his "Chapters from Illinois History," comments on this story in the following language: "This matter of a fort seems to have been peculiarly disastrous to the St. Joseph Country. When it had one it constantly invited capture, and caused the inhabitants to spend more or less of their lives as prisoners of war; and when it did not have one, it thereby lost the opportunity of becoming the commercial metropolis of the Northwest. I know of no such tract of land in all this section which has been so singularly unfortunate as the St. Joseph region."

But it seems hardly likely that even if the proposed fort had been located at St. Joseph the future of Chicago's greatness would have been essentially different from what it has proved to be in the reality. "We do not believe it was the purpose of the government at any time," says Hurlbut, "to erect that 'one fort on Lake Michigan' at St. Joseph river; nor, if it had been built, can we see how that would have made any difference with Chicago. We are aware," he continues, "that where nature has placed no obstacles to prevent, very slight circumstances sometimes draw or change the position or settlement of a town this way or that. But with such palpable and insuperable natural advantages, possessed by the 'six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago river,' it can scarcely be less than idle to think that a

[1] Michigan Pioneer Collection, Vol. I, p. 122.
[2] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities." p. 364.

small wooden 'tomahawk fortress,' built across the lake in Michigan, might nullify its every assurance of manifest destiny."

FORT TO BE LOCATED AT CHICAGO

"Rumors that a garrison would be stationed at Chicago were in circulation as early as 1798," says Andreas in his history. This refers to a letter written by William Burnett, a trader of St. Joseph, Michigan, to a firm in Montreal. The letter is dated August 24, 1798, in the course of which he says: "Last winter I wrote you that it is expected that there will be a garrison at Chicago this summer, and, from late accounts, I have reason to expect that they [the members of the garrison] will be over there this fall; and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, and a promise of assistance from headquarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors, and some other articles, for that post."

Burnett's expectations were not realized until five years later, but the interest in western affairs received a new impetus after the Louisiana purchase, and the plan for a fort on Lake Michigan was revived and measures taken to establish it. In July, 1803, Captain John Whistler received orders from the War Department to proceed to Chicago with a company of regulars to occupy that point and build a fort. General Henry Dearborn, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, was at that time Secretary of War. The company marched overland in charge of Lieutenant James S. Swearingen; while the United States schooner "Tracy" conveyed the Captain and his wife, together with his son, Lieutenant William Whistler and his wife and a younger son, by way of the lakes; thus it will be seen that there were two generations of the Whistlers in the party. The schooner stopped on the way at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, where the Whistlers left the vessel and took a row-boat to Chicago, though the reason for this is not stated in the accounts.[3]

ARRIVAL OF THE GARRISON

The schooner, on arriving at Chicago, anchored a half mile from shore and discharged her cargo by boats. A large number of Indians visited the scene, attracted by the unusual spectacle; they called the schooner the "big canoe with wings." Soon afterward the vessel returned to Detroit with Lieutenant Swearingen on board, who thenceforth has no further connection with our history. Before dismissing him, however, from these pages, it may be of interest to readers to add that at this time he was a second lieutenant in the United States artillery service, and that during the ensuing War of 1812 he rose to the rank of colonel. In his later years he established his residence in Chillicothe, Ohio, where he died in 1864, at the age of eighty-two.

Upon his arrival Captain Whistler at once set about the construction of a stockade and barracks for the troops. The site selected was on the south bank of the Chicago river at the present intersection of River Street and Michigan Avenue. A model of the fort is shown in the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society. As this fort was burned in 1812, and was even then but little known, few records other than those of a very brief official character are in existence. The recollections of

[3] Mrs. Wm. Whistler's narrative, see Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 25.

From the Northwest. By permission of the Chicago Historical Society

FORT DEARBORN AND AGENCY HOUSE (1803-4)

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

FORT DEARBORN IN 1804

Destroyed at the time of the Chicago Massacre in 1812. The later Fort Dearborn was built in 1816.

those who were present at the time, and whose accounts have been preserved, are our principal reliance for details connected with the period.

An important contribution to our knowledge of the period is furnished by the narrative of Mrs. William Whistler in 1875, then over eighty-eight years of age. She was the young wife of Lieutenant William Whistler, previously mentioned, who accompanied his father Captain Whistler to establish the post in July, 1803. Mrs. Whistler was with her husband, and with them was a younger brother of her husband, George W. Whistler, who later, in 1814, graduated at West Point, served in the army until 1833, when he resigned, and was afterwards in the employ of the Russian government as an engineer.

In the life of James A. McNeill Whistler, by Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell, we find this: "According to Mr. Eddy, Whistler once said to a visitor from Chicago, 'Chicago, dear me, what a wonderful place! I really ought to visit it some day—for, you know, my grandfather founded the city and my uncle was the last commander of Fort Dearborn!'"

At the time the narrative was reduced to writing, Mrs. Whistler was in Chicago visiting her daughter, Mrs. Colonel Robert A. Kinzie, her home being in Newport, Kentucky. An interview was sought by Mr. Henry H. Hurlbut, the author of "Chicago Antiquities." In this work he says he called on Mrs. Whistler in October, 1875, and heard from her own lips the account of her arrival in Chicago with her husband in the summer of 1803.

They found here but "four rude huts or traders' cabins," said Mrs. Whistler. These were occupied by Joseph Le Mai and Antoine Ouilmette, mentioned in the previous chapter, and a man by the name of Pettell, concerning whom we have no further information.[4] Such others as may have been here at the time are not named in the narrative.

No horses or oxen were available in the vicinity, and the timber used in construction was dragged from the woods with ropes by the soldiers. The fort was called Fort Dearborn in honor of the Secretary of War. Captain Whistler continued in command of the fort until the summer of 1810, when he was relieved by Captain Nathan Heald, of whom further mention will be made. At the end of the year an official "return" of the post was made. The post is described as "Fort Dearborn, Indiana Territory," and the return is dated December 31, 1803. According to this return, there were sixty-nine officers and men in the garrison at that time.[5]

THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN: CAPTAIN WHISTLER

The first Fort Dearborn stood nearly on the site of the fort erected in 1816, that is, fronting north on the bank of the river at the intersection of the present Michigan Avenue and River Street, near the southern end of Rush Street bridge.

[4] This man may have been the same one who is referred to in the narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr., published in Vol. XI of Wisconsin Historical Collections, as Mike le Pettéel, the narrator's tutor in about 1828, at Green Bay. Mr. Vieau says that this Mike le Pettéel was his father's clerk in 1795, when his father was establishing fur-trading posts on Lake Michigan. In the narrative of Peter J. Vieau, Andrew's younger brother, (Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XV, 463) the same man, called here Michael le Pellieur, is spoken of as Peter's tutor in 1826.

[5] Andreas' "History of Chicago," I, 80.

There were two block houses, one at the northwest corner, the other at the southeast corner. The sally-port was on the northern side towards the river, and there was a subterranean passage from the parade ground within the fort to the river, "designed either to facilitate escape, in case of an emergency, or as a means of supplying the garrison with water during a siege."[6] The whole was enclosed by a strong palisade of wooden pickets. At the west of the fort, fronting north on the river, there was a log building two stories in height used as a "factory" by the government. Between the fort and the building just mentioned were the "root houses" or cellars of the garrison, with doors opening on the sloping bank of the river.[7] The fort was armed with three pieces of light artillery, and a magazine within the enclosure was provided with necessary ammunition for the use of the garrison.

Captain John Whistler, who spent seven years in command of the post at Fort Dearborn, had been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, fighting on the British side. He was a native of Ireland and came to America as a British soldier. He was in Burgoyne's army and was taken prisoner by the Americans when that army surrendered at Saratoga, in 1777. After the war he took up his residence at Hagerstown, Maryland, where he married, and where his son, William Whistler, was born. Later he enlisted in the American army, taking part in the campaigns against the Indians in the West. He served under St. Clair and afterwards under Wayne, being successively promoted to lieutenant and captain. After his service in command at Fort Dearborn, he was placed in command at Fort Wayne, having been again honored by promotion to the rank of major by brevet. Major John Whistler died in Missouri, in the year 1827. He was a brave and efficient soldier, a man of ability and discretion, and the progenitor of soldiers who reached high regimental rank. His son William was in command at Fort Dearborn in 1832, while another son, George W. Whistler, as we have seen, was graduated at West Point, and afterwards became a distinguished engineering officer in the Russian government service.

GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN

General Henry Dearborn, referred to in connection with the establishment of Fort Dearborn in 1803, requires some notice in this place. The name of Dearborn is a favorite one among Chicago localities and institutions, and our city honors itself in thus perpetuating the memory of a man who, though he never visited Chicago, held positions of responsibility and honor in the affairs of the country. General Dearborn was a native of New Hampshire, and at the time of which we write, was a man fifty-two years old. After passing through the best schools of the state in which he was born, he studied medicine, and practiced his profession for some years before the Revolution. While yet only twenty-four years of age, he raised a company of militia and joined the regiment commanded by Colonel John Stark, afterwards the hero of the battle of Bennington. As a captain young Dearborn took part in the battle of Bunker Hill, and soon after was with Arnold in the ill-starred expedition to Canada, where he was taken prisoner. Having been exchanged, he again entered the American service, and as major assisted in the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga. During this campaign he kept a journal,

[6] Wau-Bun (Caxton Club Ed.) p. 156.
[7] Fergus' Historical Series, No. 16, p. 11.

which is now preserved in the Boston Public Library. The entry made the day of the surrender is as follows: "This day the great Mr. Burgoyne with his whole army surrendered themselves as prisoners of war with all their public stores; and, after grounding their arms, marched off for New England—the greatest conquest ever known." Later in the war he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781; after which he wrote in his journal. "Here ends my military life." He was, however, afterwards commissioned as a major-general of militia by the state of Massachusetts, later became a member of Congress, and, in 1801, was appointed Secretary of War by President Jefferson. He remained in this office for eight years during the two terms of President Jefferson's administration. In the War of 1812, General Dearborn was appointed senior major-general and did excellent service. Afterwards he made his home in Boston, where he died in 1829 in the seventy-ninth year of his age.[8] A copy of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of General Dearborn is hanging on the walls of the Chicago Historical Society. John Wentworth said of him, "One of the highest compliments paid to General Dearborn is the fact that whilst the names of so many of our streets have been changed to gratify the whims of our aldermen, no attempt has been made to change that of Dearborn Street. Not only is this the case, but the name Dearborn continues to be prefixed to institutions, enterprises, and objects which it is the desire of projectors to honor." [9]

ARRIVAL OF KINZIE FAMILY

The early days of all cities and sections are usually connected with the name of some individual or family well known in its history. The beginnings of Philadelphia, for example, are associated with the name of William Penn; those of St. Louis with that of Pierre Laclede; and of Milwaukee with Solomon Juneau. So also, in the early history and settlement of Chicago, the name of Kinzie must always be mentioned with a degree of fulness not permitted to any other name.

The year following the building of Fort Dearborn, John Kinzie came to Chicago. He bought the cabin of Le Mai, and occupied it both for trading and living purposes. Kinzie was an Indian trader and had already been doing business at Detroit for several years previous to his arrival in Chicago. He is referred to as "merchant" and also as "silversmith," in the records of some land transactions in Detroit. In "Wau-Bun" it is stated that Kinzie "early entered into the Indian trade and had establishments at Sandusky, Maumee, and afterwards pushed further west, about the year 1800, to St. Joseph's."

The date of the first entry on the books of John Kinzie at Chicago is May 12th, 1804.[10] He became sutler for the garrison at Fort Dearborn, and soon won the confidence of the officers of the post. "It is quite likely," says Hurlbut, "that Mr. Kinzie had often been at Chicago before on business in the time of fur trading." He was then about forty years of age, was regarded as a man of intelligence, and had a large acquaintance among prominent men. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Indian character, and had had much experience in dealing with Indians.

[8] "The Dearborns," by Daniel Goodwin, Jr., p. 32.
[9] "The Dearborns," by Daniel Goodwin, Jr., p. 48.
[10] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 470.

He could speak their language and enjoyed their respect and friendship, and in times of difficulty the military people consulted him regarding their relations with the tribes. There is little doubt that had his advice been followed the dreadful massacre which occurred a few years later would have been avoided.

For such readers as desire to learn more of John Kinzie, the "Father of Chicago," as he has been called, the following details of his career will be of interest. John Kinzie was born at Quebec about the year 1763. This was soon after the French possessions in America had been ceded to the English. The father of John Kinzie was a Scotchman whose name was John McKenzie. He died while John was an infant, and his widow married William Forsyth; soon after the family removed to New York. Here young John, or "Johnny Kinzie," as he had come to be called, was placed in school with two of his Forsyth half-brothers. At the age of ten he ran away, leaving his books and school, and took passage on a sloop bound for Albany, resolved to find his way to his old home in Quebec. By good fortune he found a friendly fellow passenger who assisted him to his destination, where he sought and found employment as a silversmith, becoming an apprentice under a kind master. Here he remained three years, at the expiration of which time he returned to his parents, who had in the mean time removed to Detroit.

Young Kinzie found his trade of silversmith of advantage to him, and he readily procured employment. He also became engaged in trade with the Indians and in time established a business of his own with branches at other points. During these years he formed an attachment for a young woman of Virginian parentage named Margaret McKenzie, who had for many years been a captive among the Indians in Ohio. Three children were born to them,—William, James and Elizabeth.

Margaret McKenzie and her sister Elizabeth had been carried off when children from their parents' home in Virginia by Indians, during the so-called "Lord Dunmore's War," in 1774. When they had grown up the chief who had adopted them took them with him on a visit to Detroit, peaceful relations with the tribes having been once more established. Here John Kinzie saw Margaret, and Elizabeth her sister, also found a partner in Alexander Clark, a Scotch trader. . . . The father of these two girls, having heard at his Virginia home of the presence of his daughters at Detroit, laboriously worked his way thither to visit them. "There was a pathetic reunion, and when the white-haired frontiersman went back to Virginia, Margaret and Elizabeth, declining the legal marriage proffered by their consorts, followed him to the old home," [11] Margaret taking her three children along with her.

The sisters were afterwards legally married, Margaret to Benjamin Hall, and Elizabeth to Jonas Clybourn. Both of these men as well as sons of these second unions, afterwards became residents of Chicago, and took prominent parts in the drama of the pioneer life of the place.

In the year 1800, John Kinzie met and married Eleanor (Lytle) McKillip, a widow with a daughter named Margaret. There seemed to have been as many Margarets in our narrative as there were in Shakespeare's "King Richard III," making it somewhat bewildering to the casual reader to keep them distinct in his mind. Mrs. McKillip, whose maiden name was Eleanor Lytle, had a thrilling and romantic experience as a child, which is fully related in "Wau-Bun." She had been

[11] "Wau-Bun," p. XV.

From a copy of Gilbert Stuart's portrait, the copy being in possession of the Chicago Historical Society

GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN

General Dearborn issued the order to Captain John Whistler to go to Chicago with a company of soldiers to occupy that place and there build a fort. The fort was named in honor of General Dearborn.

a captive for four years in a tribe of Seneca Indians, and had been adopted into the family of an Indian chief known as Corn-Planter. At length, actuated by a sudden impulse of generosity, the chief restored her to her parents, soon after which the Lytle family removed to Detroit. This was after the Revolutionary War, and while yet only fourteen years old, she was married to Captain McKillip, a British officer, and by him had a daughter Margaret, as related above, who afterwards became the wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm and passed through a most terrifying experience at the massacre of Fort Dearborn.

Captain McKillip was killed in 1794, at the Miami Rapids, where there was a post afterwards known as Fort Defiance. "A detachment of British troops," relates the author of "Wau-Bun," "had been sent down from Detroit, to take possession of this post. General Wayne was then on a campaign against the Indians, and the British government thought proper to make a few demonstrations in behalf of their allies," for although peace had been declared between the United States and Great Britain, the British chose still to regard the Indian tribes as their allies, a policy that brought woe and disaster to all parties concerned. "Having gone out with a party to reconnoitre, Captain McKillip was returning to his post after dark, when he was fired upon and killed by one of his own sentinels." During her widowhood, Mrs. McKillip resided at Detroit, where, in 1800, as above related, she was married to John Kinzie, who seems to have had a predilection for young women who had been Indian captives.

Their oldest child was John Harris Kinzie, born at Sandwich, Canada, (near Detroit) on July 7th, 1803. A separate account will be given of him, and of his talented wife, the author of "Wau-Bun." Their other children were Ellen Marion, born in 1805; Maria Indiana, born in 1807; and Robert Allen, born in 1810; the last three having their birthplace in the Kinzie mansion at Chicago. Mr. Kinzie, at the time that his son John H. was born, had a trading house on the St. Joseph river, and there the young boy and his mother were taken, and remained until their removal to Chicago in 1804, where they took up their residence in the house which had been bought by Mr. Kinzie from Le Mai. "John Kinzie came to this new location," writes Andreas, "in the prime of his life,—strong, active and intelligent—his life sobered by experience, but his heart kindly and generous. He was beloved by the Indians, and his influence over them was very great. He acquired the reputation of being, *par excellence,* 'the Indian's Friend,' and through the most fearful scenes of danger, Shaw-nee-aw-kee, the Silverman, and his family moved unscathed."

It seems necessary here to correct some erroneous statements made in former histories, that Margaret McKenzie was married to John Kinzie, but there is the best of authority for saying that this was not so. Andreas states that she "became the wife of John Kinzie;" and Blanchard, in his work, says that they were married. Mrs. Nelly Kinzie Gordon, daughter of John Harris Kinzie, is now living at Savannah, Georgia, and in a letter to the author of this history written December 3, 1909, she says that her grandfather, John Kinzie, was never married to Margaret McKenzie. She refused to marry him "and deserted him, carrying her three children back to Virginia with her father, thus breaking up his home and robbing John Kinzie of his children. Moreover, she distinctly repudiated him and all legal ties, as far as he was concerned, by marrying a man named Benjamin Hall, on her ar-

rival in Virginia." No claim that a marriage had taken place was "ever made by the children of Margaret McKenzie, or by Margaret herself." Mrs. Gordon further says that the only one of these children she ever met was James Kinzie, and that she knew him well. James perfectly well knew and "accepted his status as John Kinzie's natural son." When he "came back to his father in 1816 after the massacre and the return of the family to Chicago, James was made a member of the family, and treated with such unfailing kindness by my grandmother (who knew all the circumstances, and of his mother's desertion), that he became much devoted to her, and named his second daughter after her."

THE TRAGIC ENCOUNTER WITH LALIME

A tragic episode in John Kinzie's life occurred in the spring of 1812. Kinzie and one John Lalime, an interpreter at the fort, were at feud with each other; and one evening about sunset when the fort gates were being closed, Kinzie passed out and walked down the path towards the river, intending to cross over to his house on the other side. Lalime followed him outside the gate, and an officer who observed his actions called out a warning to Kinzie, telling him to "look out for Lalime." [12] An eye-witness of the encounter which followed, Mrs. Victoire Porthier, a half breed woman then living in Ouilmette's house, relates that she saw the two men grapple with each other, heard a pistol go off and then the men fell together. Directly she saw Kinzie get up, but Lalime remained on the ground. Kinzie soon after reached his house streaming with blood from a wound in his shoulder, caused by a shot from a pistol fired by Lalime. Lalime was also armed with a knife which he carried in his belt; in the struggle Kinzie had got possession of the knife, and had killed his adversary with his own weapon.

Fearing the consequences Kinzie at once concealed himself in the woods, and soon after was taken to Milwaukee by a Frenchman named Mirandeau, the father of the woman whose narrative we are following. Here he remained until his wound was healed; when, having learned that the officers at the fort had decided that the killing of Lalime was a case of "justifiable homicide," he returned to Chicago. In later years Mr. Kinzie never alluded to or spoke of this episode. "My impression has ever been," said Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, in a letter to John Wentworth, written in 1881, "that Mr. Kinzie acted, as he told his wife, in self defense. This is borne out by the fact that, after a full investigation by the officers, whose friend the deceased was, they acquitted Mr. Kinzie, who then returned to his family." [13]

KINZIE'S WIDE BUSINESS RELATIONS

Chicago's early history is intimately connected with the Kinzies and their relatives. It was a fortunate circumstance that one of this family, the wife of John Harris Kinzie,—a notice of whom will be given in a later portion of this work—should have given to the world her recollections of the "early day" of the Northwest, a volume of narratives and sketches, under the title of "Wau-Bun," which has become a classic in the historical literature of the Middle West.[14]

[12] Andreas: "History of Chicago," I, 105.
[13] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 189.
[14] Introduction to Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 13.

She says of John Kinzie, her husband's father, that he was a man of "an enterprising and adventurous disposition." After becoming established at Chicago, he extended his business relations until they covered a wide range of territory. Quoting further from Mrs. Kinzie's account, she says that "by degrees more remote trading posts were established by him, all contributing to the parent one at Chicago; at Milwaukee with the Menominees; at Rock River with the Winnebagoes and Pottawattomies; on the Illinois River and Kankakee with the Pottawattomies of the Prairies, and with the Kickapoos in what was called 'La Large,' being the widely extended district afterwards erected into Sangamon County.

"Each trading post had its superintendent, and its complement of engagés—its train of pack-horses and its equipment of boats and canoes. From most of the stations the fur and peltries were brought to Chicago on pack-horses, and the goods necessary for the trade were transported in return by the same method.

"The vessels which came in the spring and fall (seldom more than two or three annually) to bring the supplies and goods for the trade, took the furs that were already collected to Mackinac, a depot of the Southwest and American Fur Companies. At other seasons they were sent to that place in boats, coasting around the lake." [15]

In a note to this Mr. R. G. Thwaites, who edited the Caxton Club's edition of "Wau-Bun," from which the above is quoted, says: "It was early discovered by the French traders that a strong current encircles Lake Michigan, going south along the west shore, and returning northward along the east shore. For this reason boats usually followed the Wisconsin bank up [that is, going towards Chicago], and the Michigan bank down."

THE KINGSBURY PAPERS

A collection of original documents and letters referring to affairs at Fort Dearborn came into the possession of the Chicago Historical Society some years since. The letters in this collection, called the Kingsbury Papers, bear various dates from 1804 to 1813, and are described in the society's report for the year 1906-7. A few of them are printed in the report, from which, by the society's permission, we make a few extracts. It is understood to be the intention of the society to publish the Kingsbury Papers in a volume at as early a date as practicable. Its appearance will be looked forward to with interest.

One of the letters in this collection was written by Colonel Jacob Kingsbury, the commandant at Detroit, addressed to Captain John Whistler, commanding Fort Dearborn, and dated July 12, 1804. In this letter he says, "I am informed by Major Pike and Doctor Smith that your men are almost destitute of every article of clothing. Immediately on the report being made to me, I ordered the brig Adams to take on board for your post clothing for your men, pots to cook in, a whip saw, stationery, hospital stores, etc. I shall, with the greatest cheerfulness, do everything in my power to make your situation as agreeable as possible. I think you deserve great credit for the work you have done, considering you had no cloth-

[15] Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 150.

ing for your men nor even the necessary tools to work with." These articles arrived safely at the fort and were acknowledged in a letter dated July 26, written by Captain Whistler to Colonel Kingsbury, thus showing that the voyage between the two places was accomplished within two weeks. In his letter of acknowledgment he writes: "I have received the clothing and the other articles you mentioned. The whip saw can but be of very little use without files, as the timber we saw is oak; there is no other at this post."

Later in the same year, under date of November 3, Captain Whistler writes: "I am sorry to observe that I have been under the disagreeable necessity of arresting Doctor Smith. I wish to say no more on the subject," he adds, "it is too disagreeable." In a later part of his letter he refers to a more cheerful matter, as follows: "I have the happiness of informing you that my oldest daughter was married on the first instant to a gentleman of my old acquaintance, James Abbott, one whom I had a great opinion of." The daughter referred to was Sarah Whistler, then scarcely eighteen years of age. "This was doubtless the first wedding between white persons in Chicago, and the wedding journey was made overland to Detroit on horseback, the bride and the groom tenting in the woods at night."[16]

VOYAGEURS AT CHICAGO

The little settlement about Fort Dearborn was often enlivened by the cheerful presence of voyageurs, or engagés, who were usually French Canadians employed by the fur traders throughout the North and Northwest, and who formed a distinctive class of their own, picturesque and attractive. Their nationality, their invigorating life in the forest, the traditions of their occupation, all combined to make them sturdy, resourceful, happy, alert. They were devoted to their "bourgeois," or master, and were well content to endure the scantiness of diet and the hardships which they often, indeed generally, experienced. They were engaged for service at Montreal, to which place the agents supplying trading posts with voyageurs went to hire them. There the bargain was made, by which, in return for three years' service, the engagé was to receive annually from four to six hundred livres in old Quebec currency (a livre is a pound sterling), together with his daily ration of a quart of lyed corn and two ounces of tallow, or its equivalent in whatever food could be obtained in the Indian country. With this fare, the voyageurs willingly served their masters without a complaint, making it a matter of the greatest care to live up to the letter of their agreement.

The engagés of the western country went to Mackinac, the main trading post of that region, for their assignments. There they received a part of their wages in advance that they might purchase supplies for the winter—tobacco and pipes, needles and thread, bright ribbons for trading with the Indians; and, if one were going far to the north where he could not obtain such things, skins to make moccasins.

Among the voyageurs there was a caste of service, depending on the length of time spent in a certain region. One who was still only in his first year of service was called a "mangeur de lard," or pork-eater; and for a more experienced voyageur to associate with such a one or accept from him a drink of beer or other kindness would be ignoble and beneath his dignity.

[16] Report of the Chicago Historical Society for 1906-7, p. 116.

By courtesy of The Little Chronicle Company and Chicago Historical Society

A FRENCH VOYAGEUR

Drawing by Frederic Remington.

It is interesting here to quote from "Wau-Bun" a little story:

"Another peculiarity of the voyageurs is their fancy for transforming the names of their bourgeois into something funny which resembles it in sound. Thus, Kinzie would be called by one *'Quinze nez'* (fifteen noses), by another *'Singé'* (monkey-fied). Mr. Kercheval was denominated *'Mons. Court-Cheval'* (short horse), and the Judge of Probate, *'le Juge Trop-bête'* (too foolish), etc. The following is an instance in point.

"Mr. Shaw, one of the agents of the Northwest Fur Company, had passed many years on the frontier, and was by the voyageurs called Monsieur le Chat (Mr. Cat). On quitting the Indian territory he married a Canadian lady and became the father of several children. Some years after his return to Canada his old foreman, named Louis la Liberté, went to Montreal to spend the winter. He had heard of his old bourgeois' marriage, and was anxious to see him.

"Mr. Shaw was walking in the Champ de Mars with a couple of officers, when La Liberté espied him. He immediately ran up, and, seizing him by both hands, accosted him,—

"*'Ah! mon cher Monsieur le Chat; comment vous portezvous?'* (My dear Mr. Cat, how do you do?) *'Tres bien, Louizon.' 'Et comment se porte Madame la Chatte?'* (How is the mother cat?) *'Bien, bien, Louizon; elle est très bien.'* (She is very well.) *'Et tous les petits Chatons?'* (And all the kittens?)

"This was too much for Mr. Shaw. He answered shortly *that the kittens were all well,* and turned away with his military friends, leaving poor Louizon quite astonished at the abruptness of his departure." [17]

SUMMARY OF EVENTS AND CONDITIONS, TO 1812

A review of the important dates up to this point in our history will be given here, thus enabling the reader to understand more clearly the events on which they depend. From the period of its discovery in 1673, the entire valley of the Mississippi had been in possession of the French. After the war between Great Britain and France, terminated by the Peace of Paris, concluded February 10, 1763, that part of the western country east of the Mississippi passed into the possession of the English. During the progress of the Revolutionary War the state of Virginia assumed jurisdiction over the Illinois Country,[18] and its legislature passed an act December 9, 1778, to establish the "County of Illinois." The British relinquished their claims to the country at the time the treaty of peace was signed, September 3, 1783, since which time it has been in the undisputed possession of the United States.

The state of Virginia still regarded the Illinois Country as within the jurisdiction of her state government,[19] but finally ceded her western lands to the general government, March 1, 1784. The ordinance of 1787, creating the Northwest Territory, was passed on the 13th of July of the year named. St. Clair county, the first county to be formed within the present limits of the state of Illinois, was or-

[17] Wau-Bun (C), 156.
[18] Sloane's "French War," p. 111.
[19] Boggess' "Settlement of Illinois," p. 45.

ganized April 27, 1790,[20] and on June 20th of the same year, another county was laid off and named after General Henry Knox of Revolutionary fame.[21] Knox County included what is now Chicago, the boundaries of St. Clair County not having extended so far to the eastward. Thus Chicago at this early stage of its existence had its first experience under county government at that time, though its one lone trader, the negro Point De Saible, was probably not even aware that there was such a political division as Knox County in the territory of which he was an inhabitant. Chicago continued within the limits of Knox County until the boundaries of St. Clair County were changed in 1801, so as to include almost the entire area of the present state of Illinois, including its northern part.

Indiana Territory was formed July 4, 1800, and the area comprised within the present state of Illinois was a part of that territory. The capital of the territory was at Vincennes, and the difficulty of reaching it from the western settlements on the Mississippi was so great that the people became much dissatisfied and petitioned congress for a division of the territory.

EMIGRATION TOWARD THE WEST

Meantime emigration coming mostly from Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas, was active towards the western settlements of Illinois, that is, the region of which Kaskaskia was the center, also called the "American Bottom."[22] The northern portion of the territory was still an almost unbroken wilderness, the lead mining region near Galena, and Fort Dearborn, with its garrison and its few traders, being the only points in that vast region occupied by whites.

But the emigration flowing into the Illinois Country did not compare in volume with that into Kentucky, which had been already admitted as a state in 1792, or into Ohio, admitted in 1803, or into that portion of Indiana Territory now within the area of the state of Indiana. The census reports of the United States give the following statistics of population:[23]

	1790	1800	1810
Kentucky,	73,677	220,955	406,511
Ohio,		45,365	230,760
Indiana,		2,517	24,520
Illinois,		2,458	12,282

These figures show that the Illinois Country was making comparatively slow progress in its increase of population as compared, for instance, with that of Indiana; though its percentage of increase was greater than that of Kentucky or of Ohio.

Those who settled in the Illinois Country at this period came through many dangers, for Indians were unfriendly and malaria prevailed in the lowlands. The journey made by the emigrants "was tedious and difficult," says Boggess in his "Settlement of Illinois." "It was often rendered dangerous by precipitous and

[20] Rose's "Counties of Illinois," p. 4.
[21] Rose's "Counties of Illinois," p. 16.
[22] Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," p. 113.
[23] Boggess' "Settlement of Illinois," p. 91.

rough hills and swollen streams, if the journey was overland; or by snags, shoals and rapids if by water." The inability of the newly arrived settlers to secure a title to land, "the unsettled condition of the slavery question, the great distance from the older portions of the United States and from any market, the fact that Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana had vast quantities of unoccupied land more accessible to emigrants than was Illinois, the danger and cost of moving, and the privation incident to a scanty population, such as lack of roads, schools, churches and mills," were some of the obstacles to emigration.

The prairies of the Illinois Country, which had been regarded by the discoverers and explorers as among the chief glories of the new territory opened to view,[24] and in later times as forming its greatest natural advantages, were looked upon by some of our public men of that time as a positive drawback to the future prosperity of the region. In 1786, Monroe wrote to Jefferson regarding the vast region which afterwards formed the Northwest Territory. "A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, and from appearances will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."

ILLINOIS TERRITORY ESTABLISHED

The petitions of the inhabitants of the settlements in the Illinois Country for a separation from the remainder of Indiana Territory continued to pour in at Washington. In one of the reports by a committee of Congress made in 1808, it was estimated that the number of inhabitants of Indiana east of the Wabash was seventeen thousand, and the number west of the Wabash was eleven thousand. These estimates were proved to be very nearly correct, as the census for 1810 shows. The bill providing for the division of the territory, so ardently desired by the people of Illinois, was approved on February 3, 1809, and Illinois Territory entered upon a separate existence. The boundaries of the new territory, established by the act, were the same as those of the state at present, except that the territory extended north to the northern limits of the United States, thus including within its boundaries what is now the state of Wisconsin. Ninian Edwards, then a man thirty-four years of age and the chief justice of the Court of Appeals in Kentucky, was appointed by President Madison the first Territorial Governor of Illinois; and he continued as such until Illinois was admitted as a state into the Union in 1818.

CHICAGO FROM 1803 TO 1812

During the nine years from 1803 to 1812, the period this chapter is designed to cover, the activities of the Chicago settlement were principally those engaged in by the garrison of the fort in the performance of their regular military duty, fur trading with the Indians by the civilian traders and government factors, and the distribution by the regular government Indian agents of annuities, provided for un-

[24] "Jesuit Relations," Vol. 59, p. 161.

der the treaties with the different tribes who resorted to this point. The government in its desire to do the Indians a kindness established "factories," or trading houses, to furnish goods to the Indians and take their furs in exchange, on a plan by which all the gain in prices should be for their benefit; but in carrying out this benevolent purpose it encountered the competition or opposition of the private traders. Whether or not the government officials lacked perseverance or force to command success in this policy, in the end the consequences were disastrous to the Indians.[25] The traders excited the Indians against the factories, sold them liquor secretly, and, as it was considered illegal to accept Indian testimony concerning these illicit transactions, it was impossible to bring the traders to account. The difficulties encountered in the practical working of the "factory system," as it was called, reached an acute stage some years later, which will be mentioned in its proper place in this history.

We are now approaching the period of the second war with Great Britain, the War of 1812, or, as it has been called, "The Second War of Independence." We have seen in the previous chapter how in the Revolutionary War the feeble lamp of civilization, burning at this remote spot, was summarily snuffed out by the carrying off of the negro Point de Saible, the sole inhabitant of the place, as a prisoner to Mackinac; while a bloody action, the battle of South Chicago, took place on ground now included within the limits of the city. Chicago had already suffered several eclipses in the past, and was destined to suffer another before its continuous existence was assured.

SOME CAUSES LEADING TO WAR OF 1812

The echoes of the Napoleonic wars then raging in Europe were heard in this far away frontier region. The "Orders in Council" issued by Great Britain were designed to cripple its French antagonist. These were answered by Napoleon's Decrees of Berlin and Milan, and the effects of these orders and decrees worked severe hardship on American commerce. "The insolence of the powerful belligerents toward the young republic of the United States was hard to endure," [26] and it was foreseen that there was no escape from war. "The conduct of the French government toward the United States was more insulting, if possible, and more injurious, than that of Great Britain," says Larned; but the American people, still suffering from the old anger inherited from the Revolutionary strife, directed their resentment more particularly against England. The Indian outbreaks on the western frontiers were confidently attributed to the influence of British emissaries, and the people of the West became especially clamorous for war.[27] Among the leading causes of war mentioned by President Madison in his message to Congress were "the attacks of the savages incited by British traders." [28]

Added to all this were some real and fancied grievances, suffered by the Indians from the American government and the settlers, which entered into the already complicated state of affairs. Tecumseh and his brother, "the Prophet," contended that

[25] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 201.
[26] Larned's "Seventy Centuries," Vol. II, p. 356.
[27] Patton & Lord's "History of the United States," Vol. II, p. 623.
[28] James' "American History," p. 260.

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

HOUSE OF JOHN KINZIE

On the north side of the river, opposite Fort Dearborn. Its location was at the foot of Pine street.

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

CHICAGO AS IT APPEARED IN 1804

Fort Dearborn on the left. John Kinzie's house on the right.

Indian lands could not be sold without the unanimous consent of all the tribes, especially referring to the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809, to which they were not parties; and that the Great Spirit had created this continent exclusively for the use of the Indians, . . . that no part of it was given to any tribe, but that the whole was the common property of all the tribes." [29] This proposition, said General Harrison in his report to the territorial legislature of Indiana, was so extremely absurd that it would forever prevent any further purchase of lands from the Indians. "Again there was the difficulty," says Winsor, "of controlling the recklessness of the irresponsible 'squatter,' and the wild bushranger's provocation of the Indian." [30] Settlers, indeed, showed scant consideration for Indian rights of ancient domain in the territory which they wished to occupy. Neither was it likely that absolute equity in the distribution of goods and payments of money to the Indians was exercised; in the nature of the case it was not always possible to be just in these matters, even if there had been no dishonesty on the part of the government agents.

Warnings of trouble began to appear. Matthew Irwin, Jr., United States Factor at Chicago from 1810 to 1812, writing to the Secretary of War under date of May 13, 1811, says: "An assemblage of the Indians is to take place on a branch of the Illinois, by the influence of the Prophet. The result will be hostile in the event of war with Great Britain," The Prophet, the brother of Tecumseh, was later in the same year severely defeated by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe. There was usually a "prophet" in the case when a general Indian disturbance was on hand, just as in the wars of the English with Soudan tribes in recent years, a Mahdi, another name for prophet, was always to be found as the inciting cause of trouble.

A few days after Irwin's letter of warning, one Salienne, an Indian interpreter at Chicago, writes: "Several horses have been stolen. The Indians in this quarter are inclined to hostility." Another report was that "the Indians on the Illinois were hostile towards the United States, and that war between the Indians and the white people had just commenced." This was an allusion to the battle of Tippecanoe which had recently been fought.[31]

FURTHER SIGNS OF WAR

"The Battle of Tippecanoe was but the precursor of more important events, and only preceded the war with Great Britain, which it had been long foreseen must soon burst upon the country, as the shadow precedes the substance. If anything were required to inflame the country to a still higher pitch of exasperation than had been produced by the well-known efforts of British agents to incense the Indians against the United States, and their positive encouragement to repeated outrages, and the insolent aggressions of the British government on our commerce, it was found in this battle. It was, indeed, the beginning of the war. There was little doubt that the Indians had previously received assurances of aid from Great Britain in case of hostilities, and they immediately began to threaten all the American

[29] Montgomery's "Life of William Henry Harrison," p. 80.
[30] Winsor's "Westward Movement," p. 306.
[31] Fergus' Historical Series, No. 16, p. 50.

border-population in the Michigan, Indiana and Illinois Territories, as well as the north-western confines of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The whole of the western frontier was thrown into a state of alarm, and many of the inhabitants removed to the older settlements for safety." [32]

The war sentiment, however, was by no means unanimous. John Randolph of Virginia, in defending himself and others of his way of thinking, indignantly repelled the charge of British attachment made against those who were not willing to rush into war with England. "Strange," said he, "that we have no objection to any other people or government, civilized or savage; we find no difficulty in maintaining relations of peace and amity with the Autocrat of all the Russias; with the Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates, or Little Turtle of the Miamis, barbarians and savages, Turks and infidels of every clime and color, with them we can trade and treat. But name England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her; against those whose blood runs in our veins, in common with whom we claim Shakespeare and Milton, Newton and Locke, Sidney and Chatham, as brethren. Her form of government [is] the freest on earth, except our own, . . . from which every valuable principle of our institutions had been borrowed." [33]

CAPTAIN HEALD AT FORT DEARBORN: HIS MARRIAGE

During the summer of 1810, Captain John Whistler was relieved of the command at Fort Dearborn, and was succeeded by Captain Nathan Heald. About the time of his arrival Heald wrote to Colonel Jacob Kingsbury, commander at Detroit, under date of June 8, 1810, that he was not pleased with his new situation and could not bear to think of staying there during the winter. He further says that "it is a good place for a man who has a family and can content himself to live remote from the civilized part of the world." [34] Captain Heald was a much younger man than his predecessor, being thirty-five years old when he took command at Fort Dearborn, "and could not be supposed," says John Wentworth in an address made in 1881, "to have had that acquaintance with the characteristics of the Indians which Whistler had."

Notwithstanding Captain Heald's reluctance to continue in his present situation, no change was made. In the summer of 1811, however, he obtained leave of absence and went to Louisville, Kentucky to be married to Rebekah Wells, a daughter of Captain Samuel Wells,[35] one of the heroes of the battle of Tippecanoe.[36] Captain William Wells was a younger brother of Samuel and hence the uncle of Mrs. Rebekah Heald. Captain William Wells' intimate connection with the tragic events soon to be related renders this an important detail of the narrative. Two years previous to the marriage of Captain Heald and Rebekah Wells, Captain William Wells had taken his niece, Rebekah, on a visit to Fort Wayne, where Captain Heald was then on duty; the marriage was doubtless the result of the acquaintance formed on that occasion.

After the wedding at Louisville, Captain Heald and his wife started north

[32] Montgomery's "Life of William Henry Harrison," p. 105.
[33] Patton & Lord's "History of the United States," Vol. II, p. 624.
[34] Report of the Chicago Historical Society for 1906-7, p. 117.
[35] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 69.
[36] Fergus' Historical Series, No. 16, p. 21.

on horseback for Fort Dearborn. There were four horses, one each for the bride and groom, one for a little slave girl who begged to be taken along, and one for the baggage. They travelled by compass, making the entire journey in six days, and on their arrival the garrison of the fort turned out to receive them with military honors. Rebekah was much pleased with her reception and found everything to her liking. She liked the wild place, the wild lake and the wild Indians, then indeed friendly enough, but soon to become fierce enemies. Everything suited her ways and disposition, "being on the wild order" herself, she said;[37] and we can well imagine Captain Heald's becoming, in his changed circumstances, quite reconciled to the situation with which he was so much displeased the year before.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS

Captain William Wells, one of the romantic figures of the time, was born in Kentucky, about 1770. He was a brother of Samuel Wells, whose daughter Rebekah married Captain Nathan Heald, as previously related. When twelve years old, William was captured by the Miami Indians, whose chief, Little Turtle, adopted him, and gave him his daughter[38] in marriage when he grew to manhood. William was highly regarded by the Indians with whom he lived, and fought with them against the whites in the campaigns of 1790 and 1791, when the Americans under Generals Harmer and St. Clair were defeated. When Rebekah Wells was a girl she remembers how the Wells family, having learned of William's presence among the the Indians, tried to get him back. "We all wanted Uncle William, whom we called our 'Indian uncle,'" related Rebekah Wells, his niece, in later years, "to leave the Indians who had stolen him in his boyhood, and come home and belong to his white relations. He hung back for years, and even at last, when he agreed to visit them, made the proviso that he should be allowed to bring along an Indian escort with him, so that he should not be compelled to stay with them if he did not want to."[39]

He arrived with his band of Indians, and after seeing his old haunts and meeting his relatives, he became convinced that he ought to remain with them, though he returned to his Indian friends for a time. Some time later he told his father-in-law, Little Turtle, that though he had fought for his Indian friends in the past, the time had now come when he was going home to his relatives and hereafter fight for his own flesh and blood. The Indians permitted him to depart, and he soon after joined General Wayne's army, where he was made captain of a company of scouts, doing good service at the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. "After that campaign he was joined by his Indian wife and his children," writes Roosevelt; "the latter grew up and married well in the community, so that their blood now flows in the veins of many of the descendants of the old pioneers." Roosevelt, in the work we have referred to, was evidently much attracted by this picturesque hero, and relates some of his thrilling adventures, among others this one:

[37] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 70.

[38] Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West," says it was a *sister* of Little Turtle whom Wells married. ("Winning of the West," Vol. IV, p. 79). All the other authorities, however, say it was a daughter.

[39] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 174.

"On one of Well's scouts, he and his companions came across a family of Indians in a canoe by the river bank. The white wood rangers were as ruthless as their red foes, sparing neither sex nor age; and the scouts were cocking their rifles when Wells recognized the Indians as being the family into which he had been adopted, and by which he had been treated as a son and brother. Springing forward he swore immediate death to the first man who fired; and then told his companions who the Indians were. The scouts at once dropped their weapons, shook hands with the Miamis, and sent them off unharmed."

After the peace which followed the campaign of General Wayne, Captain Wells settled on a farm, and was later made a justice of the peace and an Indian agent at Fort Wayne. He accompanied his father-in-law, Little Turtle, to Washington in 1797, and together they visited many eastern cities.[40] His correspondence, preserved in the "American State Papers," shows that he was a man of fair education for those times. A portion of a letter written by one of his descendants is printed in the Fergus Historical series, No. 16, which is as follows: "We are proud of our Indian (Little Turtle) blood, and of our Captain Wells blood. We try to keep up the customs of our ancestors, and dress occasionally in Indian costumes. We take no exceptions when people speak of our Indian parentage. We take pleasure in sending to you the tomahawk which Captain William Wells had at the time of his death, and which was brought to his family by an Indian who was in the battle. We also have a dress-sword, which was presented to him by General William Henry Harrison, and a great many books which he had; showing that, even when he lived among the Indians, he was trying to improve himself. He did all he could to educate his children." John Wentworth says that all of Captain Wells' children were well educated; one of them, William Wayne Wells, graduated at West Point in 1821.

Of Little Turtle it may be said, in passing, he was at enmity with the whites at the time of St. Clair's defeat in 1791—in fact he led the victorious tribes in the battle,—but after General Wayne's campaign he became the fast friend of the Americans.[41] Little Turtle was frequently at Chicago, but lived near Fort Wayne, where he died July 14, 1812.

Captain Wells often visited Chicago during this period.[42] His story is not yet finished, we shall meet with him in the course of the stirring events to be related in the succeeding chapter of this history.

THE INDIAN ATTACK ON HARDSCRABBLE

In 1812 there was a piece of land under cultivation some four miles from the fort up the South Branch, owned by a man named Lee, and hence called Lee's Place; the place was also known as Hardscrabble. The precise location of this farm was at the west side of the south fork of the South Branch, about where the old canal takes its start towards the southwest, known in canal days as Bridgeport.

The name of Hardscrabble has always been a favorite one among pioneers to denote a place in which conditions of existence were hard and difficult. A place of that

[40] Fergus' Hist. Series, No. 16, p. 45.
[41] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 129.
[42] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 648.

Reproduced by Kirkland from "Cyclopaedia of United States History"

BLACK PARTRIDGE MEDAL

This medal was given to Black Partridge at the time of the treaty of Greenville (1795) for service rendered the government. Before entering upon war with the inhabitants of Fort Dearborn, Black Partridge came to Captain Heald to give back this medal which was a token of friendship.

Nathan Heald

From Fergus, Number 16

SIGNATURE OF NATHAN HEALD, CAPTAIN AT FORT DEARBORN AT THE TIME OF THE MASSACRE

Rebekah Heald.

From Fergus, Number 16

(MRS. CAPTAIN HEALD)

Rebekah Heald was one of those who escaped from the massacre.

William Wells

From Fergus, Number 16

Captain Wells was killed at the massacre of Fort Dearborn.

name was situated near Lewiston, New York, on the Niagara river, about the same period, and is mentioned in military dispatches during the ensuing war of 1812;[43] and in the state of Illinois the town of Streator was thus colloquially known during its earlier history.[44]

It is somewhat remarkable that the locality, known in early days as "Hardscrabble," should in these later days be looked upon by the promoters of the "Chicago Plan" as the appropriate place where the "civic center" should be established. As late as the sixties, we are told by Mr. Frederick F. Cook, in "Bygone Days," all that tract of country bordering upon the west bank of the South Branch, anywhere from Twelfth to Twenty-Second streets, and extending as far west as Ogden Avenue, was often referred to as Hardscrabble, so called from the original farm of that name, a name by which it was known before the abandonment and destruction of the first Fort Dearborn. As a matter of fact while thus described in general terms by Cook the region known as Hardscrabble certainly included the territory farther south along the west bank of the river, and even extended over to the east bank. The farm house, it is stated by Mrs. Kinzie in "Wau-Bun," "stood on the western bank of the South Branch," while the farm itself was "intersected by the Chicago river about four miles from its mouth." Its location was further described by Moses and Kirkland in their history as "near the forks," that is where the west fork of the South Branch flows into the latter.

In describing any place in that vicinity people of the early day often said "out Hardscrabble way," just as in later years they referred to the region in the same vicinity as "out Bridgeport way." Thus Hardscrabble, which in its primeval state was a wind swept plain, presenting to the view only a barren and monotonous landscape, and which in succeeding years was laid out into an extensive network of streets built up with a cheap class of structures, covered in great part with lumber yards, slips for vessels and railroad tracks, is now, at length, regarded as the favored point where, under a broad and comprehensive plan looking towards a new arrangement of the city's streets, avenues, parks and architecture, it is proposed to locate great public buildings and create a civic center. From this center it is contemplated there shall radiate a system of important lines of communication reaching to the remotest parts of the city.

It would have been difficult for the inhabitants of the city in the early times to have imagined that this locality, the very name of which suggested hard conditions of existence, would ever be considered worthy of such a distinction. "The stone which the builders rejected," says the Scriptures, "the same shall become the head of the corner." The name of Hardscrabble, with its poverty-stricken associations, may yet become a name of honor, and be perpetuated in the name of a park or building in the vicinity, just as the Rookery perpetuated a term of derision given to a patched up structure previously standing on its site, a name which has proved to be one of the most interesting and valuable additions to our local nomenclature.

Returning to our narrative of the tragic events at Lee's place it should be stated that Lee and his family did not live at Hardscrabble, but "resided in a house on the lake shore, not far from the fort." There was a log house at the farm occu-

[43] Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. V, p. 46.
[44] Hoffman: "Hist. of La Salle County," p. 104.

pied by Liberty White with two other men and a boy, the son of Mr. Lee,[45] where they kept a few cows and raised produce for the use of the garrison. On the afternoon of the 7th of April, a party of soldiers, consisting of a corporal and six men, had obtained leave to go up the river to fish, but about dark they heard the sound of a gun fired at the fort, evidently intended to warn the party of danger. They were then about two miles above Lee's place, and started at once to return; fearing that the alarm gun meant trouble with the Indians, so they proceeded cautiously and silently. On arriving at Lee's Place it was thought best to stop and warn the inmates to be upon their guard, as the signal gun from the fort indicated danger of some kind.

All was dark and still as they approached the house. "They groped their way along," says Mrs. Kinzie in "Wau-Bun," whose account is here followed, "and as the corporal jumped over the small enclosure, he placed his hand on the dead body of a man. By the sense of touch he soon ascertained that the head was without a scalp, and otherwise mutilated. The faithful dog of the murdered man stood guarding the lifeless remains of his master." The party now re-embarked and proceeded on their way to the fort unmolested, where they arrived about eleven o'clock at night.

On the afternoon of the same day on which the soldiers were fishing, a party of ten or twelve Indians had arrived at the house at Lee's Place, and according to the custom among savages entered and seated themselves without ceremony. Something in their manner and appearance roused the suspicions of one of the white men living there, a Frenchman in the employ of Liberty White, who remarked, "I do not like the appearance of the Indians, they are none of our folks. I know by their dress and paint that they are not Pottawattomies." Another one of the white men, a discharged soldier, then said to the boy Lee who was present, "If that is the case, we had better get away from them if we can. Say nothing, but do as you see me do."

"As the afternoon was far advanced," relates Mrs. Kinzie, "the soldier walked leisurely towards the canoes, of which there were two tied near the bank. Some of the Indians inquired where he was going. He pointed to the cattle which were standing among the haystacks on the opposite bank; and made signs that they must go and fodder them, and then they should return and get their supper. He got into one canoe, and the boy into the other. The stream was narrow, and they were soon across. When they had gained the opposite side, they pulled some hay for the cattle, made a show of collecting them, and when they had gradually made a circuit, so that their movements were concealed by the haystacks, they took to the woods, which were close at hand, and made for the fort.

"They had run about a quarter of a mile, when they heard the discharge of two guns successively, which they supposed to have been leveled at the companions they had left behind." They hastened their flight towards the fort and arrived opposite the house of Burns, a man living on the north bank of the river near John Kinzie, and called to him to hasten to the fort. As soon as the fugitives reached the fort, they related the events of the afternoon; and it was then that the alarm gun was fired to warn the fishing party who were at that moment far up on the South Branch. The next move was to bring the families of those liv-

[45] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 71.

ing on the north side of the river to the fort. A gallant young officer, Ensign Ronan, volunteered his services, and with a party of five or six soldiers crossed the river. They took the wife of Burns with her infant scarcely a day old upon her bed to the boat, in which they carefully conveyed her and the other members of the family to the fort. The Kinzie family had already reached safety by means of two old *pirogues* that were moored near their house.

"The next morning a party of the citizens and soldiers volunteered to go to Lee's Place to learn further the fate of its occupants. The body of Mr. White was found pierced by two balls, and with eleven stabs in his breast. The Frenchman, as already described, lay dead with his dog still beside him. Their bodies were brought to the fort and buried in its immediate vicinity.

"It was subsequently ascertained, from traders out in the Indian country, that the perpetrators of this bloody deed were a party of Winnebagoes, who had come into this neighborhood to 'take some white scalps.' Their plan had been to proceed down the river from Lee's Place, and kill every white man without the walls of the fort. Hearing, however, the report of the cannon, and not knowing what it portended, they thought it best to remain satisfied with this one exploit, and forthwith retreated to heir homes on Rock River.

"The inhabitants outside the fort, consisting of a few discharged soldiers and some families of half-breeds, now entrenched themselves in the Agency House. This stood on the esplanade west of the fort, between the pickets and the river, and distant about twenty rods from the former. It was an old-fashioned log building, with a hall running through the center, and one large room on each side. Piazzas extended the whole length of the building in front and rear. These were planked up for greater security, port-holes were cut, and sentinels posted at night."

This account of the attack on Lee's Place, or Hardscrabble, is largely quoted from Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-Bun." Mrs. Kinzie tells us that "this narrative is substantially the same as that published in pamphlet form, in 1836. It was transferred with little variation to Brown's 'History of Illinois,' and to a work called 'Western Annals.' It was likewise made, by Major Richardson, the basis of his two tales, 'Hardscrabble,' and 'Wau-nan-gee.'"

The tragedy at Lee's Place was one of the manifestations of the malign influence exerted by Tecumseh among the tribes of the Middle West. There were other alarms and night raids by the Indians for some time afterward, but nothing more serious happened than some damage to the live stock kept near the fort; after that a period of quiet ensued until the events connected with the massacre four months later, which will be described in the next chapter.

"Wau-Bun" is the most valuable written record connected with this period of Chicago History. Until the account of the massacre and the preliminary tragedy at Lee's Place were published by her in 1836, many of the details of these events were preserved only in the memory of the participants. Twenty years later, that is, in 1856. "Wau-Bun" appeared from the press of Derby & Jackson, New York. In his introduction to the excellent Caxton Club edition of "Wau-Bun," issued in 1901, Mr. Thwaites says: "'Wau-Bun' gives us our first, and in some respects our best, insight into the 'early day' of the old Northwest. The graphic illustrations of early scenes which the author has drawn for us are excellent of their

kind, indicating an artistic capacity certainly unusual upon the American frontier of seventy years ago. But better than these is the text itself. The action is sufficiently rapid, the description is direct, and that the style is unadorned but makes the story appear to us the more vivid."

Mrs. Kinzie will be often mentioned and quoted from in the further progress of this history, for "no one," says Hurlbut, "ever attempts to write about the early history of Chicago without drawing from the pages of Mrs. Kinzie's book."

CHAPTER V

FORT DEARBORN MASSACRE

DANGER THREATENING FORT DEARBORN—ORDERS RECEIVED TO EVACUATE THE FORT—PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE—ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS—DEPARTURE FROM THE FORT—ATTACK BY THE INDIANS—MASSACRE—DEATH OF CAPTAIN WELLS, ENSIGN RONAN, DR. VAN VOORHIS—SURRENDER OF CAPTAIN HEALD—ESCAPE OF KINZIE FAMILY—SERGEANT GRIFFITH'S ADVENTURE—STORY OF JOHN COOPER'S FAMILY—VENGEANCE TAKEN—KINZIES LEAVE CHICAGO—JOHN KINZIE AS PRISONER OF WAR—CAPTAIN HEALD'S ORDERS—CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS TERRITORY.

DANGER FROM BRITISH AND INDIANS

THE officers stationed at Fort Dearborn in the summer of 1812 were Captain Heald in command, Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, Ensign George Ronan, and Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis. The company which formed the garrison was composed of fifty-four regulars of the First Regiment, United States troops, and twelve militia.[1] The women of the fort were Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm, while many of the soldiers were married and their wives and children were with them.

The alarms occasioned by Indian hostility in the spring had subsided during the following summer, and affairs at the fort were moving along once more in their accustomed channel. One day the little community was thrown into a state of excitement by the arrival of a messenger from Detroit with news of the greatest importance.

On the 7th of August an Indian chief of the Pottawattomie tribe named Winnemeg, or Winamac as he is sometimes called, arrived at Fort Dearborn with dispatches from General Hull to Captain Heald. General William Hull had been a distinguished officer in the Revolutionary War, and had for seven years been the governor of Michigan Territory.[2] In anticipation of war the government had placed him in command of the Northwestern Army, which had been assembled at Detroit. Winnemeg had shown his friendship for the Americans on previous occasions, and General Hull had intrusted to him the important dispatches which he bore.[3] He brought the news that war had been declared against Great Britain on

[1] Captain Heald's Report, Oct. 23, 1812; and Niles Register, June 14, 1814; cited by Hurlbut in "Chicago Antiquities," pp. 179 and 180.

[2] Hull's "Memoirs of the Northwestern Army," pp. 17 and 25.

[3] Blanchard's "Discovery of the Northwest," Vol. I, p. 352.

the 18th of June, that Mackinac had already fallen into the possession of the British, and that Detroit was closely pressed by the British and their Indian allies.

PREPARATION FOR EVACUATION OF FORT DEARBORN

"With regard to Fort Dearborn, the orders to Captain Heald were, to evacuate the fort, if practicable, and in that event, to distribute all the United States property contained in the fort, and in the United States' factory, or agency, among the Indians in the neighborhood." [4]

The account of what followed is quoted from "Wau-Bun:" "After having delivered his dispatches, Winnemeg requested a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, who had taken up his residence in the fort. He stated to Mr. Kinzie that he was acquainted with the purport of the communications he had brought, and begged him to ascertain if it were the intention of Captain Heald to evacuate the post. He advised strongly against such a step, inasmuch as the garrison was well supplied with ammunition, and with provisions for six months. It would, therefore, be far better, he thought, to remain until a reinforcement could be sent to their assistance. If, however, Captain Heald should decide upon leaving the post, it should by all means be done immediately. The Pottowattamies, through whose country they must pass, being ignorant of the object of Winnemeg's mission, a forced march might be made, before those who were hostile in their feelings were prepared to interrupt them.

"Of this advice, so earnestly given, Captain Heald was immediately informed. He replied that it was his intention to evacuate the post, but that, inasmuch as he had received orders to distribute the United States' property, he should not feel justified in leaving it until he had collected the Indians of the neighborhood and made an equitable division among them.

"Winnemeg then suggested the expediency of marching out, and leaving all things standing—possibly while the Indians were engaged in the partition of the spoils, the troops might effect their retreat unmolested. This advice was strongly seconded by Mr. Kinzie, but did not meet the approbation of the commanding officer.

"The order for evacuating the post was read next morning upon parade. It is difficult to understand why Captain Heald, in such an emergency, omitted the usual form of calling a council of war with his officers. It can only be accounted for by the fact of a want of harmonious feeling between himself and one of his junior officers—Ensign Ronan, a high-spirited and somewhat overbearing, but brave and generous young man.

"In the course of the day, finding that no council was called, the officers waited on Captain Heald to be informed what course he intended to pursue. When they learned his intentions, they remonstrated with him, on the following grounds:.

"First—It was highly improbable that the command would be permitted to pass through the country in safety to Fort Wayne. For although it had been said that some of the chiefs had opposed an attack upon the fort, planned the preceding autumn, yet it was well known that they had been actuated in that matter by motives of private regard to one family, that of Mr. Kinzie, and not to

[4] Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 162.

any general friendly feeling towards the Americans; and that, at any rate, it was hardly to be expected that these few individuals would be able to control the whole tribe, who were thirsting for blood.

"In the next place—Their march must necessarily be slow, as their movements must be accommodated to the helplessness of the women and children, of whom there were a number with the detachment. That of their small force, some of the soldiers were superannuated, others invalid; therefore, since the course to be pursued was left discretional,[5] their unanimous advice was, to remain where they were, and fortify themselves as strongly as possible. Succors from the other side of the peninsula might arrive before they could be attacked by the British from Mackinac; and even should they not, it were far better to fall into the hands of the latter than to become the victims of the savages.

"Captain Heald argued in reply, 'that a special order had been issued by the War Department, that no post should be surrendered without battle having been given, and his force was totally inadequate to an engagement with the Indians; that he should unquestionably be censured for remaining, when there appeared a prospect of a safe march through; and that, upon the whole, he deemed it expedient to assemble the Indians, distribute the property among them, and then ask of them an escort to Fort Wayne, with the promise of a considerable reward upon their safe arrival—adding, that he had full confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians, from whom, as well as from the soldiers, the capture of Mackinac had been kept a profound secret.'

"From this time the officers held themselves aloof, and spoke but little upon the subject, though they considered the project of Captain Heald little short of madness. The dissatisfaction among the soldiers hourly increased, until it reached a high pitch of insubordination.

"Upon one occasion, as Captain Heald was conversing with Mr. Kinzie upon the parade, he remarked, 'I could not remain, even if I thought it best, for I have but a small store of provisions.'

" 'Why, captain,' said a soldier who stood near, forgetting all etiquette in the excitement of the moment, 'you have cattle enough to last the troops six months.'

" 'But,' replied Captain Heald, 'I have no salt to preserve it with.'

" 'Then jerk it,' said the man, 'as the Indians do their venison.'

"The Indians now became daily more unruly. Entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels, they made their way without ceremony into the officers' quarters. On one occasion an Indian took up a rifle and fired it in the parlor of the commanding officer, as an expression of defiance. Some were of opinion that this was intended among the young men as a signal for an attack. The old chiefs passed backwards and forwards among the assembled groups, with the appearance of the most lively agitation, while the squaws rushed to and fro, in great excitement, and evidently prepared for some fearful scene.

"Any further manifestation of ill feeling was, however, suppressed for the present, and Captain Heald, strange as it may seem, continued to entertain a conviction of having created so amicable a disposition among the Indians, as would insure the safety of the command on their march to Fort Wayne.

"Thus passed the time until the 12th of August. The feelings of the inmates

[5] See copy of General Hull's order, post.

of the fort during this time may be better imagined than described. Each morning that dawned seemed to bring them nearer to that most appalling fate—butchery by a savage foe—and at night they scarcely dared yield to slumber, lest they should be aroused by the war-whoop and tomahawk. Gloom and mistrust prevailed, and the want of unanimity among the officers debarred them the consolation they might have found in mutual sympathy and encouragement.

"The Indians being assembled from the neighboring villages, a council was held with them on the afternoon of the twelfth. Captain Heald alone attended on the part of the military. He requested his officers to accompany him, but they declined. They had been secretly informed that it was the intention of the young chiefs to fall upon the officers and massacre them while in council, but they could not persuade Captain Heald of the truth of their information. They waited therefore only until he had left the garrison, accompanied by Mr. Kinzie, when they took command of the block-houses which overlooked the esplanade on which the council was held, opened the port-holes, and pointed the cannon so as to command the whole assembly. By this means, probably, the lives of the whites who were present in council were preserved.

"In council, the commanding officer informed the Indians that it was his intention to distribute among them, the next day, not only the goods lodged in the United States' factory, but also the ammunition and provisions, with which the garrison was well supplied. He then requested of the Pottowattamies an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a liberal reward on arriving there, in addition to the presents they were now about to receive. With many professions of friendship and goodwill, the savages assented to all he proposed, and promised all he required.

"After the council, Mr. Kinzie, who understood well, not only the Indian character, but the present tone of feeling among them, had a long interview with Captain Heald, in hopes of opening his eyes to the present posture of affairs.

"He reminded him that since the troubles with the Indians upon the Wabash and its vicinity, there had appeared a settled plan of hostilities towards the whites, in consequence of which it had been the policy of the Americans to withhold from them whatever would enable them to carry on their warfare upon the defenseless inhabitants of the frontier. * * *

"Captain Heald was struck with the impolicy of furnishing the enemy (for such they must now consider their old neighbors) with arms against himself, and determined to destroy all the ammunition except what should be necessary for the use of his own troops.

"On the 13th, the goods, consisting of blankets, broadcloths, calicoes, paints, etc., where distributed, as stipulated. The same evening the ammunition and liquor were carried, part into the sally-port, and thrown into a well which had been dug there to supply the garrison with water in case of emergency; the remainder was transported as secretly as possible through the northern gate, the heads of the barrels knocked in, and the contents poured into the river. The same fate was shared by a large quantity of alcohol belonging to Mr. Kinzie, which had been deposited in a warehouse near his residence opposite the fort.

"The Indians suspected what was going on, and crept, serpent-like, as near the scene of action as possible, but a vigilant watch was kept up, and no one was

GEN. HULL'S LETTER

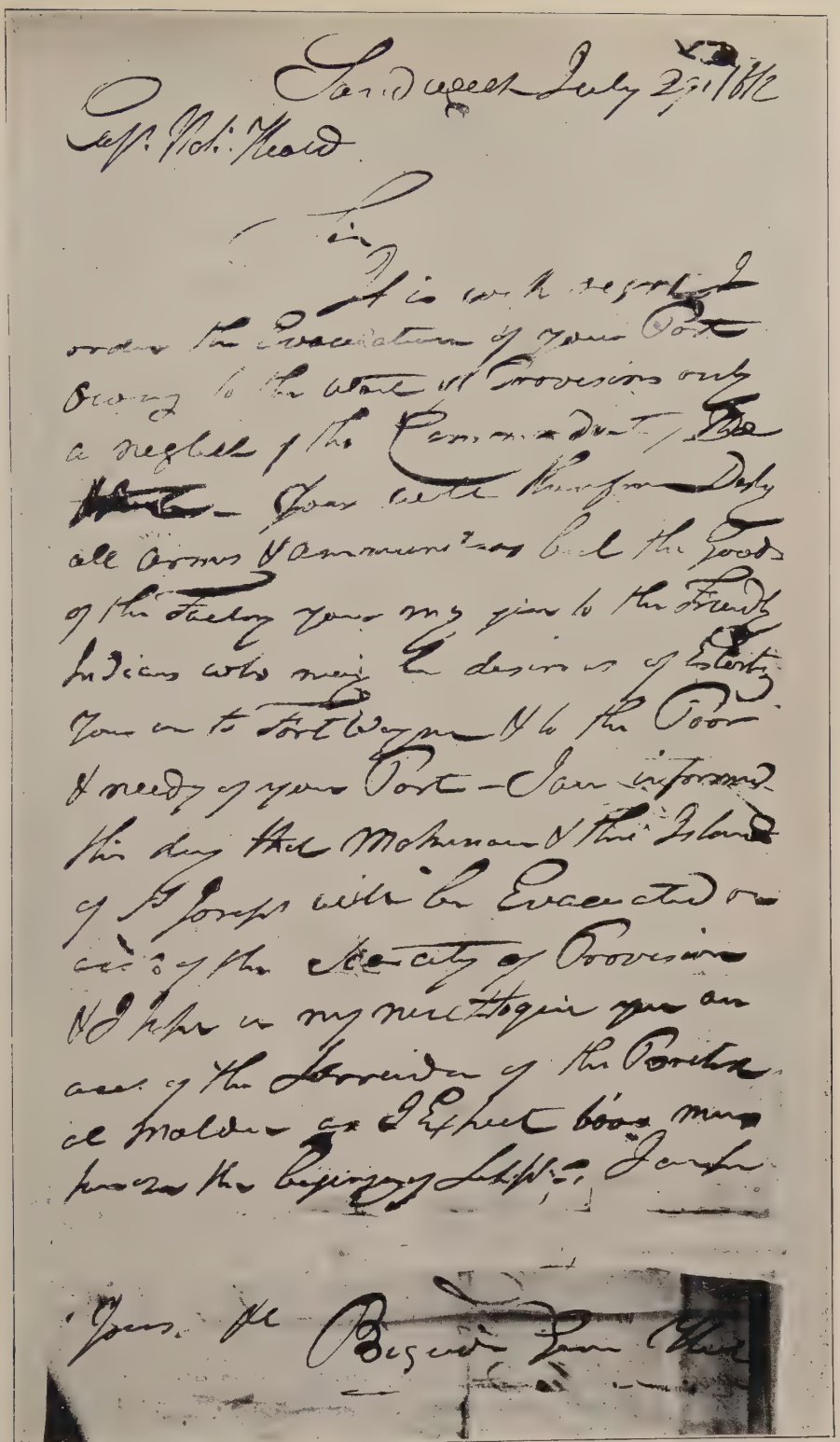
SANDWICH, July 29, 1812.

Capt. Nath. Heald,

SIR: It is with regret I order the evacuation of your post owing to the want of provisions only, a neglect of the Commandant of Detroit. You will therefore destroy all arms and ammunition, but the goods of the factory you may give to the friendly Indians, who may be desirous of escorting you on to Fort Wayne, and to the poor and needy of your post. I am informed this day that Mackinac and the Island of St. Joseph's will be evacuated on account of the scarcity of provisions, and I hope in my next to give you an account of the surrender of the British at Malden, as I expect 600 men here by the beginning of Sept. I am, sir

Yours, &c,

BRIGADIER GEN. HULL.



By courtesy of Wisconsin Historical Society

FACSIMILE OF GENERAL HULL'S ORDER TO CAPTAIN HEALD TO EVACUATE FORT DEARBORN

suffered to approach but those engaged in the affair. All the muskets not necessary for the command on the march were broken up and thrown into the well, together with the bags of shot, flints, gunscrews, and, in short, everything relating to weapons of offense."

ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS

On the 14th, one week after Winnemeg's arrival with dispatches, Captain William Wells arrived at the post from Fort Wayne, with a band of fifteen friendly Miami Indians. He had heard at Fort Wayne of the order for the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, and, aware of the hostility of the Pottawattomies, he had hurried across the country to warn Captain Heald of the certain destruction he was exposed to if he should abandon the fort.

When he reached the fort, however, "he found that the ammunition had been destroyed, and the provisions given to the Indians. There was therefore no alternative, and every preparation was made for the march of the troops on the following morning." Wells possessed a perfect knowledge of the character and disposition of the Indians derived from his long residence among them. The savages soon learned of the destruction of the arms and ammunition which they were especially anxious to secure, as well as of the liquors which had been poured into the river. Some of the chiefs, however, endeavored to restrain their young men, and exerted their utmost influence to allay their feelings of resentment, but with little effect.

LAST DAYS OF THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN

One of the chiefs, Black Partridge, seeing how hopeless was the situation, came to the commanding officer, and said: "Father, I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy." The medal referred to had been given him at a previous date perhaps some years before. The face of the medal, as shown in the accompanying illustration, bears the portrait of President Madison and the year 1809. Already some four or five hundred Indians had gathered about the fort, attracted thither by the report that had circulated among them of the distribution of supplies. A word picture of the scene is given in Kirkland's "Story of Chicago," which, with a few slight changes and omissions, is quoted as follows:

"A lonely weedy streamlet flows eastward past the fort, then turns sharp to the right and makes its way by a shallow, fordable ripple, over a long sand bar, into the lake a half mile to the southward. On the river bank stands the United States Agency Storehouse. Across the river and a little to the eastward is the old Kinzie house, built of squared logs, by Jean Baptiste Pointe de Saible, nearly forty years before, now repaired, enlarged and improved by its owner and occupant, John Kinzie. Just west of Kinzie's house is Ouilmette's cabin, and still farther that of John Burns. Opposite Burns' place, on the south side of the river, a swampy branch enters the river from the south, and on the sides of this branch there is a group of Indian wigwams. The north side of the river is all wooded, except where little garden patches are cleared around the human habitations. One

might see from the top of the block house the forks of the stream a mile to the westward,—the 'River Guarie' flowing from the north, and the 'Portage River' from the south."

THE DEPARTURE FROM THE FORT

The morning of the fatal fifteenth of August had arrived. All things were in readiness for the departure of the troops. Captain Heald's whole party, as they marched out of the gate of the fort on that bright and sunny morning, was composed of fifty-four regulars, twelve militiamen, nine women and eighteen children,—ninety-three white persons in all.[6] Captain Wells took the lead mounted on his thoroughbred, with his face blackened, as is the Indian custom when prepared for death. With him in the advance was half of his escort of Miamis mounted on Indian ponies, followed in turn by soldiers; next came a train of wagons with the women and children, except Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm, who were on horseback; in the wagons were the supplies and camp equipage. The rear of the column was brought up by the remainder of the Miami escort. With the column marched Mr. Kinzie, who bravely chose to remain with the troops, although a friendly Indian chief, Topenebe, had warned him against doing so. Mr. Kinzie's family had already embarked in a boat under the guidance of two friendly Indians. The party in the boat consisted of Mrs. John Kinzie and her four children of various ages—from two to nine years—, the nurse Josette La Framboise, a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's named Chandonnais, two servants, a boatman, and the two Indians above spoken of,—in all a party of twelve persons. Mrs. Kinzie's daughter by her first marriage, Margaret McKillip, now the wife of Lieutenant Helm, had chosen to accompany her husband on the march.[7]

THE ATTACK BY THE INDIANS

Their course lay south along the shore of the lake. A range of low sand hills extended south between the lake shore and the prairie to the westward. The advance under Captain Wells had reached a point about a mile and a half distant from the fort (at the present intersection of Eighteenth Street and Calumet Avenue), when Wells "was seen to turn and ride back, swinging his hat around his head in a circle, which meant in the sign language of the frontier, 'we are surrounded by Indians.'"[8] As he came nearer he shouted to Captain Heald, "They are about to attack us; form instantly and charge upon them."[9] The escort of Pottawattomies which had been promised to Captain Heald by that tribe had left the fort in their company, but instead of remaining with the column had diverged in their course and were now on the prairie west of the sand hills. It was this "escort" which had suddenly become the attacking party. The heads of the Indians could now be seen bobbing up and down beyond the sand hills "like turtles out of the water."

The troops were promptly put in line and were at once saluted by a volley

[6] Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 318.
[7] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 23.
[8] Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 316.
[9] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 27.

from the Indians. The charge was pressed and the Indians gave way in front, but closed in on the flanks. "The troops behaved most gallantly," wrote Mrs. Helm in her subsequent account. "They were but a handful, but they seemed resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible." The cowardly Miami escort fled at the first fire, and made good their escape in the direction of Fort Wayne.

Mrs. Helm's narrative continues substantially as follows: "In the meantime a horrible scene was enacted. One young savage, climbing into the baggage-wagon containing the children of the white families," tomahawked nearly all of them. Captain Wells had already led a charge, and while engaged he beheld this awful outrage. "Is that your game, butchering women and children?" and turning his horse's head, he started for the Indian camp, where had been left the squaws and children; but before he could carry out this intention he was surrounded by Indians, one of whom he killed by a shot from his gun.

Mrs. Heald's narrative, which varies from that of Mrs. Helm's in several important details, says that Captain Wells "had two pistols and a small gun; his bullets and powder were kept in shoulder belts, and he generally had an extra bullet in his mouth. He could pour in a little powder, wad it down, blow in the bullet, prime and fire, more quickly than one could relate the fact."[10] He saw his niece, Mrs. Heald, just at this time, and riding up to her covered with blood from a shot he had received through the breast, he said to her: "Farewell, my child. Tell my wife—if you live to see her—tell her I died at my post. There are seven red devils over there that I have killed." At this moment Mrs. Heald exclaimed, "There is an Indian pointing right at the back of your head." Turning to face the foe, he cried out "Shoot away," and instantly the Indian fired the shot and Captain Wells fell dead. Thus nobly perished one of the best and bravest frontiersmen of his time, fighting where he had been summoned by sympathy and affection. He died like a man. His memory is perpetuated in the name of an important street in our city, and his name will go down in history as one of the heroes of the early time.

The battle lasted about fifteen minutes.[11] During its progress, Mrs. Helm relates in her narrative, she felt that her hour had come and she endeavored to prepare herself for her approaching fate. "While I was thus engaged," she continues, "the surgeon, Dr. Van Voorhis, came up. He was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his face was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me, 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

" 'Dr. Van Voorhis,' said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us make what preparation is yet in our power!'

" 'Oh, I cannot die!' he exclaimed, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful!'

"I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who, though mortally wounded and nearly down,

[10] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 32.

[11] Fergus Series, No. 16, p. 52.

was still fighting with desperation on one knee. 'Look at that man,' said I; 'at least he dies like a soldier!' 'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive grasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever.'"[12] Dr. Van Voorhis, as well as Ensign Ronan, was numbered among the slain.

Dr. Van Voorhis was only twenty-two years old at the time of his tragic death. He had been on duty at the fort for about a year previous to the massacre. "In an obituary notice published in the 'Political Index,' November 17, 1812, at Newburg, New York, is the following: 'Among the slain was Dr. Van Voorhis, of Fishkill, surgeon in the army. He was a young man of great merit, and received his early education at the academy in this village. He possessed an enterprising and cultivated mind, and was ardent in the support of the interest and honor of his country.'"[13]

Ensign George Ronan was also a young man who had graduated from the military academy at West Point only the previous year. The rank of ensign was given to all graduated from West Point at that time, a rank which corresponds to that of second-lieutenant in modern army regulations.

CAPTAIN HEALD'S SURRENDER

Meantime Captain Heald and a remnant of his force were isolated on a mound in the prairie; he had lost all his officers, Lieutenant Helm having fallen into the hands of the Indians, and half his men; while he himself was sorely wounded, and had no choice but to surrender on the best terms he could make.[14] The Indians had got possession of the horses, provisions and baggage of every description. From his position Captain Heald saw the Indians make signs to him to approach them for consultation. He advanced alone and was asked to surrender by one of the Pottawattomie chiefs, called Black-Bird, who at the same time promised to spare the lives of the prisoners. "On a few moments' consideration," says Captain Heald in his published report printed some months later in the Niles Register, "I concluded it would be most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise."

THE ADVENTURES OF THE BOAT PARTY

The family of Mr. Kinzie, in the boat, kept near the mouth of the river, and watched with great anxiety the departure of the troops and their trains as they proceeded towards the south. They heard the discharge of guns when the Indians attacked, and following down the shore they saw a woman on horseback led by an Indian. "That is Mrs. Heald," cried Mrs. Kinzie. "That Indian will kill her. Run, Chandonnais, take the mule that is tied there, and offer it to him to release her." The Indian was already attempting to take off her bonnet in order to scalp her, though she resisted vigorously. It will be remembered that Mrs. Heald was the niece of Captain Wells, whom she had seen shot before her eyes. The Indian accepted the offer of the mule for the release of Mrs. Heald, and she was taken on

[12] Andreas: "History of Chicago," Vol. I, p. 457.
[13] "Wau-Bun" (Caxton Ed.), p. 173.
[14] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 316.

board the boat, where she lay moaning with pain from the wounds she had received. At length the party in the boat returned to the Kinzie house, where Mr. Kinzie, having escaped the massacre, soon after joined them. Here they were closely guarded by their Indian friends, whose intention it was to carry them to Detroit for safety.

MRS. HELM'S THRILLING ADVENTURE

Mrs. Helm's conversation with the doomed Dr. Van Voorhis was quickly followed by what she supposed was to be the last moment of her own life. "At this moment," she relates in her narrative, "a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside I partially avoided the blow, which was intended for my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me struggling and resisting towards the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, for he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge!*

"When the firing had nearly subsided, my preserver bore me from the water and conducted me up the sand banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stooped and took off my shoes to free them from the sand with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them.

"When I had gained the prairie, I was met by my father [her step-father Mr. Kinzie,] who told me that my husband was safe and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back towards the Chicago river, along the southern bank of which was the Pottawattomie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but, finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, *Black Partridge,* and partly by another Indian, *Peesotum,* who held dangling in his hand a scalp, which by the black ribbon around the queue I recognized as that of Captain Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of a chief was standing near, and, seeing my exhausted condition, she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a stream that flowed near [along the present State Street], threw into it some maple sugar, and, stirring it up with her hand, gave it to me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many horrors, touched me most sensibly." [15]

[15] Wau-Bun (C.), p. 175.

THE SURRENDER

The terms on which Captain Heald surrendered were that the lives of those who still survived should be spared, which the Indians promised they would do.[16] The soldiers then delivered up their arms and were taken back to the Indian encampment near the fort, where the prisoners were distributed among the different tribes. Captain Heald relates: "The next morning they [the Indians] set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Pottawattomie nation; and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about fifteen. Our strength was fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children. . . . Lieutenant Linai T. Helm, with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children, were prisoners when we separated." [17]

THE ABANDONED FORT

"The fort had become a scene of plunder to such as remained after the troops marched out," writes Mrs. Helm in her narrative. "The cattle had been shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead or dying around. This work of butchery had commenced just as we were leaving the fort. I well remembered a remark of Ensign Ronan, as the firing went on. 'Such,' turning to me, 'is to be our fate—to be shot down like brutes.' "

The day following the massacre the Indians set fire to the fort and Agency building, and they were burned to the ground. A distribution of the plunder had been made and the savages arrayed themselves in shawls, ribbons and finery; and soon after they scattered, some to their villages, and some to join a party intending to capture Fort Wayne, though this enterprise was foiled by the timely arrival of General Harrison with troops from Kentucky and Ohio.[18]

Recalling the events of the massacre and surrender in later years, Captain Heald said that while he had no confidence in the promises of the Indians, he felt that he had done the best he could, that in fifteen minutes more the last man would have been killed, surrounded as they were by ten times as many Indians as there were soldiers, and that they had no chance at all.[19] It has been said that had Captain Heald, after having received the order from General Hull to evacuate the fort, done so at once, instead of delaying more than a week, holding councils with the Indians and debating the matter with his officers, he might have reached Fort Wayne in safety, where he could have joined his forces with those arriving from the south. The report had spread among the Indians that supplies were to be distributed, and their number was increasing every day. We have seen that Winnemeg strongly urged prompt action if a retreat was to be made, and John Kinzie added his advice to the same effect.

[16] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 181.
[17] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 178.
[18] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 321.
[19] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 33.

On the other hand it was pointed out to Captain Heald that it was safer to remain in the fort and withstand a siege if necessary. This is what Captain Wells evidently would have advised had he arrived before the ammunition and liquors were destroyed, as he made the journey from Fort Wayne to warn Captain Heald against leaving the fort. But General Hull's order to evacuate the post left Captain Heald no discretion in the matter, as will appear further on in this chapter.

"That the fort could have been held for any length of time against the Indians," says Andreas, "is altogether doubtful. . . . A thousand hostile warriors would have beleaguered it within a very few days, as they did Fort Wayne shortly after, and it would have been impossible for General Harrison to have relieved both places. Without such relief it must have fallen. . . . But the probabilities are," continues Andreas, "that no course whatever could have saved the ill-fated garrison. War was declared, the Indians were aroused and allied with the British. Certain ones had friendships with the Americans, and did what could be done to save individuals, but they had no friendship for the United States. Tecumseh was using all the influence of his powerful name to consolidate the Indian tribes in the British interest. The fall of Mackinac and the peril of Detroit showed the Indians that England was the stronger power. With all these forces at work, the fall of Fort Dearborn, and the destruction of the garrison, were apparently but a matter of time." In fact the fall of Detroit followed quickly after the massacre at Fort Dearborn, as it was surrendered to the British on the 16th with over two thousand troops.[20]

SURVIVORS OF THE MASSACRE

Captain Heald and his wife were taken to the mouth of the St. Joseph River and remained there with a trader until they had somewhat recovered from their wounds. They then went to Mackinac, where Captain Heald gave himself up to the British commandant, who treated him with every consideration and even offered his purse. He was released on his parole of honor, and with his wife proceeded to Pittsburg and eventually to the home of Mrs. Heald's father, Samuel Wells, at Louisville, Kentucky.

Although by the terms of the surrender the lives of the prisoners were to have been spared,[21] the Indians considered that the wounded did not share in this stipulation, and they were quickly doomed to torture and death. Captain Heald was taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who had a strong personal regard for him, and who soon after released him. Lieutenant Helm was among the wounded, but had the good fortune to fall into the hands of some friendly Indians, and having been taken to Peoria, was liberated through the intervention of Mr. Thomas Forsyth, the half-brother of Mr. Kinzie. Mrs. Helm, as we have related, was made a prisoner by Black Partridge, and was brought to the house of Mr. Kinzie after the party in the boat had returned to it.

The soldiers and others, some of them accompanied by their wives and children who had escaped the massacre, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawattomies, where such of them as survived remained until the following spring,

[20] Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America:" Vol. VII, p. 384.
[21] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 178.

when, through the rather tardy efforts of the British authorities, spurred on by considerations of humanity, they were gathered at the St. Joseph river, and ransomed.[22] But their number was sadly reduced during their nine months of captivity among the Indians, as the British agent having the work of collecting them in charge reported only "seventeen soldiers, four women and some children." It will be remembered that Captain Heald, in his report of the massacre, said that "Lieutenant Helm with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children were prisoners when we separated."[23] Being now in possession of the British, the captives were taken to Detroit as prisoners of war. There were several survivors not included among those whom the British agent, Robert Dickson, had been able to find among the Indian tribes at that time.[24]

John Burns, who lived near the Kinzies, with his wife and infant child was with the troops when they left the fort, and Burns was among the killed. Mrs. Burns, with her child, became the prisoner of a chief who carried her and her child to his village, and treated them with kindness. The child, a girl, grew up to womanhood, and many years later was seen and conversed with by the author of "Wau-Bun," while traveling to Chicago on a steamer.

The family of Mr. Lee had resided in a house on the shore of the lake, not far from the fort. Mr. Lee was the owner of "Lee's Place," a farm up the South Branch, where two men were killed by wandering Indians in the previous April, as has been previously related. He and his family had joined the procession of death on the fatal day of the massacre. His family consisted of his wife and her young infant, a daughter twelve years old, and a son somewhat older, the same who, with the discharged soldier, had run all the way from the farm to the fort to notify the garrison of the visit of the hostile Indians. The father, son and daughter fell victims at the massacre, while Mrs. Lee and her infant were taken by Black Partridge, that knightly rescuer of women, and carried to his village on the Au Sable. "He was in no hurry to release her," writes the author of "Wau-Bun," "for he was in hopes of prevailing on her to become his wife." In the course of the winter the child fell ill, and the anxious chief wrapped it up with the greatest care, and himself started off for Chicago with it in his arms. There was now a French trader by the name of M. Du Pin, who had taken up his residence in the Kinzie house since the departure of the Kinzies, the particulars of which will be presently related.

The child was soon placed on the road to recovery through the remedies prescribed by M. Du Pin, and when about to return to his village the chief confided to the trader his proposal to Mrs. Lee to become his wife, and the manner in which it had been received. M. Du Pin at once entered into negotiations with the chief for the ransom of the captive widow, and succeeded in obtaining his consent to bring his prisoner to Chicago. "Whether the kind trader had at the outset any other feeling in the matter than sympathy and brotherly kindness we cannot say," writes the author of "Wau-Bun"; "we only know that in process of time Mrs. Lee

[22] Mason: "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 320.

[23] Kirkland. "Chicago Massacre," p. 119.

[24] See the story of Peter Bell, (Mason, "Chapters from Illinois History," p. 320); and of Sergeant Griffith (Wau-Bun, Caxton Ed., p. 185); and of Walter Jordan (Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 117).

From "Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago" by Mrs. John H. Kinzie

CHICAGO IN 1812

Drawn by George Davis, "The Sweet Singer of St. James' church." By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society.

By permission of E. O. Gale and the Chicago Historical Society

HARDSCRABBLE

The piece of cultivated land called Hardscrabble was owned by a man named Lee, and was four miles away from the fort on the west side of the south fork of the South Branch. Hardscrabble was attacked by the Indians four months before the massacre.

became Madame Du Pin, and that they lived together in great happiness for many years after."

THE PERIL OF THE KINZIES

The afternoon of the day of the massacre witnessed the assemblage of a company under the roof of the Kinzie mansion, gathered together after a day of excitement, bloodshed and distress seldom experienced in the lives of civilized people. Across the river could be seen the wild antics of the victorious savages shouting and dancing exultantly in their camp, ransacking and plundering the buildings of the fort, and preparing to torture their wounded prisoners to death.[25]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Kinzie family were closely guarded by their Indian friends, that Black Partridge and four other Indians had "established themselves in the porch of the building as sentinels, to protect the family from any evil that the young men (of the tribes) might be excited to commit," [26] their peril was very great and their lives hung by a thread. All remained tranquil, however, until the next day, when they beheld the fort consumed by fire, and the spot left a scene of smoking desolation.

At this time a party of Indians from the Wabash made their appearance, having heard of the intended evacuation of the post, and who were eager to share in the spoils. They were disappointed and enraged to find that they had arrived too late, that the spoils had been divided and the scalps all taken. They had no particular regard for Mr. Kinzie and they at once showed signs of hostility. They blackened their faces and proceeded towards the Kinzie house, but were observed by Black Partridge, whose fears were particularly awakened for the safety of Mrs. Helm, as she had only recently come to the post and was unknown to the more remote Indians. By his directions she disguised herself and took refuge in the house of Ouilmette close at hand. Ouilmette himself, being a Frenchman, and living with an Indian wife, was never molested by the Indians at any time, being regarded as one of themselves. In the same house was his wife's sister, also an Indian woman, but known as Mrs. Bisson.

The Indians approached this house first, and Mrs. Bisson hastily covered Mrs. Helm with a feather bed, fearing that her fair complexion would betray her. Mrs. Bisson then sat on the front of the bed and busied herself with her sewing. The Indians entered and inspected every part of the room, omitting, however, to raise the feather mattress under which Mrs. Helm was concealed. Mrs. Bisson was not without fear for her own safety, but bravely maintained an air of tranquillity, until the Indians left the house.

From Ouilmette's house the party of Indians went to the Kinzie dwelling, and entering the parlor, seated themselves on the floor in ominous silence. Black Partridge then spoke in a low tone to Wau-ban-see, who was with him as one of the guards, and said, "We have endeavored to save our friends, but it is in vain—nothing will save them now." Just at that moment a friendly whoop was heard from the opposite bank of the river, and Black Partridge, with great presence of mind, sprang up and ran toward the river, calling out "who are you?" "I am the

[25] Kirkland's "Chicago Massacre," p. 97.
[26] Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 181.

Sau-gan-ash," came the reply. "Then make all speed to the house," replied Black Partridge, "your friend is in danger, and you alone can save him."

Sau-gan-ash, otherwise known as Billy Caldwell, was a half-breed, and had been educated at Detroit by the Jesuits. The name Sau-gan-ash signified "Englishman," but came to be applied distinctively to this man. He could speak English perfectly, and was a man of great influence among the Indians. Although he had not been present at the evacuation of the fort, he, in company with Shabonee, or Shabbona, had arrived the next day, and had saved many of the prisoners from being murdered.[27]

Upon his arrival at the Kinzie house, he calmly entered the room, and standing his rifle behind the door, he looked around at the hostile savages sitting on the floor. He asked them why they had blackened their faces. "Is it that you are mourning for the friends you have lost in battle?" (purposely misunderstanding their evil designs.) "Or is it," said he, "that you are fasting? If so, ask our friend here, and he will give you to eat. He is the Indian's friend, and never yet refused them what they had need of."

The savages were thus taken by surprise, and were ashamed to acknowledge the purpose they had in their minds. They then said that they had come to beg of their friends some white cotton cloth in which they might wrap their dead before placing them in their graves. Their request was promptly granted and some other presents given to them, and they took their departure peaceably from the house.

This account is taken mainly from Mrs. Kinzie's narrative printed in "Wau-Bun," which was obtained by her from her husband, John H. Kinzie, who as a boy of nine years of age, was with his father, John Kinzie, through this thrilling experience. Mrs. Kinzie's narrative "has been accepted by the historians of Illinois," says Thwaites in his introduction to "Wau-Bun" (Caxton Club Edition), "as substantially accurate, and other existing accounts are generally based on this."

It is noteworthy that the main sources of our information in regard to the massacre are furnished by three women, Mrs. Captain Heald and Mrs. Lieutenant Helm, who were participants in the dreadful scenes of that day, and Mrs. John H. Kinzie, who wrote of it twenty-five years later, deriving her information from eye witnesses.

There are likewise other accounts of a fragmentary character, and among them there are inconsistencies and discrepancies in details; but it seems remarkable that women chroniclers should have been the ones to have given anything like a connected narrative of this bloody episode in our history.

BLACK HAWK'S RECOLLECTION

We are fortunate in having an Indian's comment upon the massacre. In the "Autobiography" of Black Hawk, the celebrated Indian chief, which he dictated in 1833 to the interpreter, Antoine Le Clair, he relates the circumstances of his joining the British army in the early part of the War of 1812. He was at Green Bay with his band, and there met Colonel Robert Dickson, the British agent, who persuaded him to join their side. Arms and ammunition, together with other sup-

[27] Fergus' Hist. Series, No. 10, p. 31.

plies, were freely distributed, and, as Black Hawk relates, he started with about five hundred braves towards Detroit, accompanied by Colonel Dickson.

"We passed Chicago," continues Black Hawk in his narrative, "and observed that the fort had been evacuated by the Americans, and their soldiers had gone to Fort Wayne. They were attacked a short distance from the fort and defeated. They had a considerable quantity of powder in the fort at Chicago, which they had promised to the Indians, but the night before they marched away they destroyed it by throwing it into a well. If they had fulfilled their word to the Indians, they doubtless would have gone to Fort Wayne without molestation."

SERGEANT GRIFFITH'S ADVENTURE

William Griffith, a non-commissioned officer, made his escape from the massacre which overtook the main body of the troops on that fatal day, in a singular manner. "As the troops were about leaving the fort," relates Mrs. Kinzie, "it was found that the baggage-horses of the surgeon had strayed off. The quartermaster-sergeant, Griffith, was sent to collect them and bring them on, it being absolutely necessary to recover them, since their packs contained part of the surgeon's apparatus, and the medicines for the march.

"This man had been for a long time on the sick report, and for this reason was given the charge of the baggage instead of being placed with the troops. His efforts to recover the horses being unsuccessful, he was hastening to rejoin his party, alarmed at some appearances of disorder and hostile indications among the Indians, when he was met and made prisoner by To-pee-ne-be. Having taken from him his arms and accoutrements, the chief put him into a canoe and paddled him across the river, bidding him make for the woods and secrete himself. This he did, and the following day, in the afternoon, seeing, from his lurking place, that all appeared quiet, he ventured to steal cautiously into the garden of Ouilmette, where he concealed himself for a time behind some currant bushes.

"At length he determined to enter the house, and accordingly climbed up through a small back window, into the room where the family were. This was just as the Wabash Indians left the house of Ouilmette for that of Mr. Kinzie. The danger of the sergeant was now imminent. The family stripped him of his uniform and arrayed him in a suit of deer-skin, with belt, moccassins, and pipe, like a French *engagé*. His dark complexion and large black whiskers favored the disguise. The family were all ordered to address him in French, and, although utterly ignorant of the language, he continued to pass for a *Weem-tee-gosh* (Frenchman), and as such to accompany Mr. Kinzie and his family, undetected by his enemies, until they reached a place of safety."

William Griffith afterwards became "a Captain of Spies" in General Harrison's army, and participated in the battle of the Thames in the following year.[28]

THE RANSOM OF LIEUTENANT HELM

The service performed by Thomas Forsyth, the half brother of John Kinzie, in behalf of the unfortunate prisoners in the hands of the Indians, deserves to be

[28] Andreas, "Hist. Chicago," I, p. 83.

recorded. Forsyth was at that time Indian Agent at Peoria, and had a great influence with the Pottawattomies. "He had been raised with this nation," says Reynolds, "spoke their language well, and was well acquainted with their character." When Mr. Forsyth heard of the massacre of the troops at Chicago, he went directly to the Indian towns on the Illinois River, where he knew it was likely that prisoners would be taken. He found Lieutenant Helm at the Au Sable, near Peoria, with the Indians there, and exerted his influence with his captors to procure his release. He advanced the amount demanded by the Indians for his ransom and had him sent in safety to St. Louis. In this important and dangerous service Forsyth risked his life every moment he was engaged in it, for the Indians at that time were in a highly inflamed condition. He was in extreme and imminent danger during a great portion of the war, and it required the exercise of the utmost sagacity and discretion to retain the confidence of the Indians. "His services in the war," says Reynolds, "and his benevolent and humane conduct to the wounded and distressed prisoners on the Illinois River deserve the lasting gratitude and esteem of the Government, as well as those whose sufferings he so kindly relieved."

STORY OF JOHN COOPER'S FAMILY

John Cooper was "Surgeon's Mate" at Fort Dearborn, and with him was present his wife, and two young daughters, Isabella being the eldest. Cooper was among the killed at the massacre of the troops, and as soon as the soldiers were disposed of the Indians made a rush for the wagons where the women and children were. The wife and youngest daughter were spared and the Indians carried them away, but a young Indian boy, in attempting to carry off Isabella, met with so warm a resistance on her part that he threw her down and scalped her, and would have killed her if an old squaw had not prevented him. The squaw had known the Cooper family when they lived at the fort, and she took the mother and daughters to her wigwam, and cured the girl of her wound. The family remained in captivity two years, when they were finally ransomed, and afterwards lived in Detroit for many years. The mark of the wound on her head caused by the Indian boy's scalping knife "was about the size of a silver dollar, and of course remained with her through her life." [29]

RETRIBUTION

After the battle and burning of the fort the Pottawattomies scattered, and some of them joined other bands of hostile Indians in the siege of Fort Wayne which immediately followed. Here they were foiled by the timely arrival of General Harrison with a force of Kentucky and Ohio troops, and "condign punishment was inflicted upon a part at least of the Chicago murderers," says Mason, in his account of the massacre. "A detachment which General Harrison assigned to this work was commanded by Colonel Samuel Wells, who must have remembered his brother's death when he destroyed the village of Five Medals, a leading Pottawattomie chief. To one of the ruthless demons who slew women and children under the branches of the cottonwood tree, such an appropriate vengeance came that it

[29] Reminiscence of A. H. Edwards, printed in Fergus' "Historical Series," No. 16, pp. 56, 58.

seems fitting to tell the story here. He was older than most of the band, a participant in many battles, and a deadly enemy of the whites. His scanty hair was drawn tightly upward and tied with a string, making a tuft on the top of his head; and from this peculiarity he was known as Chief Shavehead.

"Years after the Chicago massacre he was a hunter in Western Michigan, and when in liquor was fond of boasting of his achievements on the warpath. On one of these occasions in the streets of a little village, he told the fearful tale of his doings on this field with all its horrors; but among his hearers there chanced to be a soldier of the garrison of Fort Dearborn, one of the few survivors of that fatal day. As he listened he saw that frightful scene again, and was maddened by its recall. At sundown the old brave left the settlement, and silently on his trail the soldier came, 'with his gun,' says the account, 'resting in the hollow of his left arm, and the right hand clasped around the lock, with fore-finger carelessly toying with the trigger.' The red man and the white passed into the shade of the forest; the soldier returned alone; Chief Shavehead was never seen again. He had paid the penalty of his crime to one who could, with some fitness, exact it. Such was the fate of a chief actor in that dark scene."[30]

THE DEPARTURE OF THE KINZIES

"On the third day after the battle," says Mrs. Helm, "the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the clerks of the establishment, were put into a boat, under the care of Francois, a half-breed interpreter, and conveyed to St. Joseph's, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of Topenebe's band." The lake at this season of the year is usually free from storms, and open-boat navigation was attended with little risk or discomfort. so the voyage was easily made. The only persons left at Chicago were Ouilmette and his family, who remained there until the post was again occupied four years later. M. Du Pin, a French trader, occupied the house vacated by John Kinzie and his family, in the following winter, and later became the husband of the widowed Mrs. Lee, as referred to previously.

CAPTIVITY OF JOHN KINZIE

After their stay at St. Joseph, the family of John Kinzie were conducted to Detroit under the escort of the half-breed Chandonnais, and a trusty Indian named Kee-po-tah; and delivered up as prisoners of war to the British agent there; while Mr. Kinzie himself remained at St. Joseph to look after some remnant of his scattered property. In the following January he followed his family to Detroit, where he was paroled by the British commandant.[31] Soon after, however, he was ordered into confinement because of a suspicion that he was in correspondence with General Harrison, then believed to be meditating an advance on Detroit. He was detained at Fort Malden in Canada, where in the following September he heard the booming of cannon fired during the engagement on Lake Erie between the American and British fleets. Soon a vessel bearing the British colors appeared in view from the fort pursued by two American gunboats, and presently

[30] Mason. "Chapters From Illinois History," p. 321.
[31] Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 186.

he saw the former strike her flag. It was the last scene in the memorable naval conflict known as "Perry's Victory," fought and won September 10, 1813.

The destruction or capture of the enemy's fleet on Lake Erie enabled General Harrison to cross the lake with his army from the field of its previous operations in Ohio, without further molestation.[32] Soon after, the battle of the Thames was fought, where the British and their Indian allies were defeated, and Tecumseh, the Indian chief, was killed. Detroit was evacuated by the British and thus again that post, surrendered within two months after the opening of the war, came into the possession of the Americans.

When the situation at Detroit had become alarming, the British found it necessary to transfer all prisoners to a place of greater security, and Mr. Kinzie was sent to Quebec. There "he was put on board a small vessel to be sent to England. The vessel when a few days out at sea was chased by an American frigate and driven into Halifax." "The attempt to send him across the ocean was now abandoned, and he was returned to Quebec," and soon after he was released. He now returned to his family, who had remained at Detroit. An interesting episode in the life of the Kinzie family occurred upon the arrival of General Harrison, after the place had been evacuated by the British. Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau-Bun," relates as follows: "In the meantime, General Harrison at the head of his troops had reached Detroit. He landed on the 29th of September. All the citizens went forth to meet him; Mrs. Kinzie, leading her children by the hand, was of the number. The General accompanied her to her home, and took up his abode there. On his arrival he was introduced to Kee-po-tah, who happened to be on a visit to the family at that time. The General had seen the chief the preceding year, at the Council at Vincennes, and the meeting was one of great cordiality and interest."

The war between the United States and Great Britain was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, concluded, December 24, 1814, providing "for the mutual restoration of all places taken during the war," [33] The lives of 30,000 Americans were sacrificed during this war of two and a half years, and the national debt was increased over one hundred millions of dollars.[34]

CAPTAIN HEALD'S ORDERS

The orders to Captain Heald are stated in the "Wau-Bun" account, which we have quoted, to have been, "to evacuate the fort, if practicable, and in that event, to distribute all the United States' property," etc. Evidently Mrs. Kinzie had never seen the order sent by General Hull when she wrote this, and used the language of those from whom she derived her information, as they recollected it.

It will appear, however, in the following paragraphs, that Captain Heald had been given no discretion whatever in the matter, as implied in the above. We shall quote from a manuscript account written by Captain Heald (probably later in life), now preserved in the Draper Collection of Manuscripts in the possession

[32] James and Sanford's "American History," p. 262.
[33] Patton & Lord's "History of the American People," Vol. II, p. 683.
[34] Larned's "Seventy Centuries," Vol. II, p. 369.

of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. He says: "On the 9th of August [Mrs. Kinzie says it was the 7th of August], 1812 rec'd orders from General Wm. Hull to Evacuate the Post of Chicago and proceed with my Command to Detroit. . . . On the 15th, Marched for Detroit,"[35] etc. As will appear from the above, and from a copy of the order given below, Captain Heald clearly and correctly understood that no discretion whatever was given him, as to the evacuation of the post. It is also to be noted that while most of the accounts state that the destination of the retreating column was to be Fort Wayne, and General Hull's letter likewise mentions Fort Wayne, Captain Heald says it was Detroit. There is, however, no inconsistency in this, as it was understood, no doubt, that the ultimate destination was to be Detroit.

GENERAL HULL ORDERS EVACUATION

A copy of General Hull's letter to Captain Heald is given below, and a facsimile representation of it appears on a separate page. The original letter is in the Draper Manuscript Collection, and is here given by permission of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. In a letter accompanying a photograph of this important document from Mr. R. G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Society, to the author, dated December 7, 1909, he says: "We are quite convinced that this letter has never been published, nor was it known to exist until its discovery less than two years ago by one of my assistants. There is every probability that the letter came directly to Dr. Draper from Darius Heald, son of Major Nathan Heald, whom Dr. Draper visited in Missouri in 1868, and from whom he obtained a number of papers."

COPY OF GENERAL HULL'S LETTER

The letter was written from Sandwich, Canada, a place nearly opposite Detroit, where a part of the American army had been assembled with a view of attacking Fort Malden. The letter is as follows:

"Sandwich, July 29, 1812.

"*Capt. Nath. Heald.*

"Sir:—It it with regret I order the Evacuation of your Post owing to the want of provisions only [through] a neglect of the Commandant of Detroit. You will therefore destroy all arms and ammunition, but the Goods of the Factory you may give to the Friendly Indians who may be desirous of escorting you on to Fort Wayne and the Poor and needy of your Post. I am informed this day that Mackinac and the Island of St. Joseph[36] will be evacuated on acc't of the Scarcity of provisions and I hope in my next to give you an acc't of the Surrender of the British at Malden as I expect 600 more troops the beginning of Sept. I am sir, "Yours, &c.,

"Brigadier Gen. Hull."

[35] Draper Manuscripts, 17 U.

[36] The "Island of St. Joseph" is situated in St. Mary's river, about forty miles to the northeast of Mackinac.

By this it will be seen that the order sent to Captain Heald to evacuate the post was peremptory, and "the course to be pursued" was *not* "left discretional," as was stated in the officers' remonstrance in Mrs. Kinzie's account.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MASSACRE

The Massacre Monument, which marks the spot where the dreadful massacre of August 15th, 1812, took place, was designed by Mr. Carl Rohl-Smith. The monument consists of a bronze group, placed upon a massive pedestal of granite, upon the sides of which are bronze panels depicting scenes connected with the massacre. It is situated at the foot of Eighteenth Street, adjoining the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad, and was the gift of Mr. George M. Pullman. The action is spirited and the incident chosen for representation has been executed with impressive effect. Great skill has been shown in the delineation of the separate figures, and the *ensemble,* from the artistic point of view, is harmonious and forceful.

The Indian figures in the group are modeled after famous Sioux Chieftains; the scene is that where Black Partridge is rescuing Mrs. Helm from death at the hands of a frenzied savage, the prostrate figure being that of the unfortunate Dr. Van Voorhis, the post surgeon, who met his death on that occasion. The child, stretching out its little arms in an appeal for help, recalls the fiendish massacre of infants which was one of the terrible features of that bloody day. The entire group is one of great interest historically.

For many years before the erection of the monument the spot was marked by a cottonwood tree, which was one of a number of saplings standing there, as it was said, at the time of the massacre. The tree, however, was removed many years ago; a portion of the trunk is preserved and may now be seen in the museum of the Chicago Historical Society.

CONDITIONS IN ILLINOIS TERRITORY

Illinois Territory had been raised to the "Second Grade," by act of Congress, May 21, 1812. Since its organization in 1809 as a territory of the "First Grade," the legislative body had consisted simply of the governor and two judges of the territory.

After having been advanced to the "Second Grade" the legislative body consisted of seven members of the House of Representatives and five of the Council, together called the General Assembly, holding their sessions at Kaskaskia.[37] The first session of the Assembly was held November 25, 1812, and an examination of the proceedings of this assembly, which continued its sessions for one month, shows no specific reference to the startling events of the previous August at Fort Dearborn.[38] Governor Ninian Edwards, in his message to the Assembly, says: "Of the unfavorable aspect that our relations with our savage neighbors have, for some time past, worn, you are well apprized, and I am sorry that I have nothing to communicate indicative of a change for the better."

[37] Moses' Hist. Ill., Vol. I, p. 258.

[38] "Territorial Records of Illinois," p. 62.

MASSACRE MONUMENT, COMMEMORATING THE MASSACRE OF 1812

The monument stands at the corner of Eighteenth street and Prairie avenue

The white population of the territory in 1809, had been estimated to be about nine thousand, while the number of Indians, who occupied the larger portion of the territory was supposed to be about eighteen thousand; so that if the Indians should have become generally hostile and united, they might have overwhelmed the whites completely. Governor Edwards had already acted promptly, and by his orders companies of militia, called "Rangers," [39] attacked and destroyed several Indian villages, without much regard to their hostility or friendliness, in the neighborhood of Peoria Lake and elsewhere during the following fall and winter. The settlers were so much exasperated against the red men that they did not take much pains to discriminate between friends or foes. On one occasion an Indian and his squaw approached the advance of Captain Samuel Judy's company of scouts for the purpose of an interview, and were mercilessly shot down, the leader exclaiming that they had not left home merely to take prisoners. "These campaigns," says Governor Reynolds in his history, "did much good in checking the aggressions of the Indians."

[39] Reynolds' "Pion. Hist. Ill.," pp. 405, 407.

CHAPTER VI

REBUILDING OF FORT DEARBORN

INDIAN TREATIES—THE "INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE" TREATY—BUILDING OF SECOND FORT DEARBORN—THE COMING OF THE BEAUBIEN FAMILY—GURDON S. HUBBARD—HUBBARD AT MACKINAC—HIS FIRST ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO—LIFE AS A TRADER—PROMOTION—PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN CHICAGO—STORROW'S VISIT TO THE WEST—JOURNEY FROM DETROIT TO CHICAGO—STORROW'S OPINIONS OF CHICAGO—RETURN TO THE EAST—UNITED STATES TRADING HOUSES—CAUSES FOR THEIR FAILURE—CLOSING OF "FACTORIES"—FACTORY AT CHICAGO—NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF ILLINOIS—ORIGINAL PROVISIONS OF ORDINANCE OF 1787—RESULTS OF AMENDMENT OF ENABLING ACT—POPE'S FORESIGHT—SKETCH OF POPE.

INDIAN TREATIES

EVEN before the treaty of peace with Great Britain had been signed a treaty was concluded at Greenville by which the Miamis, Wyandots and Pottawattomies had become the allies of the United States "in prosecuting the war against Great Britain and such of the Indian tribes as still continue hostile."[1] This treaty was proclaimed December 21, 1814.

Towards the end of the following year, December 26, 1815, a treaty was made with the Pottawattomies, by which "perpetual peace and friendship" between the contracting parties was established.[2]

THE "INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE" TREATY

This was followed by a still more important treaty providing for a distinct cession of territory which the other treaties referred to did not include in their provisions. This treaty was concluded August 24, 1816, at St. Louis, between Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, William Clark, Governor of Missouri Territory and Superintendent of Indian affairs, and Auguste Chouteau, a citizen of St. Louis, on the part of the United States; and the chief and warriors of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattomies, on the part of the tribes. One of the signatures to this treaty was that of our old friend, Black Partridge.

This treaty ceded a tract of land in which a large portion of the present city of Chicago is located. The boundaries of the tract were as follows:

"Beginning on the left bank of the Fox River of Illinois, ten miles above the mouth of said Fox River; thence running so as to cross Sandy Creek, ten

[1] "Revision of Indian Treaties," p. 1033.

[2] Ibid., p. 697.

miles above its mouth; thence, in a direct line, to a point ten miles north of the west end of the portage between Chicago Creek, which empties into Lake Michigan, and the river Depleine, a fork of the Illinois; thence, in a direct line, to a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles northward of the mouth of Chicago Creek; thence, along the lake, to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of the said Chicago Creek; thence, in a direct line, to a point on the Kankakee, ten miles above its mouth; thence, with the said Kankakee and the Illinois River, to the mouth of Fox River; and thence to the beginning." [3]

IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY

"Of all the Indian treaties ever made," says Blanchard, "this will be remembered when all others, with their obligations, are forgotten." The consideration named was one thousand dollars a year (in goods) for a period of twelve years. Briefly summarized, the tract thus ceded begins on the shore of the lake, ten miles on either side of the mouth of the Chicago river, that is, having a width of twenty miles; and, slightly narrowing, it extends in a generally southwesterly direction to the Fox and Kankakee rivers, some forty miles inland; and enclosing approximately an area of about eight hundred square miles.

"When the country came to be surveyed in sections," says Blanchard, "inasmuch as the surveys on both sides of the treaty lines were not made at the same time the section lines did not meet each other; and the diagonal offsets along the entire length of the Indian grant were the result. An occasional gore of land is left open to discussion as to what range and township it belongs to, and all the sectional maps must ever be disfigured with triangular fractions." The "Indian Boundary line" towards the north forms a part of the limits between the present cities of Chicago and Evanston, but after leaving the shore of the lake a distance of a city square or two, it continues within the present limits of Chicago in a southwesterly direction, and passes through the western limits of the city near the corner of Western Avenue and Irving Park Boulevard. For some distance after it leaves the lake a street or avenue has been laid out coincident with its course, and continues thus to Ridge avenue; but beyond that point it is a "geographical expression" only. It is a harrowing feature however to the map makers and abstract writers of later days, by reason of its diagonal course through the city and country beyond; and the abstracts of property along these boundary lines, north and south, are full of fractional descriptions, which bring perplexity and woe to the searchers of title to this day. That part of the boundary line which was laid out for an avenue was called the "Indian Boundary Road," but the City Council of Chicago has within a few years changed its designation to "Rogers Avenue," thus losing a picturesque and historical reminder in our street nomenclature.[4] The boundary line, on the south, begins on the shore of the lake at about

[3] "Revision of Indian Treaties," p. 151.

[4] An effort has been made by the authorities of the Chicago Historical Society and the Evanston Historical Society to procure the restoration of the old name to this avenue, though without intending any disrespect to the name of that honored pioneer, Philip Rogers, which is already perpetuated in the name of Rogers Park. The two societies held a joint session in November, 1906; and at that session a resolution was adopted asking the Common Council of the City of Chicago, and also that of the City of Evanston, to change the name back to its orig-

the mouth of the Calumet River, and, running in a southwesterly direction, passes the present city limits of Chicago near Riverdale.

Wherever a council was called with the tribes in treaty-making days it was always especially noticeable that the Pottawattomies appeared with their demands. "Their greed was only equaled by their assurance," says Moses, in his history of Illinois. "Wherever there was even an apparent opportunity to receive any money, they were promptly on hand to put in a claim, and . . . generally succeeded in carrying off the lion's share."

THE BUILDING OF THE SECOND FORT DEARBORN

The treaty relations with the Indians having been thus established on a peaceful footing, the authorities at Washington began making preparations for reestablishing a post at Chicago. On July 4, 1816, Captain Hezekiah Bradley arrived on the ground with a company of soldiers, and began the construction of a fort. Their first care was to gather the remains of the murdered soldiers, which had been left unburied for four years, and give them decent interment. The new fort was built on the same site as that occupied by the former one. It was a square stockade inclosing barracks for the men, and quarters for the officers; at the southwest angle was built a block-house, the upper part overhanging the lower part, as was customary in the building of frontier forts.

When the troops arrived they found here Ouilmette and his family occupying his house near the Kinzie mansion; and John Dean, a trader and contractor, who had come the year before and built a house on the lake shore near the present foot of Randolph Street.[5] There was also a Mr. Bridges, a gunsmith living in a house west of the Kinzie house. Judge Charles Jouett had been appointed Indian agent at Chicago in 1815, and according to his daughter, Mrs. Susan M. Callis, quoted by Hurlbut, the judge and his family had arrived on the spot in advance of the troops, and was living in a house supposed to be that of the ill-fated John Burns, who lost his life in the massacre.

Judge Jouett had already served as Indian agent at Fort Dearborn during the years from 1804 to 1811, but in the latter year had resigned and gone to Kentucky with his family where he held the office of judge in Mercer County of that state; thus acquiring the title of "Judge" which is given him in the various histories. In Mrs. Callis' account she refers to Jouett's timely removal to Kentucky. She says, "Mother often congratulated herself that she left Chicago in time to escape the massacre." [6]

THE BEAUBIENS

Soon after the rebuilding of the fort, the trading post outside its walls began to grow, with the arrival of strangers who had come with the definite purpose of settling there, or of those who chanced to stay, attracted by one or another feature

inal form, "thus restoring to it its former proper and historic name, 'The Indian Boundary Road'." Nothing, however, has come of this movement, and the name remains merely as an interesting historical reminiscence.

[5] Andreas' "History of Chicago," Vol. I, p. 85.

[6] Andreas' "Hist. Chicago," Vol. I, p. 90.

OLD TOLL GATE HOUSE ON INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE

By courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society. From a watercolor by C. E. Petford

THE SAUGANASH HOTEL

The Sauganash hotel was built by Mark Beaubien in 1831 and was situated at the southeast corner of the present Lake and Market streets. It was destroyed by fire in 1851.

of the place. The name of Beaubien is frequently met with in the early history of Chicago, and the descendants of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, who came in 1817, and Mark Beaubien, his brother, who came in 1826,[7] are numerous, many of them being residents of Chicago today.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, often referred to as John B. Beaubien, was an employé of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee, and in 1817 the company transferred him to Chicago. The Beaubien family were French in their origin, and lived in Detroit, where John Baptiste was born about 1878. He early became connected with the fur trade, and on arriving at Chicago he purchased the house of John Dean, an army contractor,[8] located on the lake shore a little distance south of the fort.[9] Soon after he was married to Josette La Framboise, a French Ottawa half-breed, who had worked in John Kinzie's family before the massacre.

Mark Beaubien, a brother of John B. Beaubien, came to Chicago from Detroit, where he left his family, in 1826, said his daughter, Mrs. Emily Le Beau in an interview with the author on September 23d, 1911. He returned to Detroit for his family, and, in 1829, he brought them with him to Chicago journeying in a horse and wagon through Michigan, camping out nights on the way, and Chicago thenceforward became his permanent abiding place. Mark built a hotel near the northeast corner of Randolph and Market streets, which became known as the "Eagle Exchange." There were in later years other hostelries bearing the names of "Eagle Hotel" and "Eagle House," but Mrs. Le Beau positively said, in the interview above referred to, that the first house built by her father which was used as a stopping place for travelers was called the "Eagle Exchange," and she related the circumstances under which it received this name. After Mark had built the house and began to use it for the purpose mentioned a wandering sign painter stopped at the hotel and offered to paint a sign for him. To this Mark agreed and the man painted a picture of an eagle,—"at least," said Mrs. Le Beau, "he said it was an eagle, though it would have been difficult to name the bird from the picture." The sign was hung up in the usual manner in the front of the hotel, and it was thenceforth called the "Eagle Exchange."

Some time later Mark built a larger and better house north of the old "Eagle Exchange," and named it the "Sauganash," in honor of his old friend Billy Caldwell[10] who was at that time a resident of Chicago. The Sauganash became the principal hotel of the place until in the course of time other and more ambitious structures were erected.

The Sauganash Hotel built by Mark Beaubien, was situated at the southeast corner of the present Lake and Market streets, where, in 1860, stood the "Wigwam," the building in which the Republican convention sat when Abraham Lincoln was nominated. Mark's place was a favorite resort for purposes both of business and of amusement, and he was renowned for his accomplishment as a player of the violin. He was jovial and light-hearted, a great story-teller, and one of the "characters" of the place. He said his playing on the violin was like that of

[7] "Wau-Bun" (C.), p. 407.

[8] Andreas, I, 85.

[9] Hurlbut, p. 306.

[10] Billy Caldwell was a half-breed and a Pottawattomie chief. The sobriquet, "The Sauganash," was an Indian word meaning "Englishman," that is, *white man.*

the Evil One himself, and that his "hotel" was like the Evil One's sulphurous abode.[11] As travel increased, Mark enjoyed a liberal patronage. In the loft of the tavern there was sufficient space for fifty men to lie on the floor, the furniture, however, being very scant. As men arrived, he would place two and two of them together, drawing off the blanket from those who had previously gone to sleep for the use of the latest comers. In this way, he related, he managed to make a pair of blankets answer for a house full of guests. Further mention of these and other members of the Beaubien family will be made in a later portion of this history.

HUBBARD'S LIFE AT MACKINAC

The advent of Gurdon S. Hubbard to this vicinity in 1818 was an event of greater importance than the usual arrival of a stranger, for Hubbard came and, after passing through the settlement frequently as an Indian trader, he settled here. He was a youth of sixteen years when he first arrived in Chicago, and he remained a resident of that city until his death in 1886; thus he witnessed and shared in the growth and development of the city throughout those years. Barely a dozen traders and their assistants were here when he came, besides the garrison at the fort, and yet at the end of his life he saw a city of six hundred thousand souls, which had grown from the small hamlet at the mouth of the Chicago River.

Gurdon S. Hubbard was a native of Vermont, and though, as he says, he had a dislike for books and studies, he obtained a fair education. In 1818 young Hubbard was living with his parents at Montreal, and learning that the American Fur Company was about to dispatch a fleet of boats loaded with merchandise to Mackinac, he obtained an appointment as a clerk in the party, which was composed of twelve clerks and one hundred *voyageurs*. Their route lay by way of Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron, and after a journey of seven weeks the party reached its destination. The island of Mackinac was the headquarters of the American Fur Company, and "here," says young Hubbard, "I first learned something of the working and discipline of that mammoth corporation, and took my first lessons in the life of an Indian trader, a life which I followed exclusively for ten consecutive years."[12]

HUBBARD'S LIFE AT MACKINAC

The fort at Mackinac was garrisoned by three or four companies of troops, and the adjoining village had a population of about five hundred. During the summer season a large number of traders employed by the Fur Company gathered here from all the Indian hunting grounds of the West, sometimes to the number of three thousand or more, while the Indians from the shores of the upper Lakes, numbering two or three thousand more, made the island their place of resort. "Their wigwams lined the entire beach two or three rows deep, and, with the tents of the traders, made the island a scene of life and animation. . . . At the time of our arrival," says Hubbard, "all the traders from the North and the Great West had reached

[11] Hurlbut, pp. 332, 334.
[12] Gurdon S. Hubbard: "Sketch of Life."

the island with their returns of furs collected from the Indians during the previous winter, which were being counted and appraised."

The various activities of the island are described in a most interesting manner by Mr. Hubbard in a collection of sketches published in 1888. It is difficult to realize that while the outlying posts, such as Chicago, Green Bay and many others of the kind, were still in a crude and primitive condition, Mackinac was the home of an establishment in which were employed as many clerks as are found in some of the largest manufacturing concerns in Chicago to-day. "The force of the Company, when all were assembled on the island," says Hubbard, "comprised about four hundred clerks and traders, together with some two thousand *voyageurs*."

As the young man had arrived at the time when the "outfits" from the fur trading posts had brought in their loads, he was given the task of counting the peltries to see that the number of skins corresponded with the number reported by the commanders of the outfits. Other employés were sent to cut wood for the winter supply of the agents who remained at Mackinac during the winter; still others were employed in lyeing the corn, drying and packing it both for those remaining there for the winter and for those about to leave for their trading posts.

The counting, assorting and pressing of furs occupied much of the summer, the working day of the *voyageurs* being from six in the morning until six at night, with an hour's interval at noon. In the evenings there were dances and parties given by the traders, and in their honor. The agents and clerks comprised a society into which Hubbard was welcomed, where he met John H. Kinzie, a young man of about his own age.

Early in the fall the expeditions for distant trading posts were ready to start out with their supplies and with goods for trading with the Indians, some to penetrate the western country as far as the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg, others to go south to the neighborhood of St. Louis. As a participant in the picturesque incidents of departure, Hubbard has written of this yearly exodus: "It was the policy of the American Fur Company to monopolize the entire fur trade of the Northwest; and to this end they engaged fully nineteen-twentieths of all the traders of that territory, and with their immense capital and influence succeeded in breaking up the business of any trader who refused to enter their service.

"Very soon after reaching Mackinaw and making returns, the traders commenced organizing their crews and preparing their outfits for their return to winter quarters at their various trading posts, those destined for the extreme North being the first to receive attention. These outfits were called 'brigades.'

"The 'brigade' destined for the Lake of the Woods, having the longest journey to make, was the first to depart. They were transported in boats called 'batteaux,' which very much resembled the boats now used by fishermen on the great lakes, except that they were larger, and were each manned by a crew of five, besides a clerk. Four of the men rowed while the fifth steered. Each boat carried about three tons of merchandise, together with the clothing of the men and rations of corn and tallow. No shelter was provided for the *voyageurs*, and their luggage was confined to twenty pounds in weight, carried in a bag provided for that purpose.

"The commander of the 'brigade' took for his own use the best boat, and with him an extra man, who acted in the capacity of 'orderly' to the expedition, and the *will* of the commander was the only law known.

"The clerks were furnished with salt pork, a bag of flour, tea and coffee, and a tent for shelter, and messed with the commander and orderly.

"A vast multitude assembled at the harbor to witness their departure, and when all was ready, the boats glided from the shore, the crews singing some favorite boat song, while the multitude shouted their farewells and wishes for a successful trip and a safe return; and thus outfit after outfit started on its way for Lake Superior, Upper and Lower Mississippi, and other posts."

HUBBARD'S JOURNEY TO CHICAGO

The boy Hubbard's first assignment to duty was in the brigade of Mr. Deschamps, who traded yearly with the Indians on the Illinois River. On the 10th of September, 1818, the expedition started from Mackinac, and on October first they reached Chicago, when Hubbard had his first glimpse of the place. The party was received by the Kinzie family, among whom Hubbard was thenceforth a welcome guest, as he passed through the village and finally settled there. Mr. Hubbard, in his sketch, has given a detailed picture of Fort Dearborn as he found it in 1818. From Chicago the brigade went on up the South Branch, through swamps and thick mud, to the Desplaines, thence by progress difficult on account of the shallows, to the Illinois River, where trading posts were established above and below Lake Peoria. An Indian chief, Waba, in the neighborhood of the post of which Hubbard was left in charge, having lost a son of about the young boy's age, adopted him, according to Indian custom, in the place of the lost son, and called him Che-mo-co-mon-ess (the Little American). This chief, until his death, was a good friend to Hubbard.

HUBBARD'S FIRST WINTER ON THE FRONTIER

His first winter as an Indian trader was spent by Hubbard in building his cabin and its furniture of logs and saplings, in keeping the accounts, in hunting with his two Indian companions on foot or in canoes, and in an occasional visit. On one of these visits he first saw Black Hawk, and first slept in an Indian wigwam. During this time he was learning the Indian language and becoming proficient in hunting and forest lore; so appetizing were the dishes that he learned to make from game, wild onion and meal, in various combinations, that he has given his readers some sample recipes for making venison pot-pie, raccoon croquettes, and other savory dainties.

He was famous for his long distance walking, and tells of one occasion, in his fifth year in the Indian country, when he walked from daybreak until dark on a day in early spring, over soft muddy ground, a distance of seventy-five miles. Even the Indians marveled at his ability, calling him Pa-pa-ma-ta-be (the Swift Walker).

INDIAN TRADING

Of the method of their trading, we read: "It was our custom to give the Indian hunters goods on credit, in the fall of the year, so that they might give their whole time to the hunt; and indeed it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for

them to hunt without the necessary clothing, guns, and ammunition. The conditions of this credit were that these advances should be paid from the proceeds of their first winter's hunt, but should they fail to pay, after having devoted all their furs for the purpose, and shown a disposition to act honestly, the balance was carried over to the next year, but this balance was seldom paid. The debtors reasoned that, having appropriated the entire proceeds of their season's hunt to the liquidation of their indebtedness, it was the fault of the Great Spirit that they had not been able to pay in full, and so they considered the debt canceled. We were very careful whom we trusted. We satisfied ourselves first that the person's intentions were honest, and that he was industrious and persevering; and, second, that he was a skilled hunter and trapper, and knew where to find game in abundance. If he lacked in these qualifications, he was deemed unworthy of credit, at least to a large amount." It was necessary, in trading in countries where there were independent traders, rivals of the American Fur Company, for the employés of the latter to be watchful and active, lest the other traders should have made their bargains and engaged the furs of the Indians in advance of the company's agent. At outwitting and anticipating his competitors, Hubbard was a great success on account of his energy, endurance and ingenuity.

In the early spring the traders of the Illinois brigade proceeded northward, stopping again at Chicago, and reaching Mackinac about the middle of May. When the summer's work was finished, Hubbard in the next detail was assigned to take charge of the Muskegon River outfit on the Michigan peninsula. The winter which he spent there, with its trips through the frozen country into the interior and its scarcity of food, was one of severest hardship. The next season on the Kalamazoo River was also a hard one, but the results of the winter's trading were good.

At Mr. Deschamps' request Hubbard was assigned the next season to duty on the Illinois River, the place of his first trading experiences, where he was again among comrades who were delighted to welcome him back. Here, in charge of a trading post below Peoria, he spent his fourth winter as an Indian trader.

In the summer following, while at Mackinac, Hubbard witnessed the shooting accident, as a result of which the well-known experiment of Dr. Beaumont was successfully tried—that of introducing food into the stomach through an orifice purposely kept open and healed with that object.

In the summer of 1823, after five years with the American Fur Company, Hubbard's salary was increased and he was appointed superintendent of the Illinois Trading Posts of the American Fur Company, to succeed his former master, Mr. Deschamps, now grown old. In this year he lengthened a path already established by him for trading, so that it extended from Chicago to a point about one hundred and fifty miles south of Danville, and was known on early Illinois maps as "Hubbard's Trail."[1] When, in 1833, a state road was located between Chicago and Vin-

[1] In a note upon this point in Mr. Hubbard's account, we read, "'Hubbard's Trail' ran through Cook, Will, Kankakee, Iroquois and Vermilion counties, passing the present towns of Blue Island, Homewood, Bloom, Crete, Grant, Momence, Beaverville, Iroquois, Hoopestown and Myersville to Danville, and southwest through Vermilion and Champaign counties to Bement in Piatt County; thence south through Moultrie and Shelby Counties to Blue Point in Effingham County. At Crete, a fence has been built around a portion of the 'trail,' to further preserve it as an old landmark and a relic of early roads and early times."

cennes, this trail was followed almost the whole distance, being the most direct route and over the most favorable ground.

PROMOTION IN THE SERVICE

In 1826 Hubbard was given an interest in the Fur Company as a "special partner," which gave him greater responsibility and made his work harder. The winter was spent near the Kankakee River, and part of the following spring and summer in Danville, where Hubbard had already located a post. Being in Mackinac in the summer of 1827, he bought out the entire interests of the Fur Company in Illinois, and established headquarters at Danville, where he built a store. His memoirs contain no further account of his life in Danville, though we find it summarized in a note by the editor of the sketch. "During these years he dealt quite extensively in farm produce, and had contracts for furnishing beef and pork to the troops stationed at Fort Dearborn. He continued his annual visits to Mackinaw, and during his life as a fur trader, made twenty-six trips to and from that island, coasting Lake Michigan in an open rowboat. . . . In the winter of 1829 he killed a large number of hogs, and not having received the barrels which were to arrive by vessel, he piled the pork up on the river bank, near where Rush street now is, and kept it in that manner until the arrival of barrels in the spring. This was the beginning of the packing industry in Chicago."

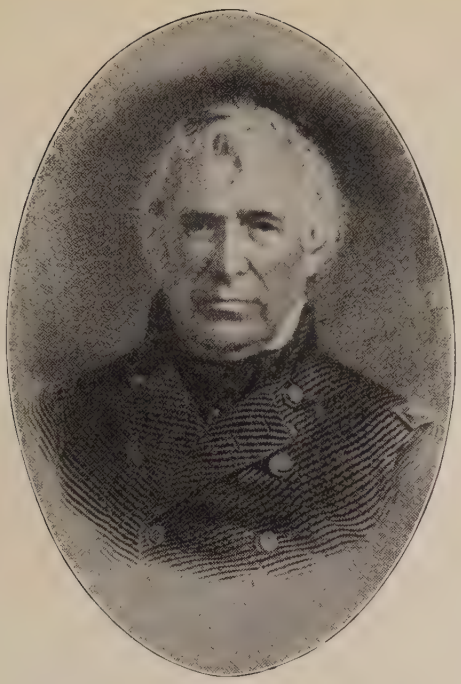
During his residence in Danville, which continued until 1834, Mr. Hubbard was chiefly occupied with his store, as the fur trade east of the Mississippi had diminished to almost nothing. In the Black Hawk war, in 1832, he served for two months in a company of scouts. His greatest public service during this period was introducing into the General Assembly, to which he was sent from Vermilion county, a bill for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal. His bill failing in the senate, as well as later a bill for a railroad in Illinois, he continued to urge upon the Assembly the passage of a canal bill, until it finally was accomplished in the session of 1835-36. Mr. Hubbard, with William F. Thornton and William B. Archer, made up the first Board of Canal Commissioners, appointed by Governor Duncan, and served until 1841, when the office was made an elective one. The canal was begun in 1836, Mr. Hubbard digging the first spadeful of earth towards its construction.

PERMANENTLY LOCATED AT CHICAGO

In 1834 he came to Chicago to make his permanent residence there, and erected, at the corner of La Salle and South Water Streets, the first large brick building in the town, which the inhabitants called "Hubbard's Folly," so enormous it seemed to them.

Mr. Hubbard's nephew, Mr. Henry E. Hamilton, who collected and arranged these reminiscences, has added to them other facts of the life of Gurdon S. Hubbard, which we quote:

"He was also a director of the Chicago branch of the State Bank of Illinois. He was one of the incorporators of the Chicago Hydraulic Company, which built its works at the foot of Lake street, and supplied the south and a part of the west



From Stevens' "The Blackhawk War"

MAJOR ZACHARY TAYLOR

Major Taylor was in command of the fort at Green Bay in 1817.

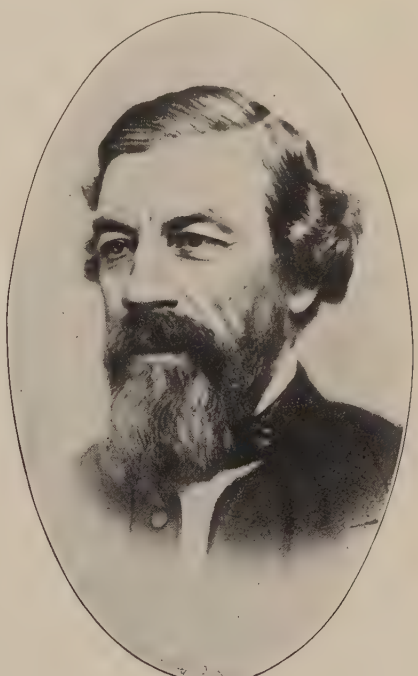
From Stevens' "The Blackhawk War"

NINIAN EDWARDS

Governor of Illinois Territory. Governor Edwards was a party to the Indian Boundary Line Treaty.

Samuel A. Storrow

Judge Storrow visited Chicago in 1817



By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

GURDON S. HUBBARD

side with water until its franchises were purchased by the city in 1852. In 1848 he was one of the organizers of the Chicago Board of Trade.

"In 1836 he sold out his mercantile business and built a warehouse fronting on Kinzie street and the river, and organized the firm of Hubbard and Company, Henry G. Hubbard and Elijah K. Hubbard being his partners. This firm embarked largely in the forwarding and commission business, and became interested in a great number of vessels and steamers forming the 'Eagle Line,' between Buffalo and the upper lakes. In this year he wrote for the Aetna Insurance Company the first policy ever issued in Chicago, and continued as agent of that and other companies until 1868. The previous year he had gone more extensively into the packing business and had cut up and packed thirty-five hundred hogs. This business he continued, and was for many years known as the largest packer in the West. In 1868 his large packing house was destroyed by fire, and he then abandoned the business.

"In later years, in connection with A. T. Spencer, he established a line of steamers to Lake Superior, among which were the *Superior* and *Lady Elgin*. The *Superior* was lost on the rocks in Lake Superior, and the loss of the *Lady Elgin* is familiar history. After the loss of his packing house, he engaged in the direct importation of tea from China, and organized a company for that purpose. The great fire of October 9, 1871, destroyed his business, burned his property, and crippled him financially, and from that time he retired from active business." [13]

The Hon. Grant Goodrich says in his memorial of him, delivered before the Chicago Historical Society:

"There are few of the numerous veins of commerce and wealth-producing industries that draw to this pulsating heart of the great West that boundless agricultural and mineral wealth, which through iron arteries and water craft is distributed to half a world, that have not felt the inspiration of his genius, and been quickened by his enterprise and energy. The assertion that in the progress of events, one who has reached the ordinary limit of human life in this age has lived longer than the oldest antediluvian, is surely verified in the life of Mr. Hubbard. What marvelous transformation he witnessed. When he reached Mackinaw at scarce sixteen years of age, save in the vicinity of Detroit, Michigan, the northern part of Indiana and Illinois, all Wisconsin and the limitless West which lies beyond—except here and there a trading post—was an unbroken wilderness, pathless, except by lakes and rivers and the narrow trail of the Indian and trapper. Sixty-eight years have passed, and what a change! It challenges all historic parallel. Before the march of civilization the wild Indian has disappeared, or been driven toward the setting sun; the dark forests and prairie, garden fields where he roved in the pride of undisputed dominion, have been transformed into harvest fields, dotted with villages and cities, some of them crowded with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, where the hum of varied industry is never silent, and the smoke of forges and factories darkens the sky.

"The canoe and open boat have given place to thousand-ton vessels, and steamers of twice that burden. The narrow trails over which the Indian trotted his pony are traversed or crossed by roads of iron, on which iron horses rush along with the speed of the wind. The amazing change may be more strikingly realized when we remember that while within the present limits of Cook County, there were then only

[13] Gurdon S. Hubbard's Memoirs, p. 171.

three dwellings of white men outside of the garrison inclosure, there now dwell more than eight hundred thousand people, and that the seat of political power in this great Nation has been transferred to the valley of the Mississippi."

AN EASTERNER'S VISIT TO CHICAGO

Besides those who settled in Chicago there were visitors passing through frequently and now and then a traveler of some distinction. Such a one was Samuel A. Storrow, who visited the western country in the year 1817, and whose narrative of his trip is full of interest for the reader of Chicago history. Storrow was Judge Advocate in the army, and from the reading of his narrative it would appear that his purpose was to report on the condition and prospects of the western country with reference to its suitability for settlement. He also paid especial attention to the military situation, and carefully noted the advantages of certain points on the line of his route of travel as defenses against the savage tribes.

Judge Storrow's narrative is in the form of a letter addressed to Major General Jacob Brown, at whose request he had undertaken the journey, and is printed in full in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. Judge Storrow began his journey at Detroit on August 17, 1817. He proceeded by lake to Mackinac, made a visit to Sault Ste. Marie, came back again to Mackinac; proceeded thence to Green Bay, where he set out through the wilderness to Milwaukee and Chicago; and from there he completed his tour by way of Fort Wayne, reaching Detroit again on the 16th of October, thus in two months making a circuit by water and land of a distance considerably exceeding a thousand miles. This journey, with its leading incidents, is summarized in the following paragraphs.

STORROW'S JOURNEY FROM DETROIT TO MACKINAC

Leaving Detroit in a barge, he proceeded as far as Fort Gratiot (near Port Huron) whence he continued his journey in a small vessel through Lake Huron, arriving at the island of Mackinac on the 28th of August, eleven days after starting from Detroit. He spent some time here examining the fort, and made an estimate of its strategical value. "If Michilimackinac commanded any pass," he wrote, "the position would be invaluable, for it may be made impregnable." The geologic formations interested him. He visited the Natural Arch and Sugar Loaf Rock, and made an excellent description of those freaks of nature.

From Mackinac he made a trip by barge and canoe to St. Mary's Falls, occupying one week in going and returning. On the 9th of September he embarked in an open boat manned with soldiers, a guide, an interpreter, and a Mr. Pierce as a traveling companion. For several succeeding days the party followed the northern shore of Lake Michigan, while the judge made observations on the rocks and other natural features. On the 15th they reached the entrance to Green Bay, and followed the chain of islands which extend across that arm of Lake Michigan. He remarks upon Green Bay that "it is a body of water on the same noble scale as the Delaware or Chesapeake."

On the 19th the party arrived at Green Bay, and the military importance of this post claimed his attention at once. "At no part of the Indian frontier could

a fortress be more useful and indispensable," he says. "It is in the chain of connection with the Indian settlements between the Mississippi and the lakes. It opens a way to their retreats in the West, and commands their thoroughfare towards the East. The Fals Avoines, Ottawas, Pottawattomies and dangerous Winnebagoes consider this place as their accustomed and privileged haunt. In times of peace they sometimes assembled about it to the number of one or two thousand; but for hostile purposes might collect twice that number on the most sudden emergency. The importance of the position was apparent in the jealousy with which the nations regarded the occupancy of it. They considered it as a check to their predatory habits, and assembled in a body to oppose it; being overawed at that moment, they have since threatened that at the first reduction of numbers at the post they shall make it their own."

While at Green Bay Judge Storrow made observations on the ebb and flow of a lake tide, by placing a stick perpendicularly in the water. From eleven o'clock in the morning to half past nine in the evening, the water had risen five inches; at eight, the next morning, it had fallen seven inches; at eight the same evening it had risen eight inches; thus showing, as it seemed to him, a mean tidal fluctuation of about four inches.

GREEN BAY TO CHICAGO

"After a short stay at Green Bay," he writes, "I made arrangements with a Fals Avoine chief to conduct me as a guide to the Winnebago Lake; from whence it was my determination to proceed on foot, through the wilderness, to Chicago." The commanding officer at Green Bay was Major Zachary Taylor, afterwards a general in the Mexican War, and President of the United States in 1849. How little did either Major Taylor or Judge Storrow dream of the future career of the former, the man who in 1846 won the battle of Buena Vista, and within three years thereafter was raised to the highest office in the nation.

Taking leave of Major Taylor and the officers at the fort, Judge Storrow entered the wilderness on his "two hundred and fifty mile journey" to Chicago,[14] attended only by his Indian guide and a soldier of the garrison leading a pack-horse, loaded with provisions and presents for the Indians. "The thickness of the forest rendered marching difficult," he writes, "and almost entirely impeded the horse; but for exertions in assisting him over crags, and cutting away branches and saplings with our tomahawks, we should have been obliged to abandon him. The land was broken with hillocks and masses of rock." On the 24th of September the little party reached Lake Winnebago and visited a village of Fals Avoines, where their reception was anything but friendly, "the men eyeing me with contemptuous indifference," he says, "the females and children with a restless and obtrusive curiosity."

The Judge's opinion of Indians in general, their character and mode of life, is distinctly unfavorable. "Sloth, filth and indifference to the goods or ills of life, form the same characteristics of the remote Indians, as of those nearer to us. The similarity of traits is radical; disparity of situation makes but accidental shades. Necessity gives to the foresters an energy which contact with the whites takes from the lower tribes. They present fewer instances of helplessness, petty vices, and

[14] The distance is really something less than 200 miles.

premature decay from intemperance; but substitute in their stead the grosser and more unrelenting features of barbarism."

The course was now towards Chicago, and having procured two new guides in place of the one who had accompanied him so far, the Judge, the soldier and the two Indians proceeded together in a southerly direction. They passed through the region of small lakes in what is now Waukesha County, and the Judge, keeping an eye open always to the geological features of the country, observes that "the country may be said to be without rocks; the few I had seen during the last two days were detached and of granite." As the significance of these detached granite rocks was not suspected by the geologists of that day, the cause of their presence in these regions, where there are no granite formations *in situ*, must have been puzzling enough to the Judge, though we now know that they were brought here from far distant regions of the north, embedded in glaciers, which, as they receded, left granite boulders scattered over a vast extent of country.

Their course was now southeast, and the Judge supposed himself not far distant from the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, knowing that the elevation was not very remote from the lake itself. "We commenced our march at sunrise of the 28th," writes the Judge; "the guides, who during part of the preceding day, had been sullen and silent, seemed now in entire ignorance of the way, and were leading towards the northeast. I refused to follow them, and, after a fruitless and vexatious attempt to understand each other, or to know if they understood the way, I insisted upon their leaving me; which they did after a long and unintelligible altercation. I should not have resorted to this measure, which left me alone in the wilderness, had I not been convinced that a day's march properly directed would bring me to the shores of Lake Michigan."

Towards evening, however, the Judge caught a distant view of the lake from an eminence, and the next day, the 29th, reached its margin at the mouth of the "Millewackie" river. Finding a Pottawattomie village here, he procured a guide and continued on his way. He attempted to reach the Schipicoten river the same day, but darkness overtook the party while yet entangled in a swamp, and they were obliged to spend the night in this uncomfortable environment. The next day they reached the Schipicoten, known at present by the name of Root river, which flows into the lake at Racine. The river proved to be too deep to be forded, and finding no material to construct a raft, they were obliged, cold as it was, to cross it by swimming.

BEACH JOURNEY ALONG THE NORTH SHORE

On the morning of the first of October there was a severe frost. They judged that they were now within a day's journey of Chicago, and for the remainder of the distance their course lay along the beach. However, night overtook them while yet some distance from their destination, and the party slept on the sand, probably not far from the present location of Highland Park. In his letter the Judge speaks of meeting a great number of Indians "moving like caravans." For several days as they neared Chicago he encountered these parties, though it gives him, he says, little pleasure to refer to them; then follows a discussion of Indian virtues, religion and morality. His views are those of a thoughtful and observing man, and his conclusions are generally unfavorable to the Indian.

There is "nothing to justify the contradictory expression of *savage virtue*," he says. "The earliest gift of society to the savage may be its vices . . . yet society can give him nothing worse than his original properties nor lead him to any viler state than that in which it finds him."

We can imagine this party, led by our venturesome traveler, attended only by a soldier leading a pack-horse and the two Indian guides, passing along the beach at the foot of the picturesque bluffs that border the North Shore, while the surrounding country was inhabited only by savages—and all this less than one hundred years ago; if in contrast with this scene we consider the present conditions, the teeming population of civilized races which here are established, the wonder of it is sufficiently apparent. And when in some future "historical pageant" this scene shall be reproduced, showing the travelers wending their way along the shore, to the roar of Lake Michigan's waves breaking upon the sand and gravel, it may well bear the motto,

"I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be;
The first low wash of waves where soon
Will roll a human sea."

ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO

On the second of October, after walking for three or four hours, the party reached the river Chicago, and, crossing it, entered Fort Dearborn, "where I was kindly entertained by Major Baker and the officers of the garrison, who received me as one arrived from the moon." He had thus accomplished the journey from Milwaukee to Chicago, eighty-five miles, in three days, an average of nearly thirty miles a day; or reckoning from Green Bay, the distance by the route taken was probably not far from two hundred miles, and the time occupied was eight days, an average over the whole distance of twenty-five miles a day; which considering that nearly the whole way was an untracked wilderness, was good marching speed.

Judge Storrow's entrance upon the scene was some hundred and forty-four years after the first visit by Joliet and Marquette, and the progress made in the settlement of the place during that period was almost nil. Much indeed had occurred in its history within that space of time,—the French dominion had passed away, the succeeding British regime had ended its brief period, and after an occupation of a few years the American post had been swept away, root and branch, and was now but recently rebuilt and reoccupied. Although as we look back now to the time when a stranger's visit to the place was so rare that he was regarded as "one arrived from the moon," we should remember that even in that early period Chicago had a notable history. How many generations of red men and white men had passed and repassed this portage, men like old Jacques Vieau, who, long before the first Fort Dearborn was built, was considered an old *habitué* of the place; or like the Miami chief, Little Turtle, who, we are told, "frequently sojourned at Chicago."

STORROW ON CHICAGO

"At Chicago," writes Judge Storrow, "I perceived I was in a better country. It had become so by gradual melioration. That which I had left was of a character

for above mediocrity, but labors under the permanent defects of coldness of soil and want of moisture. The native strength of it is indicated by the growth of timber, which is almost entirely of white oak and beech, without pine, chestnut, maple, ash, or any kind which denotes warmth. The country suffers at the same time from water and from the want of it. The deficiency of circulation, not of water itself, produces this contradiction. It is not sufficiently uneven to form brooks to lead off its redundant rains and form a deposit for mid-summer. The snows of winter dissolve and remain on the ground until exhaled by the sun at a late period of spring. In prairies that are entirely level this produces a cold which is scarcely dissipated by the heat of summer; in such as are undulated, it renders one-half (that on which the water rests) useless, or of inferior value. It must be remembered, moreover, that this region is not to undergo the changes incident to new countries generally, from the thinning of forests and exposure of the soil. It is already on the footing of the oldest, and has received for the lapse of ages all the heat it is ever to derive from the sun alone. At some remotely future period, when a dense population enables the husbandman to apply artificial warmth to his ground, means of life may be extracted from this soil which are latent at present. It requires industry and is capable of repaying it.

"The river Chicago (or, in English, Wild Onion river) is deep and about forty yards in width. Before it enters the lake, its two branches unite—the one proceeding from the north, the other from the west, where it takes its rise in the fountain of the De Plein, or Illinois, which flows in an opposite direction.[15] The source of these two rivers illustrates the geographical phenomenon of a reservoir on the very summit of a dividing ridge. In the autumn, they are both without any apparent fountain, but are formed within a mile and a half of each other by some imperceptible undulations of the prairie which drain it and lead to different directions. But in the spring, the space between the two is a single sheet of water, the common reservoir of both, in the center of which there is no current towards either of the opposite streams. This circumstance creates the singular fact of the insulation of all the United States excepting Louisiana, making the circumnavigation of them practicable, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to that of Mexico, with the single hindrance of the Falls of Niagara.

"The Chicago forms a third partition of the great country I had passed. The Ouisconsin and Fox rivers make a water communication between the Mississippi and [Lake] Michigan, with the exception of four miles. The Millewackie [Milwaukee] and *Riviere a la Roche* [Rock River] the same, with half the exception. The Chicago and De Plein make, in the manner I have described, the communication entire. This latter should not escape national attention. The ground between the two is without rocks, and, with little labor, would admit of a permanent connection between the waters of the Illinois and [Lake] Michigan." [16]

This observer showed an intelligent grasp of the physical conditions, and his views doubtless had their weight with the public men of the time, as this letter was printed in pamphlet form, and, no doubt, was accessible to anyone who was

[15] The writer is mistaken if he means that the source of the Desplaines is at or near that of the Chicago river. The Desplaines River takes its rise some distance north of the state line between Wisconsin and Illinois.

[16] Wisconsin Historical Collections, VI, 180.

From drawing made by Mrs. Kinzie and published in "Wau-Bun," edition of 1856

CHICAGO IN 1831—THE SECOND FORT DEARBORN

interested in the subject. Some thirty years later the Illinois and Michigan canal was cut through the "divide" which he described, and in recent years a new and much larger channel has been excavated along practically the same route, having the double purpose of drainage and navigation. Judge Storrow said in his letter that the ground between the two rivers, the Chicago and the Desplaines, was "without rocks," but both the canal builders and the builders of the great Drainage Channel found plenty of rocks lying a short distance below the surface, which added very much to the difficulty of making the excavations.

Writing further of Chicago, Judge Storrow said: "It has no advantage of harbor, the river itself being always choked and frequently barred, from the same causes that I have imputed to the other streams of this country.[17] In the rear of the fort is a prairie of the most complete flatness, no sign of elevation being within the range of the eye. The soil and climate are both excellent. Traces yet remain of the devastation and massacre committed by the savages in 1812."

We need not follow Judge Storrow in his further travels except to explain that, after a stay of two days in Chicago, he left for Fort Wayne, traveling along the beach for sixty miles, and arriving safely at his destination in four days from his departure. In the course of his observations about Fort Wayne he adds, "The nature of the country I have just passed, and the facilities of communication afforded by it, enhance the importance which I had already ascribed to Chicago. It being at the head of a probable connection between the Illinois and [Lake] Michigan, its remoteness from any dangerous neighbor, and its facility of deriving resources from the Miami of the Lake, the Wabash, and the fertile interior of Indiana, mark it as the future place of deposit for the whole region of the Upper Lakes."

ON RETURNING TO THE EAST

After returning to Brownville, N. Y., from this journey, Judge Storrow wrote to his sisters: "If you ask me what upon earth tempted me to such an undertaking I shall be at a loss to give an answer. It led me to many spots where Christian footstep never trod before, and the vanity of doing so was, I fear, one of the leading reasons. It tested my nerves and my bodily ability, and that by itself alone has its gratifications. I have been at different periods for ten days without entering a house or seeing one—sleeping on the ground without even a tent while the ice was forming every night. When I reached Chicago I had been for ten days in the prairies and wilderness—I had a beard like a Jew, was nearly barefoot and covered (O shame) with that which was but a part of the occupancy of Mr. Upson's head. I laid down with Indians and rose with—,"[18] and at this point a page is missing.

This letter may have its value in explaining away any motive ascribed to Storrow in undertaking the journey; at any rate, it gives us a short though intimate glimpse of the personality of a man who had the love of adventure and the quaint

[17] The writer refers to the sand bars formed at the mouths of streams entering Lake Michigan.

[18] From a letter written by Storrow, now in the possession of Mrs. William S. Greene of Alexandria, Virginia. This letter, with several others written by Storrow, was loaned by Mrs. Greene to the author.

humor that are possessions of the true sportsman. Others of his letters to his sisters, whom he loved devotedly, show many charming traits of character—attachment to his friends, finest consideration of others, an uncalculating courage in his political convictions, and withal a delightful childlikeness of feeling.

THE UNITED STATES TRADING HOUSES

The Factory System, to which allusion has been made, had its origin in an act passed by Congress in 1796. The Ordinance of 1787 had provided, in one of its articles, that "the utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

It was in the spirit of this provision in the famous Ordinance, that Congress, in 1796, passed an act establishing trading posts at many points with the humane purpose of protecting the helpless "sons of the forest" from the rapacity of the private traders. The agent in charge of these posts, called the "factor," was instructed to deal justly and pay fairly for furs bought of the Indians.[19] One section of the act provides "that the prices of goods supplied to, and to be paid for by the Indians shall be regulated in such manner that the capital stock furnished by the United States may not be diminished."[20] The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was "appropriated for the purpose of carrying on trade and intercourse with the Indian nations." Other provisions of the act were that agents or clerks of Indian trading houses were prohibited from carrying on trade on their own account, and that they should not "purchase or receive of any Indian, in the way of trade or barter, a gun or other article commonly used in hunting, any instrument of husbandry or cooking utensil * * * [or] any article of clothing (except skins or furs)." From time to time the law was amended for the purpose of appropriating larger sums required for the extension of the system. However, the plan did not work well. The traders understood the Indians much better than the factors appointed by the government, having lived among them and being well acquainted with their peculiarities. In spite of the efforts made by the factors to secure furs from the Indians, the latter preferred to deal with the traders. And thus, after a thorough trial, the system failed completely to fulfill the purpose for which it was established. The causes of the failure are found in various reports, from which appropriate quotations will be made.

FACTORY AT CHICAGO

Soon after the building of Fort Dearborn, in 1803, the government established a factory at this post. The name of the factor from that time until 1810 "has not been preserved," says Andreas, "unless, as seems probable, Charles Jouett was both Indian agent and factor." In 1811 Jouett resigned and went to Kentucky,

[19] Hurlbut, "Chicago Antiquities," p. 201.

[20] Joseph Story: "Laws of the United States" (Boston, 1827), p. 414.

as we have seen. Matthew Irwin, Jr., then became the factor, and discharged the duties of Indian agent as well. It appears that Irwin left Chicago in July preceding the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, just as Jouett had done in the preceding year, and thus escaped the massacre.

An Agency House had been built about the same time that the post was established, in 1803. "It was situated a short distance above the fort on the same side of the river," writes Andreas, "and is described as an old-fashioned log building with a hall in the center, and one large room on each side. Porches extended the whole length of the building front and rear." The Agency House shared the same fate as that of the fort on the day after the evacuation and massacre, and was burned to the ground.

An Agency House was built on the north side of the river in 1816, at about where the north end of State Street bridge is now located. Jacob B. Varnum was appointed factor, and at the same time Judge Charles Jouett again received the appointment as Indian Agent, thus renewing his residence in Chicago, which had ceased five years previously when he went to Kentucky.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

A report by Dr. Jedidiah Morse on Indian affairs, made in 1822, states that in 1820 there were in the hands of the factor at Chicago stocks of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars; that while the government disposes of goods at cost, yet there was only twenty-five dollars' worth of furs taken in trade from the Indians in that year. The reasons given are "that the goods are inferior in quality, and selected with less judgment than those of the traders . . . that, by some means, the Indians had not confidence in the Government as fair and upright in their trade." [21] There was no reflection in the report on the integrity of the agent, but the fact that the Indians preferred dealing with the traders was considered good evidence that they had not been exorbitant in their prices nor had they intimidated the Indians in any way, and that the Indians had had perfect liberty to trade with one or the other, as they pleased.

The traders, however, had the great advantage over the Government factors in being able to supply the Indians with liquor, which they freely did, although strictly prohibited by the Government. When the Indians arrived at the posts with a quantity of furs, the traders would keep them in a state of intoxication so that they gave up their furs at great sacrifice. A return to reason would often lead them to give the names of the traders from whom they had been supplied with whisky, but as the testimony of the Indians had no legal value, there was not the smallest chance of detection.[22]

A factory had been placed at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and the experience of the agent there was in many respects similar to that of the agent in Chicago. General Albert G. Ellis relates, in a paper published in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, that he arrived in Green Bay in 1822, and found Major Matthew Irwin in charge of the factory there. He was "a gentleman of intelligence, culture and integrity," but was totally unacquainted with Indian trade, and not fitted to

[21] Wis. His. Coll's. Vol. VII, p. 287.
[22] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 203.

compete with the traders who had won the confidence and good-will of the Indians. The stock carried by the factor consisted of "sleazy woolen blankets, cheap calico, and, worst of all, poor unserviceable guns," and in the course of four years "he did not secure fifty dollars' worth of peltries." [23]

Major Irwin's well meant efforts were frustrated by the crafty traders. He lured the Indians with gew-gaws, presents and considerate treatment, but they would only offer the factor maple sugar in barter (which the traders would not accept) and would keep their furs for the traders. Ramsey Crooks, that Trojan among fur traders, who was then the agent at Mackinac for the American Fur Company, pointed out, in a defense he made on the occasion of an official investigation by the government, that "the factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians." [24]

The following letter, dated July 5, 1821, from Colonel McKenney, the Superintendent of the Indian Department, to Major Irwin, is printed in the Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "Sir:—I have the honor respectfully to represent, that for three years last past, the two factories on the lakes, one at Chicago, the other at Green Bay, have been in a measure useless to the Indians, and, in a pecuniary point of view, to the Government also. . . .The continuation of the same inactivity which has hitherto characterized the business at these two factories promising to make inroads upon the fund allotted for the trade, I do not feel myself authorized further to delay a decision on the subject; . . . it is to break up and discontinue the two factories located at Chicago and Green Bay." [25]

"FACTORIES" CLOSED

In 1822, the trading houses, or "factories," were ordered to be closed by Congress, and the goods on hand to be sold. The proceeds were to be applied towards the payment of annuities due to the Indian tribes. This ended the "Factory System," so called, which, instead of fulfilling the philanthropic purpose intended by it, had proved a total failure.[26]

The act passed by Congress, May 6, 1822, which ordered the closing of the Indian Trading Posts, contained the provision that it should be "continued in force for the purpose only of enforcing all bonds, debts, contracts, demands, and rights, which may have arisen, . . . and for the settlement of the accounts of the superintendent, factors and subfactors, at the Treasury Department." [27]

The observation may be made, suggested by the failure of the benevolent intentions of our government in the matter of Indian trading posts, that however praiseworthy the motives may be, "it must always be remembered," says Mr. Theodore Roosevelt in a late magazine article in reference to the negro tribes of Africa, "that a fussy and ill-considered benevolence is more sure to awaken resentment than cruelty itself; while the natives are apt to resent deeply even things that are obviously for their ultimate welfare."

[23] Wisconsin Hist. Coll. Vol. VII, p. 222.
[24] Wis. Hist. Soc'y Proceedings, 1899, p. 124.
[25] Wis. Hist. Coll. Vol. VII, p 281.
[26] Hurlbut, "Chicago Antiquities," p. 201.
[27] Story's "Laws of the United States" (Boston, 1827), p. 1844.

While "resentment" probably played no part in the failure of the "Factory System," yet, what was equally effective, neglect and indifference did; and when Congress at last discontinued the system, in disgust, the dreams of many benevolent well-wishers of the savages were shattered.

THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF ILLINOIS

There was a period in the legislation preliminary to the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union in 1818, when the boundaries of the proposed state were fixed so that its northern extension went no farther than an east and west line touching the southern end of Lake Michigan.[28] This line had not been surveyed, but it was afterwards described as forty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes of north latitude.[29] This description was used in the first draft of the Enabling Act when the bill was introduced into Congress, April 7, 1818. While under consideration in the committee of the whole, the congressional delegate from Illinois Territory, Nathaniel Pope, moved an amendment to the bill by striking out that part which defined the boundaries of the new state, and inserted instead the following:

"Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash River; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees, thirty minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi River; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning." [30]

ORIGINAL PROVISION OF THE ORDINANCE

By the Ordinance of 1787 there were to be not less than three nor more than five states formed from the Northwest Territory created under that Ordinance. In case there should be only three states formed, the Ordinance specified that the western, middle and eastern states, as they were described, should have certain boundaries, with this proviso:

"It is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan." Before the formation of States, however, there were territorial divisions. When the Territory of Illinois came to be formed in 1809, the boundaries were established on the same lines as those of the present State of Illinois, except that the territory extended northwards to the line between Canada and the United States.[31]

FAR-REACHING RESULTS OF THE AMENDMENT

The effect of Pope's amendment was to include within the limits of the proposed new state of Illinois, a strip of country sixty-one miles in width, extending

[28] Ordinance of 1787, Article V.
[29] Moses: "Illinois," p. 276, Vol. I.
[30] Annals of Congress, 1818, p. 1677.
[31] Illinois Territorial Organization Act, 1809, section 1.

from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, containing an area of eight thousand, five hundred square miles of fertile country diversified with forests and rivers, within the limits of which at the present time are located fourteen counties with many populous and prosperous cities. Among these may be mentioned the cities of Chicago, Evanston, Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, Rockford, Freeport, Oregon, Sterling, Dixon, Fulton and Galena.[32]

In presenting this amendment, Mr. Pope explained its object, and urged its adoption for the following reasons, which are admirably summarized by Moses in his history of Illinois, as follows: "That the proposed new state by reason of her geographical position even more than on account of the fertility of her soil, was destined to become populous and influential; that if her northern boundary was fixed by a line arbitrarily established, rather than naturally determined, and her commerce was to be confined to that great artery of communication, the Mississippi, which washed her entire western border, and to its chief tributary on the south, the Ohio, there was a possibility that her commercial relations with the south might become so closely connected that in the event of an attempted dismemberment of the Union, Illinois would cast her lot with the southern states. On the other hand to fix the northern boundary of Illinois upon such a parallel of latitude as would give to the state territorial jurisdiction over the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, would be to unite the incipient commonwealth to the states of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York in a bond of common interest well-nigh indissoluble. By the adoption of such a line, Illinois might become at some future time the keystone to the perpetuity of the Union.

"The feasibility of opening a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river was admitted by every one who had inspected the location and given the subject consideration. If the port of Chicago were included within the boundaries of the proposed state, the attention of the inhabitants of the latter would naturally be directed to the opening up of a water-way between the river named and the great fresh-water sea, and the early improvement of the entire region. The successful prosecution of such an enterprise would not only open up new channels of trade, but would tend to bind together the East and West by a chain whose links would be welded together not only by friendship but by a community of interest. And thus with common ties, and interests reaching out to the East as well as the South, an equilibrium of sentiment would be established, which would forever oppose the formation of separate and independent confederacies on the north, south, east or west."

The arguments of Mr. Pope carried conviction with them and the amendment was adopted, without a division, on April 18, 1818, and thus the northern boundary of the state was established where it is today. Moses, in speaking of Pope's action, says: "The securing of the adoption of the above important amendment, fraught with such material results, was of his own motion, and on his own responsibility, without the instruction or advice of his constituents."

POPE'S PROPHETIC VISION

When we reflect that the region affected by Pope's amendment was as yet an almost unbroken wilderness, that the advantageous position of Chicago and its con-

[32] Thwaites' Essays, "Division of the Northwest," p. 105.

Courtesy of Illinois State Historical Society

NATHANIEL POPE

By his activity as delegate to Congress in 1818, when Illinois was admitted as a state into the Union, Pope amended the bill for admission so that the state of Illinois should include a strip of land sixty-one miles wide along its northern boundary, this sixty-one mile strip being additional to the territory already included in the state by the provisions of the bill.

tiguous territory was only a matter of speculation, we must recognize in Pope's action in proposing and urging the adoption of his amendment the work of a keen and far-sighted statesman. "No man," says Moses, "ever rendered the state a more important service in Congress than did Nathaniel Pope." That the fixing of the northern boundary of the state where it is today had momentous consequences can be seen in the subsequent history of the state. Had the northern tier of counties included within the sixty-one mile strip become attached to Wisconsin, as it inevitably would have been, the state of Illinois would have lacked, when issues of tremendous moment were at stake, an important element in her legislature at the time of the breaking out of the Civil War, an element that Wisconsin did not require, as the Union sentiment in that state was at all times very strong. Whether or not the splendid support given to the Union cause by the state of Illinois was of such importance as to justify Pope's declaration, when arguing for his amendment, that the state might become "the keystone to the perpetuity of the Union," may be regarded differently by historians. But the commanding position occupied by Illinois during the Civil War "with one of its citizens in the Presidential chair and another leading its two hundred and fifty thousand citizen soldiery and the armies of the Union," went far to make good the claim made by Pope in his declaration. The part taken by Pope in the boundary matter well illustrates what has been called his "almost superhuman sagacity."

EX-SENATOR DOOLITTLE'S HUMOROUS REFERENCE

When the great Sanitary Canal was opened with considerable pomp and ceremony on the 2d of January, 1900, Hon. James R. Doolittle, formerly United States Senator from Wisconsin, made one of the speeches. In the course of his remarks he said: "I rejoice to be here, and I pray God that I may live, though I am past seventy years of age, to see this work completed and this great waterway established between the lakes and rivers. I say it with just as much earnestness as if all my interests were identified with Chicago. I still live in Wisconsin. I live in the state to which Chicago belongs according to the Ordinance of 1787. (Laughter and applause.) I sometimes give an excuse to those gentlemen who ask me, 'why is it you practice law in Chicago, and yet live in Wisconsin?' I tell them that by the Ordinance of 1787 Chicago belongs to Wisconsin, and I have a right to be there."

A DECISIVE DATE IN CHICAGO HISTORY

The northern boundary line established by Pope's amendment was one of the most important events in the annals of Illinois. It is named by Miss Lottie Jones, in her "Decisive Dates of Illinois History," as one of the five events which were decisive in their character; and, as this event affected the region which in later years became the site of the great city of Chicago, it may be especially considered a decisive date in Chicago history.

SKETCH OF POPE

Nathaniel Pope was born in 1784 at Louisville, Kentucky, and was educated at Transylvania University, at Lexington, graduating with high honors. In 1809 he was appointed the first secretary of Illinois Territory. He was elected a delegate

to Congress in 1816. After the admission of Illinois as a state, he was made United States Judge of the District, which then embraced the entire state. He was the father of Major-General John Pope, one of the generals of the Civil War. Pope County in this state was named in his honor. He died at St. Louis, Missouri, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Lucretia Yeatman, in 1850. His character is summed up by Moses, as follows: "He was a profound lawyer, an able legislator, a dignified and upright, yet a courteous judge, and wore the ermine for over thirty years without a stain."

CHAPTER VII

EARLY VISITORS AND RESIDENTS

VIEW OF EARLY CHICAGO—ALEXANDER ROBINSON—BILLY CALDWELL—SHABBONA—JOHN KINZIE CLARK—THE CLYBOURNS—JAMES GALLOWAY—DR. ALEXANDER WOLCOTT—OTHER RESIDENTS—MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG—SCHOOLCRAFT'S VISIT TO CHICAGO—C. C. TROWBRIDGE—EBENEZER CHILDS—FONDA AT CHICAGO—MAIL CARRIERS OF THE EARLY DAY—MAIL ROUTES—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE U. S. POST OFFICE—CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

VIEW OF EARLY CHICAGO

HIS may be a good place to stop a moment and review the settlement of Chicago as it was at different periods of its growth until 1828 or thereabouts. At the beginning of the century we saw on the north bank of the river four small dwellings, one owned and occupied by Le Mai, another by Antoine Ouilmette, and a third by one Pettell. Le Mai sold his house to John Kinzie, who came in 1804, soon after Captain Whistler had arrived to build and occupy the fort. On the South Branch Charles Lee settled not long afterward at the place that was known as Hardscrabble. In 1812 came the massacre, and from that time until the rebuilding of the fort in 1816, the place was deserted by all save Ouilmette and his family, M. Du Pin, a French trader who was there for a short time, and Alexander Robinson, who settled at Chicago in 1814 and with Ouilmette planted the garden of the former fort with Indian corn. The officers who came to rebuild the fort in 1816 found these last two living there, besides John Dean, an army contractor who came in 1815, and possibly Judge Jouett, who, as stated by his daughter many years later, had come as Indian agent a short time before the fort was reoccupied. With the new garrison came settlers to this spot now protected by United States troops, and Chicago began to have the appearance of an active frontier village. When the inhabitants were few, each one was a person of prominence, and we can pick them out and call them by name. The Beaubiens, as we have seen, were early comers; another was John Kinzie Clark, arriving in 1816; a few years later came his stepbrother, Archibald Clybourn, followed soon afterward by his parents; and in 1826 James Galloway brought his family to Chicago. Here is the community, then, in its second beginnings. The natural result was the arrival of visitors and traders, among them Major Stephen H. Long, passing through Chicago after an expedition west of the Mississippi; Judge Storrow whose visit is described in the previous chapter; Ebenezer Childs, a trader from Green Bay; Schoolcraft and Trowbridge, coming in Governor Cass' expedition in 1820; John H. Fonda, a rover through this new West. Seeing much of the inhabitants, it is quite natural that we find out, little by little, the story of each one.

ALEXANDER ROBINSON

Among the notable residents of early Chicago there were three Indians, of great influence among their own people, and firm in their friendship to the Americans, by whom their services were highly appreciated. These three "good Indians" were Alexander Robinson, Billy Caldwell, called the Sauganash, and Shabbona, each one with a history closely connected with that of former days in Chicago.

Alexander Robinson was a chief of the Pottawattomies, his mother being an Indian and his father a British officer at Mackinac. He was in Chicago now and then as early as 1809 for trading purposes, and in 1812 he was one of the chiefs friendly to the whites, who, just before the massacre, tried to dissuade the young braves from their intention to kill the occupants of Fort Dearborn. After the evacuation and massacre, he took the Kinzie family to St. Joseph in a boat [1] and, that done, he escorted Captain and Mrs. Heald in a canoe on to Mackinac, where the captain surrendered to the commandant.[2] Later he afforded a home to the Kinzie family, who took refuge with him at St. Joseph after their escape from Chicago.

In 1814, it is told, he returned to Chicago, finding here but one white man, Antoine Ouilmette. "The year following (1815), it is stated that these two were the only white men here, and the grounds of the late fort, both that year and in 1816, were planted by them with Indian corn. When Major Bradley arrived, in 1816, to construct the new fort, he paid Messrs. Ouilmette and Robinson for their field of corn. At that time it is stated that Alec and his Indian wife lived on the north side of the river, near the intersection of the present Dearborn and Kinzie Streets." [3] In the assessment roll of the assessor of Peoria County, for 1825, the property of Robinson was valued at $200.[4] He then owned a cabin at Hardscrabble on the South Branch, which he offered as a residence to Mr. Galloway, when the latter brought his family to Chicago. "He served in 1823 and 1826 as Indian interpreter under Dr. Wolcott, at a salary of $365, during the latter year. He is recorded as a voter in 1825, 1826 and 1830, and on June 8 of the latter year was licensed to keep tavern in Chicago. He had owned prior to this time a cabin or trading-post at Hardscrabble, but vacated it before 1826. On September 28, 1826, he was married by John Kinzie, J. P., to Catherine Chevalier, daughter of Francois and Mary Ann Chevalier. Francois Chevalier was chief of a united band of Pottawattomies, Ottawas and Chippewas, with his village at the Calumet. At his death Robinson became chief of the band. At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, July, 1829, he was granted two sections of land on the Desplaines; by the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, October 20, 1832, a life annuity of $200, and by the Chicago treaty of September, 1833, an additional annuity of $300. His exertions, with those of Billy Caldwell, prevented the tribe from joining the Sauks in the Winnebago War of 1827, and Black Hawk in 1832. During the latter part of his residence in Chicago, he lived at Wolf Point, where he had a store or trading-house. After the Indians were removed beyond the Mississippi, he settled with his family on his reservation on the Desplaines, where he lived until his death, which occurred April 22, 1872. His

[1] Andreas: I, p. 97.
[2] "Wisconsin Historical Collections," VII, p. 328.
[3] Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," p. 452.
[4] Fergus' Historical Series, VII, p. 16.

wife died August 7, 1860. They were both, with two sons and a daughter-in-law, buried on the bank of the river near the old home." [5]

BILLY CALDWELL

A second member of this group of Indians was one whose education, judgment, liberality and public spirit gave him an honored place among those who knew him. This was Billy Caldwell.[6] He was born in Canada, about the year 1780. "His father was an Irish officer in the British military service, and his mother a Pottawattomie. . . . Caldwell, in his youth, received from the Jesuit fathers at Detroit a good education. He spoke with fluency, and wrote with facility, both the English and French languages, and was also master of several Indian dialects. Nature was also lavish in her gifts to him, not only in mental capacity, but in a fine physique, a strong, sinewy frame, straight as an arrow; in early manhood his appearance was so commanding when engaged in strife with his foes, that his fellow Indian braves gave him the title of the 'Straight Tree.' The Indian name, however, by which he was generally known was 'The Sauganash,' or 'The Britisher,' but this name of 'Sauganash' was generally given to all Englishmen by the Indian tribes formerly resident of this section, when speaking of them individually."

For several years Caldwell was closely connected with Tecumseh—until the death of the latter at the Battle of Thames in 1813. He acted as his interpreter when in council with the whites, as well as his supporter in plans for consolidating the Indian tribes of the West and Southwest, and for mitigating the horrors of savage warfare. Even while nominally an enemy to the Americans and an ally, with Tecumseh, of the British, we have seen how his friendship to certain ones, and his humanity, saved those still about Fort Dearborn after the massacre. Just when he became an avowed friend of the American cause is not known, but in about 1820 he fixed his residence at Chicago. His name appears in the voting lists of 1826 and 1830, and he is recorded as Justice of the Peace in 1826, and as clerk of elections at various times. In 1827 he worked hard with his tribe, the Pottawattomies, to prevent them from joining with the Winnebagoes against the white people, and again in 1832 prevented their joining Black Hawk in his war against the Americans. For his valuable services as mediator and interpreter the government made him grants of land and money, and in 1828 built for him probably the first frame house in the Northwest, which was destroyed in the Great Fire. Formerly it stood on Indiana Street, whither it had been moved from the corner of North State Street and Chicago Avenue. He was always anxious for the improvement of his people, hoping that they would adopt the dress and customs of the white people. At one time during his residence in Chicago, he offered to pay the tuition and buy books and clothes for any Indian children who would go to school and adopt the American way of dressing. There were none, however, who accepted the condition.

When the government, in 1835, decreed the removal of the Indians occupying this region to lands assigned them near Council Bluffs, it was Caldwell's influence, and his agreement to accompany them to their new home, that persuaded them to leave their old dwellings and hunting grounds. Owing to his management the re-

[5] Andreas: I, 108.

[6] Fergus' Historical Series, 10, 31.

moval was a peaceable one, and under Captain J. B. F. Russell, the Government agent, and Caldwell, 2500 Indians made the journey to Council Bluffs, the cavalcade gathering along the way, as it went, other bands with the same destiny before them.

At Council Bluffs Billy Caldwell lived with the Indians until his death in 1841, joining in their councils and directing them in ways of peace with their neighbors on adjoining reservations. He was always interested in the public affairs of the country, and at the time of Gen. William Henry Harrison's presidential campaign in 1840, when party bitterness led to personal libel, Caldwell and his friend Shabbona wrote from the western reservation, as follows:

Council Bluffs, March 23d, 1840.

To Gen. Harrison's Friends:

The other day, several newspapers were brought to us; and, peeping over them, to our astonishment, we found that the hero of the late war was called a coward. This would have surprised the tall braves, Tecumseh of the Shawnees, and Round Head and Walk-in-the-Water of the Wyandotts. If the departed could rise again, they would say to the white man that Gen. Harrison was the terror of the late tomahawkers. The first time we got acquainted with General Harrison, it was at the council-fire of the late Old Tempest, Gen. Wayne, on the headquarters of the Wabash, at Greensville, 1796. From that time until 1811, we had many friendly smokes with him; but from 1812 we changed our tobacco smoke into powder smoke. Then we found Gen. Harrison was a brave warrior and humane to his prisoners, as reported to us by two of Tecumseh's young men, who were taken in the fleet with Capt. Barclay on the 10th of September, 1813, and on the Thames, where he routed both the red men and the British, and where he showed his courage and his humanity to his prisoners, both white and red. See report of Adam Brown and family, taken on the morning of the battle October 5th, 1813. We are the only two surviving of that day in this country. We hope the good white men will protect the name of Gen. Harrison. We remain your friends forever.

Chamblee [Shabbona], *Aid to Tecumseh.*
B. Caldwell [Sauganash], *Captain.*[7]

Billy Caldwell had in Chicago a memorial of himself in the hotel which Mark Beaubien built and called the Sauganash, in honor of a "great man." The Sauganash stood at the present crossing of Lake and Market Streets, the gathering place for many years of town merrymakers and visitors to the city. There the proprietor of the early day, Mark Beaubien himself, frequently entertained his guests by playing on his fiddle, the guests dancing and singing; and there the first theatre in Chicago was opened in 1837. The hotel stood until 1851, when it was destroyed by fire.[8]

SHABBONA

A picturesque figure who for many years was frequently seen at Chicago was Shabbona,[9] who came from his home near Ottawa to attend councils, visit his friends,

[7] Fergus: 16, 61.
[8] Andreas: History of Chicago, I, 474.
[9] Fergus: 10, 34.

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

SHABBONA

An Indian who was friendly to the Americans, and who was often seen about Chicago in the early days.

and finally, in his old age, to be good-naturedly railed at and made much of by those among whom he was well known. Shabbona was the son of an Ottawa Indian who had fought with Pontiac in all his wars. He was born in Ohio about 1775. When a very young man he married a Pottawattomie girl, and lived with her family on the Illinois river a few miles above the present town of Ottawa. Afterwards he moved to a spot about 25 miles north of Ottawa (later called Shabbona Grove), where he and his band had their village and council house. There he lived until 1837, when he took his family, including two wives, children, grandchildren and nephews, to the western land assigned by the government to Indians.

In 1810 he and the Sauganash were sent by Tecumseh on missions to incite Indians of neighboring tribes "to join in his great consolidated scheme of hostility against the white men in order to check their further encroachments upon Indian territory." After the death of Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames, Shabbona lost all faith in the British, and acknowledged himself under the authority of the United States. In 1832, when Black Hawk was urging the consolidation of the tribes against the increasing number of white settlers, so eloquent were the appeals of Shabbona and Billy Caldwell that only one Pottawattomie chief spoke in favor of such a union. "In that council, Shabbona, in answer to that fervent appeal of Black Hawk for union, and his figurative assertion that such an union would give them an army of warriors equal in number to the trees of the forest, replied: 'Yes, and the army of the pale faces you will have to encounter will be as numerous as the leaves on those trees.'" Though unsuccessful in securing the aid of the Pottawattomies, owing to the powerful influence among them of the Sauganash, Shabbona, Alexander Robinson and others, Black Hawk commenced hostilities, making preparations for a foray upon the settlements. "This Shabbona foresaw; and here the goodness of his heart, his humanity, and desire to avert the horrors of savage warfare, are shown in the arduous and disinterested efforts made by him in behalf of the few white settlers so soon to be exposed to savage fury. Immediately he sent his son and nephew to notify the scattered settlers on the Fox river, and at Holderman's Grove, of their real danger, urging them in all haste to leave their homes, and seek the sheltering walls of the fort at Ottawa. The old chief himself undertook the task on his mission of mercy, to warn the settlers of Bureau and Indian Creek of their great danger. His appearance on that 16th day of May, riding at full speed, bareheaded, his pony heated and jaded by the long ride through the scattered settlements, has been well described by other writers." A small number only took no heed of the warning, and a few hours afterward were murdered by savages.

Shabbona, with other Indians and half-breeds, received land according to the terms of the treaty of 1830, and located his two sections to include his old home in the Grove north of Ottawa. A few years later, while he and his family were absent in Kansas, a survey of public lands lying north of the old Indian boundary line, completely disregarded this claim, and Shabbona was told by the land commissioner that he "had forfeited and lost his title to the lands by removing away from them;" soon afterward he was "notified by the Indian agent that by the terms of the late treaty all members of his band, with the exception of those of his own family, must remove to their new reservations in western Missouri." Unable to part with so many of his old associates he went with them to the reservation. There he found

the hostility of Black Hawk revived against him and was driven to seek safety in returning to Illinois after a year's time. He settled upon his land in the Grove and lived there in peace until 1849, when he again decided to join his tribespeople on a new reservation they had occupied in Kansas. After three years he returned with his family to the Grove, to find it occupied by strangers who drove him away from the spot that had been his home for more than forty years. Some friends bought for him a few acres of timber near Morris, Illinois, and there he lived until his death in 1859. "He was buried in the county of Morris, and be it said to the shame of the white men, no memorial stone, nothing but a piece of board stuck in the ground, shows the spot where lie the remains of the best and truest Indian friend which the early settlers of Illinois had in the day of their tribulation."

Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, whose good friend Shabbona was, said of that noble Indian chief many years after his death: "From my first acquaintance with him, which began in the fall of 1818, to his death, I was impressed with the nobleness of his character. Physically, he was as fine a specimen of a man as I ever saw; tall, well proportioned, strong and active, with a face expressing great strength of mind and goodness of heart. Had he been favored with the advantages of education, he might have commanded a high position among the men of his day. He was remarkable for his integrity, of a generous and forgiving nature, always hospitable, and until his return from the West, a strictly temperate man, not only himself abstaining from all intoxicating liquors, but influencing his people to do the same. He was ever a friend to the white settlers, and should be held by them and their descendants in grateful remembrance. He had an uncommonly retentive memory, and a perfect knowledge of the western country. He could readily draw on the sand or bed of ashes quite a correct map of the whole district from the lakes west to the Missouri River, giving general courses of rivers, designating towns and places of notoriety, even though he had never seen them.[10]

The old settlers of Chicago used to see Shabbona often in Chicago, where he had many friends. One of his favorite resorts in his later years was the old Northwestern Railroad depot at the corner of Canal and Kinzie Streets. There he watched the trains leaving and arriving, regarding with great satisfaction one of the engines in particular which was named "Shabbona" in his honor. As one and another passer-by noticed him on the platform, he would point to the engine, then to himself and say, with a nod of pleased complacency, "Engine—Shabbona—me."

JOHN KINZIE CLARK

John Kinzie Clark was the son of a Scotch trader, Alexander Clark, and Elizabeth McKenzie, who with her sister Margaret had been stolen from her home in Virginia by the Shawnee Indians and brought up by them.[11] He was born in June, 1792, near Fort Wayne, Indiana, and grew up among the Indians, whose character and language it was said he understood perfectly. He had a twin brother who was an aid to Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames, and was there killed with him. When his mother found her father, from whose house she had been stolen years

[10] Gurdon S. Hubbard, p. 155.

[11] Le Baron: "History of Lake County," p. 260.

before, she returned with him to Virginia, taking her boy with her. Soon afterward she married Jonas Clybourn. In about 1816 Clark came to Chicago as a guide, there becoming engaged with James Kinzie (his cousin) in trading with the Indians, later going to Milwaukee to trade. In the meantime his half-brother, Archibald Clybourn, had come to Chicago, and the two young men determined to return to Virginia to bring back with them the father and mother. In 1824 the whole family arrived from the East in a lumber wagon.

Of Clark's first marriage to Madaline Mirandeau, a half-breed, little is told. In 1829 he was married to Permelia, daughter of Stephen J. Scott, who in 1826 had settled in what is now Wilmette,[12] and later removed to Naperville.

During the Black Hawk War he was a soldier at Fort Dearborn, and afterwards was a carrier of dispatches from Gen. Scott to Gen. Atkinson at the Four Lakes (now Madison), Wisconsin. He settled at Northfield, on the North Branch, near the present site of Glenview, and there lived until his death. The early settlers who spoke of him in their recollections all attest his famous prowess as a hunter. Mr. B. F. Hill, a pioneer who died in Wilmette in 1905, said, "There was a man by the name of Clark, known as 'Indian Clark' because of his dark complexion, who lived over west of the North Branch. He kept about a hundred ponies that used to run over the prairie in summer, and in the timber in winter, and get their living the best they could. He was a great hunter, and I recall seeing him on his hunting trips with two ponies, one to ride and the other to pack his game on. Sometimes he returned with as many as three deer, two slung across the game pony and the other behind himself on the riding pony."

JONAS AND ARCHIBALD CLYBOURN

For the history of the Clybourn family, we shall stop to recall some incidents that have been written. It will be remembered that John Kinzie rescued and took from the Indians Margaret McKenzie, whom they had captured as a child in Virginia. By her he had three children. When at length she found her father, whom she had not seen since she was stolen away, she went back to Virginia with him, leaving John Kinzie, whom she never met again. There was a sister of Margaret, named Elizabeth, who was captured at the same time by the Indians and brought up among them. She was taken from them by a man named Clark, a Scotch trader among the Indians, who was the father of her two children, John K. and Elizabeth. This sister also went with her father to Virginia, severing her connection with Clark, and so we find the two daughters with their children in Virginia. There Elizabeth finally married Jonas Clybourn, and in August, 1802, their eldest son, Archibald, was born. His half-brother, John K. Clark, returned to Chicago when he grew up, Archibald following in 1823; the next year the two young men brought out here the father and mother, and the brother Henley. Mrs. Clybourn recognized the settlement as one she had often seen when, as a child, she had come there at various times with the Indian who had adopted her, while he traded his furs.

Jonas Clybourn and his wife settled on the North Branch, and built a long house that came to be known as the Clybourn Place, near the present station of

[12] Evanston Historical Society: Folio Records.

Clybourn Junction. They themselves called the place New Virginia, in memory of their former home. There the father prepared to farm the bit of land about his house. With his son he went into the butchering business, starting a slaughter house near their residence, and supplying Fort Dearborn and the settlement with meat. Archibald Clybourn went often to the southern portion of the state to buy and bring back the cattle. Thus it was that he came to marry Mary Galloway, whose father's home on the Illinois river was one of the young man's stopping places [13] To his parents' house he brought his wife in 1829, and there they lived for six years, when Archibald moved his family, now increased by three children, to a small frame house he had built on Elston Road (now Elston Avenue), near the present station of Clybourn Junction. In the next year, 1837, he erected on the same location, adjoining the frame building, a brick house which faced toward the south. It was most pretentious for those days, having twenty rooms, large, columned porch, and being built of brick, which was made near the house by Francis C. Sherman, later the founder of the Sherman House, and many times elected as mayor of the city. [14]

Archibald was the first constable of Chicago, appointed in 1825, when Chicago was in Peoria County. "In June, 1829, the month of his marriage, he was authorized to keep a ferry in conjunction with Samuel Miller 'across the Chicago River, at the lower forks, near Wolf Point, crossing the river below the Northeast branch, and to land on either side of both branches, to suit the convenience of persons wishing to cross.' . . . . In the latter part of the same year, December 8, 1829, he was appointed one of the first trustees of the school section, Archibald Clybourn, Samuel Miller and John B. Beaubien, comprising the board. He was made Justice of the Peace in 1831. Jonas Clybourn and his son Archibald were the early butchers of Chicago. They furnished the garrison at Fort Dearborn, and sometimes extended their trade to Mackinaw. When the Black Hawk War, in 1832, brought crowds of frightened settlers from the country to the shelter of the fort, the Clybourns and John Noble and sons fed nearly the entire population until the pioneers could return to their homes. The Clybourn family, with the rest of Chicago, took refuge in the fort until the danger was past. Mr. Clybourn lived on the old place until his death, August 23, 1872. He left, at that time, his widow, still living in Chicago with her daughter, Mrs. Parks, and ten living children." [15]

JAMES GALLOWAY

In 1826 James Galloway, after a preliminary survey of Chicago and its vicinity, brought here from Sandusky, Ohio, his family, consisting of his wife, three little daughters and a son. They came by the lake route and landed at Chicago after encountering severe storms throughout the journey. Mr. Galloway had brought with him a large supply of provisions for his family and goods for trading with the Indians. Much of this was forfeited to the American Fur Company, who did not welcome an opposition trader in the settlement, making it difficult for the newcomer to secure his property when it was unloaded at Chicago. His first residence

[13] Blanchard: "History of the Northwest and Chicago," p. 505.
[14] Andreas, p. 103.
[15] Andreas: I, 104.

Courtesy of Evanston Historical Society

A. CLYBOURN

Early settler of Chicago from whose family Clybourn Junction has its name.

Watercolor by G. E. Petford

CLYBOURN MANSION

Home of Clybourn family, built in 1837 near the present Clybourn Junction

in the settlement was in a log cabin at Hardscrabble, which was offered him for the winter by the Indian chief, Alexander Robinson, who had become his good friend. There he had as neighbors Joseph Laframboise, William H. Wallace, Mr. Weicks and an Indian trader named Barney Lawton.[16] This little group of people was about four miles from the fort, and quite truly in Indian country. Even in the daytime the wolves often came to the doorstep; and the frequent rumors of the hostile approach of Indians were alarming to this family not accustomed to encounters with savages. One stormy, snowy night when Mr. Galloway was absent on his claim on the Illinois River, wild whoops were heard outside the cabin and the terrified mother bolted the door, gave to her eldest daughter Mary an ax and seized one herself. The Indians pounded and danced and yelled as if intent on killing every inmate of the house, and finally, unable to get in, they left the beleaguered house to go to a neighboring cabin, where their noisy demands were granted. They had returned from a long hunting trip, were hungry and cold, and expected shelter from their friends in the cabin. This was their manner of expressing their request and their surprise at not finding it granted.

In the early part of 1827 Mr. Galloway took his family to his claim at what was then called the Grand Rapids of the Illinois, at the present site of Marseilles. There the family continued to live until the death of Mr. Galloway in 1864, his wife having died in 1830. Two years after the arrival there of the family, in June, 1829, the eldest daughter Mary was married to Archibald Clybourn, who had come to Chicago in 1823, was engaged in the butchering business, and often had to go as far south as Sangamon County to buy his cattle, thus passing by the home of Mary Galloway.

DR. ALEXANDER WOLCOTT

Dr. Alexander Wolcott was Indian agent at Chicago from 1820 until his death in 1830. He was a Yale graduate, and had come to Chicago from Connecticut. He was appointed physician of Governor Cass' western expedition in 1820, one of the party with Schoolcraft, Trowbridge and John H. Kinzie. Of the Chicago of Dr. Wolcott's day, Schoolcraft tells us: "We found four or five families living here, the principal of which were those of Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. A. Wolcott, J. B. Bobian [Beaubien] and Mrs. J. Crafts, the latter living a short distance up the river." He writes later of continuing their journey: "Dr. Wolcott, being the U. S. Agent for this tribe [Pottawattomies], found himself at home here, and constitutes no further a member of the expedition." There the exploring party left Dr. Wolcott, "whose manners, judgment, and intelligence had commanded our respect during the journey."

While his predecessor, Jouett, was Indian Agent, the latter had begun the building of an agency house north of the river, on the southwest corner of the present intersection of North State and North Water Streets. This was later finished by Dr. Wolcott and occupied by him from 1820 to 1823, and again from 1828 until his death in 1830.[17] The building was called Cobweb Castle, perhaps owing to its bachelor housekeeping. In 1823, he was married to Ellen Marion Kinzie,

[16] The more dignified form of the name appears in a few early accounts: Bernadus H. Laughton.

[17] Andreas: I, 103.

daughter of John Kinzie. Earlier in the same year, when the troops were removed from Fort Dearborn, Dr. Wolcott, having been put in charge of the post and its property, moved into one of the officers' dwellings.[18] There he lived during the vacancy of the fort until 1828, when he returned to his own house, where he died in 1830. In mourning the death of Dr. Wolcott, Mrs. Kinzie says: "That noble heart, so full of warm and kindly affections, had ceased to beat, and sad and desolate, indeed, were those who had so loved and honored him."[19]

OTHER RESIDENTS

There were other well known residents of Chicago during the first years of the growth of the little village. Charles Jouett was twice Indian agent there, from 1805 until 1811, and from 1815 until 1818, in this year moving to Kentucky.[20] Just before the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, John Dean, an army contractor, came to Chicago and built a house near the present foot of Randolph Street, at the mouth of the river. This was the house that was bought by J. B. Beaubien in 1817 for $1,000—in those days a high price. In 1819 Dean was made U. S. Factor.[21] David McKee came as a blacksmith in 1821 as a result of a treaty of General Cass with the Indians, one condition of which was that there should be a blacksmith at Chicago to work exclusively for the Indians.[22] He it was who in 1826 agreed to carry the mail every month between Chicago and Fort Wayne. He married the daughter of Stephen J. Scott, and lived in Aurora, Illinois, during his later life. In 1817 John Crafts was established at Hardscrabble as the agent for the fur company of Conant and Mack. In 1822 this company was absorbed by the American Fur Company, whose agent at Chicago Crafts became. In 1825 he was still the agent,[23] and probably continued so until his death, which is believed to be in 1826.[24] After Crafts left Hardscrabble, William H. Wallace, who had come to Chicago between 1822 and 1826, set up his own trading post at Hardscrabble in partnership with a man named Davis. In the same neighborhood in 1826 were Barney Lawton (Bernadus H. Laughton) and his brother David, Indian traders, who soon afterwards moved to what is now Riverside, on the Desplaines River. The wife of Bernardus was the sister of Stephen Forbes' wife, who with her husband taught the first regular school in Chicago.[25] The first lawyer who made his residence in Chicago was Russell E. Heacock, who came in 1827, and took up his abode within the enclosure of the fort, then unoccupied. He became a large investor in Chicago real estate, confident of the city's mighty future. He was a man having ideas far in advance of his time, and was independent and active in urging them. When the Illinois and Michigan Canal was in process of construction, and its completion was threatened with failure for lack of funds, he proposed the plan of a shallow-cut canal, which would mean a difference of about two million dollars in the cost. He

[18] Andreas: I, 90.
[19] "Wau-Bun" (C.): p. 84.
[20] Andreas, I, 87.
[21] Ibid., 85, 95.
[22] Fergus, 7, 23.
[23] Andreas, I, 95.
[24] Fergus, 7.
[25] Andreas, I, 107.

took his courageous stand, censured and ridiculed on all sides, gaining the sobriquet "Shallow-cut Heacock." His plan, nevertheless, was finally adopted, and the canal completed. At another time he was, characteristically, the only one in a body of thirteen to vote against incorporating the Town of Chicago. Though the general public was little in sympathy with his views, he was well liked for his integrity of character, amiability, and his friendliness of manner.

In this account have been mentioned the most of those who, during that first quarter of the century, were prominent in the varying population of the village, a large part of which consisted of soldiers, fur traders, *voyageurs* and Indians.

MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG, U. S. E.

Some of the visitors of the early day were men of no little national note. In 1816 Major Long passed through Chicago. He was then a second lieutenant of engineers,[26] having in charge, then and for several subsequent years, government explorations west of the Mississippi. At the time of his visit to Chicago, he was on his way back from an expedition which was "to make a comprehensive military and scientific exploration of the country between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains." After making this tour he reported in a letter to the government the unfitness for cultivation of the great American desert, consigning all this western region to "buffaloes, wild goats and other wild game." He regarded it as an invaluable frontier and as a security against the schemes and incursions of other nations. On his return eastward, he comes, he says, "through a savage and roadless wilderness, via Fort Clark, and the valley of the Illinois River, to Lake Michigan."

In 1823 Major Long made a second visit to Chicago in charge of an exploring expedition. In a history of that expedition, written later, he says of Chicago: "The village presents no cheering prospects, as, notwithstanding its antiquity, it contains but few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians, from whom they are descended. Their log or bark houses are low, filthy and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort. As a place of business it offers no inducement to the settler, for the whole amount of the trade of the lake did not exceed the cargoes of five or six schooners, even at the time when the garrison received its supplies from Mackinac." [27]

SCHOOLCRAFT'S VISIT IN 1820

On the twenty-ninth of August, 1820, Henry R. Schoolcraft visited Chicago in the party of Governor Lewis Cass. In addition to his position as governor of Michigan Territory, General Cass was also ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs in that territory, and, likewise, for a great portion of the time he had charge of agencies at Chicago and other places in the West, notwithstanding that Illinois was then a full-fledged state in the Union. Besides the governor the party comprised seven officers, guests and interpreters, together with ten Canadian *voyageurs* to manage the canoes, ten United States soldiers for an escort, and ten Indians to act as hunters. Three large bark canoes were required for their accommodation.[28]

[26] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 204.
[27] Fergus I, p. 21.
[28] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 188.

Coasting the shores of Lake Michigan from the north, the party, on arriving at Chicago, says Schoolcraft, "found four or five families living here, the principal of which were these of Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. A. Wolcott, J. B. Beaubien and Mr. J. Crafts, the latter living a short distance up the river." [29] The garrison at Fort Dearborn consisted of one hundred and sixty men, under command of Captain Bradley. "The river," continues Schoolcraft, "is ample and deep for a few miles, but is utterly choked up by the lake sands, through which, behind a masked margin, it oozes its way for a mile or two till it percolates through the sands into the lake." [30]

Schoolcraft made a sketch "from a stand point on the flat of sand which stretched in front of the place. This view," he writes, "embraces every house in the village, with the fort." The sketch was reproduced for the purpose of being used in Schoolcraft's "Ethnological Researches," which the artist, when making the reproduction, slightly altered from the original; so that, as Schoolcraft remarks, "the stockade bears too great a proportion to the scene, while the precipice observed in the shore line of sand is wholly wanting in the original." [31]

The party were favorably impressed with the aspect and natural situation of the place. "The country around Chicago," writes Schoolcraft, " is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, . . . and it is irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into Lake Michigan and partly into the Mississippi river." He then indulges in a prophetic vision, and says that it must "become one of the most attractive fields for the emigrant. To the ordinary advantages of an agricultural market town, it must add that of being a depot for the commerce between the northern and southern sections of the Union, and a great thoroughfare for strangers, merchants and travelers." [32]

A few more interesting details are added to Schoolcraft's account. "Having partaken," continues the narrative, "of the hospitalities of Mr. Kinzie, and of Captains Bradley and Green, of Fort Dearborn, during our stay at Chicago, and completed the reorganization of our parties, we separated, . . . Governor Cass and his party, on horseback, taking the old Indian trail to Detroit, and Captain Douglass and myself being left, with two canoes, to complete the circumnavigation of the lakes." Bidding adieu to Dr. Wolcott, "whose manners, judgment and intelligence had commanded our respect," the party embarked, and, favored by a good breeze, which permitted the boatmen to hoist their sails, they proceeded on their way around the southern bend of Lake Michigan. The party continued their journey up the west shore of the lake, passed into Lake Huron and at length arrived at Detroit, September twenty-fourth. The entire journey had occupied just four months of time, and the distance traversed was forty-two hundred miles. The journey was performed without the occurrence of a single untoward accident.[33] On their arrival the party found that Governor Cass and his equestrian party from Chicago had preceded them thirteen days.

[29] Ibid., p. 197.
[30] Schoolcraft: "Mississippi," p. 197.
[31] Ibid., p. 198.
[32] Schoolcraft, p. 199.
[33] Schoolcraft, p. 284.

CHARLES C. TROWBRIDGE

When Governor Cass came to Chicago in 1820, on his famous tour of exploration —the same tour on which he was accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft,—he had in his party as assistant topographer Charles C. Trowbridge, then a young man and a trusted confident of his chief.[34] The party travelled in three canoes, of which Trowbridge was in charge of one and John H. Kinzie of another.[35] The little group of dwellings along the river did not impress him, as we see in a note written by him long afterward to the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society: "Even as late as 1834, I declined becoming a party to the purchase of one-fourth of the Kinzie Addition, Chicago—the North Side—at five thousand dollars. Ten years prior to that I was in Chicago, and would not have given that sum for both sides of the river as far as the eye could extend."

EBENEZER CHILDS

It might be said of Chicago in the early day that it was but an outpost of the trading interests located at the head of Lake Michigan, and a stopping place between those much older settlements of Mackinac and Green Bay on the north and Cahokia, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau and many others on the south. So it was that Chicago was the stopping place for many from points north and south, who were brought there by trading interests. One of those who visited the settlement was Ebenezer Childs, who in 1820 was keeping a small store at Green Bay, where he had come from Massachusetts. In 1821 he made a trip to St. Louis by water, coming back by way of the Illinois River. Canoeing up into the Desplaines River with his men, he was unable to find the portage owing to the inundation of the country, due to heavy rains. He says of his arrival: "After traveling a few miles, I found the current of the Chicago River. The whole country was inundated; I found not less than two feet of water all the way across the portage. That night I arrived at Chicago, pitched my tent on the bank of the lake, and went to the fort for provisions. I was not, however, able to obtain any; the commissary informing me that the public stores were so reduced, that the garrison were subsisting on half rations, and he knew not when they would get any more. I went to Col. Beaubien, who furnished me with a small supply. I found two traders there from Mackinaw, and as my men were all sick, I exchanged my tent and canoe for a horse, and took passage on board the Mackinaw boat as far as Manitowoc. One of our party had to go by land and ride the horse. There were at this time but two families residing outside of the fort at Chicago, those of Mr. Kinzie and Col. Beaubien." [36]

A second time, in 1827, he visited Chicago and says, "The place had not improved any since 1821; only two families yet resided there, those of Kinzie and Col. Beaubien."

FONDA'S FIRST VISIT TO CHICAGO

In 1825 came a stranger, paddling around the bend of the Chicago river into view of Fort Dearborn. It was not trading that brought him, not a government er-

[34] Schoolcraft: "Mississippi" p. 44.
[35] "Wisconsin Historical Collections," V—370.
[36] "Wisconsin Historical Collections:" IV—162, 169.

rand—merely the desire to travel on from his latest dwelling place in search of further adventure. This citizen of the realm of Vagabondia was John H. Fonda, a young man who was born in Albany County, New York. There he received a good education, studied law, and finally, urged by his boyish love of roving and of the out-of-doors, he joined, in about 1819, a party which was going to Texas. In that country he worked as a fur trader for about four years, which seemed to be as long as his interest in his surroundings held out. Then he traveled hap-hazardly towards St. Louis, sometimes crossing the plains "on board of an old pack-mule," at one time stopping for a season in a mixed settlement of trappers, Mexicans and Indians; moving on again to St. Louis in charge of a caravan of wagons and cattle over a barren country, that even then seemed to him rich in its possibilities. In Texas he had been a fur trader; in St. Louis he was a brick-layer; and next, after a few months in that place, hearing that fortunes were to be made in lead mining near Prairie du Chien, and that a number of men were starting up the Mississippi, he made himself one of this party. It was sufficient for him that they were seeking new experience. On the journey up the river rumors of Indian disturbances in the mining region came to them, so they branched off at the Illinois river, went on up the Desplaines, across the old slough into the Chicago river, and thus Fonda first entered Chicago, paddling down towards Fort Dearborn in a canoe.

"At this period," he relates, "Chicago was merely an Indian agency; it contained about fourteen houses, and not more than seventy-five or one hundred inhabitants at the most. . . . The staple business seemed to be carried on by Indians and runaway soldiers, who hunted ducks and musk-rats in the marshes. There was a great deal of low land, mostly destitute of timber. The principal inhabitants were the agent [Dr. Alexander Wolcott], a Frenchman by the name of Ouilmette, and John B. Beaubien. It never occurred to me then that a large city would be built up there."

From Chicago he started for Green Bay, but at the scanty traders' settlement of Milwaukee he stayed for two years, perhaps for no reason at all, perhaps for one having to do with the fact that a few years later he married the niece of the only merchant in the settlement. In 1827 he roved on towards Green Bay. In all his wanderings the scenery on the way afforded him as much interest and excitement as actual adventures. He was kindred in spirit to the wilderness through which he was going, and in telling of what he saw,—the glint on the lake of sea fowls' wings, cascades of falling waters, the freshness of

"A vagrant's morning, wide and blue,
In early fall, when the wind walks, too,"

he often carries into his words the beauty of the scenes he recalls.

FONDA AT GREEN BAY

At Fort Howard, near Green Bay, he was delighted to see Yankee soldiers, after eight years' absence from his eastern home. Col. McKenney was in command at the fort, and visiting him was Gen. Lewis Cass, who was there on a commission to hold a treaty with the local Indians. At Green Bay he was continually hearing rumors, increasingly alarming, of Indian disturbances—the first warn-

J. B. Fonda

Fonda carried the mail between Chicago and Green Bay in the '20s.

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

From painting by Edgar S. Cameron

CHICAGO'S FIRST POSTOFFICE IN 1833

Log building near the present site of Lake street bridge at the east end

ing notes of the Winnebago War; he "continued," as he said, "to hang around the fort, leading a sort of free ranger life—sometimes accompanying the officers on their hunting tours, but refusing all proposals to enlist." A soldier's life was too uneventful and constrained for him, even in those active times. He preferred

"Wandering with the wandering wind,
Vagabond and unconfined."

Soon there came a task that suited his fancy: "It was the winter of '27 [37] that the U. S. Quartermaster, having heard of me through some of the men, with whom I was a favorite, came to me one day and asked me if I thought I could find the way to Chicago. I told him it wasn't long since I made the trip by the lake. He said he wanted to get a person who was not afraid to carry dispatches to the military post [38] at Fort Dearborn. I said I had heard that the Indians were still unfriendly, but I was ready to make the attempt. He directed me to make all the preparations necessary, and report myself at his quarters at the earliest moment. I now began to consider the danger to be provided against, which might be classed under three heads, viz: cold, Indians, and hunger. For the first, it was only needful to supply one's person with good hunting shirts, flannel and deer-skin leggins, extra moccasins, and a Mackinaw blanket; these, with a resolute spirit, were deemed sufficient protection against the severest weather. And fortunate was he who possessed these. Hunger, except in case of getting lost, was easily avoided by laying in a pouch of parched Indian corn and jerked venison. Against danger from Indians, I depended on the following,"—and the reader, being lured so far into Fonda's narrative, must go to the original, which is too lengthy an account to quote. In brief, he secured adequate arms—a rifle, a sheath knife and two pistols—took unto himself a comrade for sociability's sake, and was ready to start on the long journey to Chicago.

MAIL CARRIERS OF THE EARLY DAY

It is amusing to regard these two companions together—Fonda, the valiant free-lance, tall, powerful, good-natured; and Boiseley beside him in comical contrast, a short, uncouth, hirsute woodsman, with long arms, having an endurance and power even greater than that of his companion. These two left Fort Howard on foot, with letters and dispatches for the Indian agent at Fort Dearborn. The trip was made by land, and in a little more than a month their destination was reached. This was the second time that Fonda had come to Chicago, and in his approach as a carrier of dispatches, he felt a certain importance, a dignity which his former arrival as a casual tourist had lacked. The dispatches were delivered to Captain Morgan, whom he found in command at the fort with a company of volunteers from the Wabash country, who had come in response to Gurdon S. Hubbard's appeal for aid. The two men then went out from the fort into the settlement, to a house

[37] Fonda's narrative is evidently at fault in saying "winter of 1827," as the occasion of which he speaks was in the late summer of that year.

[38] Again Fonda's narrative is in error, as the "military post" at Fort Dearborn did not exist as such at that time; the garrison at Fort Dearborn had been withdrawn in 1823, and the post was in charge of the Indian agent, Dr. Wolcott.

"built," Fonda says, "on the half-breed system—partly of logs and partly of boards." At this house, kept by a Mr. Miller, Fonda and his companion stayed while in the settlement. Of the place at the time of his second visit he said, "With the exception that the fort was strengthened and garrisoned [that is, by the volunteers mentioned], there was no sign of improvement having gone on since my former visit."

In another month they were back at Fort Howard with return dispatches from Fort Dearborn. Anent this experience Fonda makes his confession: "The Quarter-Master at Fort Howard expressed himself satisfied with my performance, and he wanted me to make another trip; but as I had seen the country, which was all I cared for, I did not desire to repeat it. Getting my pay from the Department, and a liberal donation from the people, a portion of which I gave Boiseley, I left Uncle Sam's employ and took up my old profession—a gentleman of leisure, and continued to practice as such until the spring came, when with a view to extend the field of my labors, I made ready to bid good-bye to Green Bay." Urged on by the "joy of the open road," he started forth with his little goblin of a companion towards Fort Crawford, near Prairie du Chien, where Colonel Zachary Taylor took command in 1829.

Of Fonda's later experiences little more will here be said, as they are not connected directly with Chicago history. At Fort Crawford he enlisted for three years in the army, was a favorite and trusted Quarter-Master's Sergeant under Colonel Taylor, who gave him his discharge while in hospital two years later.

FONDA'S LATER LIFE

During the Black Hawk War Fonda served in the army, and for his service he received at the end of the war a land warrant, whereupon he settled down and married. From that time he lived, at intervals, in Prairie du Chien, taking his family with him as he moved to and from the place. After his last discharge from the army, he was a Justice of the Peace for a number of years. In 1858 Fonda related the story of his pioneering. He was then about sixty years old, for the past thirty years a resident of Prairie du Chien, having come there as a young man when it was the extreme settlement in the Northwest. He is interesting rather as a personality than in any historical connection with Chicago. He was one of the brotherhood of Borrow and Stevenson, of Josiah Flynt and Richard Hovey. He felt the glory of the open air, and knew the worth of a wayfaring comrade. He loved adventure, was brave in danger, of great physical endurance and did well what he set himself to do. It is characteristic of him that he fought hard against the Indians and yet could say, "No person under heaven sympathizes more sincerely with them." [39]

MAIL CARRIERS AND ROUTES

The first mail route that crossed the Alleghany Mountains was established in 1788, coming west as far as Pittsburgh. Within the next few years routes were extended to Louisville (1794) to Vincennes (1800) to Cape Girardeau (1810) and

[39] Wisconsin Historical Collections, V, 205.

from Vandalia to Springfield (1824). As the northern part of Illinois was sparsely settled, it was not until the early twenties that mail was brought to Chicago by regular "express," as the carrier was called. Before that time, letters arriving had come through special conveyance or messenger as opportunity offered, and when conditions were favorable.

In 1826 David McKee agreed with the government to carry dispatches and letters once a month between Fort Wayne and Chicago. This was mainly for the convenience of the soldiers or agents occupying Fort Dearborn. He took with him an Indian pony to carry the mail bag and sleeping blankets, driving his pony ahead of him. For his own food he relied upon the game which he could kill, and for his pony's eating he cut down an elm or basswood tree here and there on the path. The route lay from Chicago to Niles, Michigan; thence to Elkhart, Indiana; and on to Fort Wayne. The average trip took fourteen days, it being sometimes accomplished in ten days.[40]

Writing of the mail at Chicago in 1825, Mrs. Kinzie says, "The mails arrived, as may be supposed, at very rare intervals. They were brought occasionally from Fort Clark (Peoria), but more frequently from Fort Wayne, or across the peninsula of Michigan, which was still a wilderness peopled with savages. The hardy adventurer who acted as express was, not unfrequently, obliged to imitate the birds of heaven and 'lodge among the branches,' in order to insure the safety of himself and his charge." The carriers often suffered from "snowblind," having to suspend the journey or hire it done by another while they recovered at some cabin or other stopping place along the route. Although usually provided with parched corn against the scarcity of game, there were many times when the mail carriers travelled for days on the verge of starvation; just as common a hardship was freezing the feet, in some instances the men losing their toes as a result. One might wonder why horses were not in general use for these long wilderness journeys. The question is answered by pointing out the difficulty of progress through forests crossed by few or no paths. In writing of his western tour, Storrow says, "The thickness of the forest rendered marching difficult, and almost entirely impeded the horse; but for exertions in assisting him over crags, and cutting away branches and saplings with our tomahawks, we should have been obliged to abandon him. The land was broken with hillocks and masses of rock."

The eastern mail was brought to Wisconsin twice a year by a soldier, whose route was overland from Detroit, around the southern bend of Lake Michigan and through Chicago.[41] About the year 1825 post offices were established in towns west and south of Chicago, and mail routes put through connecting these places. In this way the older settlements in southern Illinois were more closely connected with the northern part of the state. Of the route between Green Bay and Chicago much is found in historical records, as it was one of the oldest western routes. In an account of one who lived in Green Bay in 1825, we read, "Once a month a mail arrived, carried on the back of a man who had gone to Chicago, where he would find the mail from the East, destined for this place. He returned as he had gone, on foot, via Milwaukee. This day and generation can know little of the excitement that overwhelmed us when the mail was expected—expectations that were based on

[40] Fergus: 7, 23.
[41] Thwaites' "Wisconsin," p. 185.

the weather. When the time had come, or was supposed to have come, that the mail carrier was nearing home, many of the gentlemen would start off in their sleighs to meet him." One of the well known carriers of the early day was Alexis Clermont, who regularly made this journey, after the Black Hawk War. He has told his own story of it: "I would start out from the post office in Shantytown, taking the Indian trail to Manitowoc. Only twice would I see the lake between Green Bay and Milwaukee—at Sauk River, twenty-five miles north of Milwaukee, and at Two Rivers. From Milwaukee I went to Skunk Grove, then to Gross Point, where I struck the lake again, and then I would see no more of the lake until I reached Chicago. . . . In making my trips I was not alone. An Oneida Indian always accompanied me. The load was limited to sixty pounds, and we usually had that weight. As a rule it took us a full month to make the round, from Green Bay to Chicago and return. We carried two shot bags filled with parched corn; one of them hulled (*bré-grolé*), the other ground (*plurien*). For the greater part of our diet, we relied upon the Indians, or on what game we could kill; the bags of corn were merely to fall back upon, in case the Indians had moved away, as they were apt to do, on hunting and fishing expeditions. At night we camped out in the woods, wherever darkness overtook us, and slept in the blankets which we carried on our backs. In Chicago we merely stopped over night, and promptly returned the way we came; unless we were delayed by a tardy mail from Detroit, which reached Chicago by steamer in summer, and by foot, overland, in winter. . . . Our pay was usually from $60 to $65 for a round trip such as I have described, although in the fall it sometimes reached $70." [42]

The receptacle carried by the express was not always the bag that is referred to so frequently. John H. Fonda in starting on his trip from Green Bay to Chicago was intrusted "with the—not mail-bag,—but a tin canister or box of a flat shape, covered with untanned deer-hide, that contained the dispatches and letters of the inhabitants."

In the period about 1825 "the United States mails coming from the East to Chicago and other western lake ports were conveyed, during the season of navigation, by the irregular and tardy conveyances of sail vessels, and the inhabitants of the country were oftentimes for weeks or months without intelligence of what was passing in other parts of the world, from which they were completely isolated." The privilege of mail service "was purchased partly by voluntary contributions of the citizens, and an allowance from the U. S. Quartermaster's Department, and the military post fund at Fort Howard. The Government at Washington found it would not pay to establish a mail route, or defray the expenses of carrying the mail, and decreed, no doubt wisely, that no expenditure could be made by the Post Office Department for that purpose, exceeding the net proceeds of the mail matter." [43]

In general it may be said of the early mail service of the West that each military post was a post office, and the commandant a postmaster. In 1831 a regular post office was established at Chicago, and by 1834, Chicago was receiving one mail a week, which was brought on horseback from Niles.

[42] Wisconsin Historical Collections, XV, p. 454.
[43] Wisconsin Historical Collections, II, p. 95.

ESTABLISHMENT OF U. S. POST OFFICE

A regular post office was established on March 31, 1831, and the appointment of postmaster was given to Jonathan Nash Bailey, at that time living in the Kinzie house. The post office was located in a small log building 20x45 feet, near the present corner of Franklin and South Water Streets. In one side of the building was the post office, in the other a store. The postage on the few letters and papers which arrived was paid by the recipient, the rates being in proportion to the weight of the letter and the distance it had travelled, ranging from six and one-half cents to twenty-five cents. Letters were often left uncalled for in the post office because the ones to whom they were sent could not afford the postage. Of the mail service out of Chicago at this period we have a record sent to the author from the office of the Postmaster General:

Route No. 46, Fort Wayne by Good Hope, Elkheart Plain, Goshen, Pulaski (Ind.), Edwardsburgh, to Niles (M. T.), once a week, and from Niles to Chicago (Illinois), twice a week, on horseback. Distance, 90 miles. Contractor, John G. Hall, with pay at $175.00.

Route No. 74, Vincennes by Palestine, Hutsonville, York, Clark C. H., Livingston, Paris, Ono, Bloomfield, Carolus, Georgetown to Danville, 120 miles. Once a week. From May 1 to November 1 in a two-horse stage, and the residue of year on horseback. Also, Danville to Chicago, 130 miles, once in two weeks. Contractors, Oliver Breeze and Co. Pay $600.00.

Route No. 83, Decatur by Randolphs Grove, Bloomington, Ottawa, Chestnut, Vermilion and Dupage to Chicago, 185 miles, once a week. Contractor, Luther Stevens. Pay, $700.00

Route No. 84, Chicago by Romeo, Iroquois, and Driftwood to Danville, 125 miles, once a week. Contractor, Robert Oliver. Pay $600.00.

The same records also show that the net amount of post office receipts at Chicago during 1832 was $47.00, that being the only year shown. In the small building described the post office was kept until 1834. Then followed several removals of it to different buildings in the immediate neighborhood, until finally it was located in 1855 in the government building, where it remained until the great fire of 1871.

REVIEW OF EVENTS, 1812-1831.

To enable the reader to obtain a clearer knowledge of the period between the years from 1812 to 1832, inclusive, we will make a general survey, grouping the important events and occurrences together under each year. The period mentioned lends itself readily to an arrangement of this kind, better indeed than other periods in our history. Previously to this period a chronological record of events would be attenuated and scanty; while for any later period, when there was an increasingly rapid development in affairs, it would be difficult to compress such a record into so narrow a form with any degree of satisfaction. We have chosen to regard the period mentioned above as having a place by itself, beginning, as it does, with the opening of the War of 1812, and ending with the organization of Cook County and the establishment of the post office at Chicago.

1812. On June 12th, war was declared between the United States and Great Britain. August 15th, Fort Dearborn was evacuated, the massacre following. August 16th, the fort and Agency House were burned. August 18th, John Kinzie and family took their departure by boat for St. Joseph. Antoine Ouilmette and his family were the only residents remaining in the place.

1813. Ouilmette and his family continued their residence. A French trader named Du Pin took up his residence in the Kinzie House.

1814. In July of this year Thomas Forsyth at Peoria learned from Indians that "it was currently reported at Milwaukee that the British were coming the ensuing fall, to build a fort at Chicago." [44] No attempt was made to do so, however.

1815. John Dean, an army contractor, built a house on the lake shore near the foot of Randolph Street.[45]

1816. In July, Captain Hezekiah Bradley arrived with a company of soldiers and began the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn. John Kinzie and his family returned. Indian treaty at St. Louis, August 24th, ceding lands at Chicago and vicinity.[46] School opened in the fall with seven or eight pupils.[47] Indian Agency re-established.[48] Major Stephen H. Long visits Chicago.[49]

1817. Trading house of Conant & Mack established at Hardscrabble.[50] John Crafts arrived.[51] John B. Beaubien arrived.[52] Samuel A. Storrow visits Chicago.[53]

1818. November 1st, Gurdon S. Hubbard arrived. December 3d, Illinois admitted as a state.

1819. Importance of a canal from the Illinois river to Lake Michigan urged by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, in a report to Congress.[54]

1820. Henry R. Schoolcraft visits Chicago.[55] Dr. Alexander Wolcott came.[56] C. C. Trowbridge first visits Chicago.

1821. Ebenezer Childs visits Chicago.[57] Schoolcraft's second visit.[58]

1822. Charles C. Trowbridge visits Chicago again.[59]

1823. Major Long's second visit.[60] Ft. Dearborn evacuated.[61] Archibald Clybourn came.[62]

1824. Jonas Clybourn came in this year.[63]

1825. John H. Fonda visits Chicago.[64]

1826. First election in Chicago; thirty-five persons voted.[65]

1827. Ebenezer Childs' second visit.[66] Winnebago War.[67]

[44] Wis. Hist. Coll., XI, 324.
[45] Andreas I, 85.
[46] Andreas, I, 83.
[47] Ibid., 204.
[48] Ibid., 75.
[49] Andreas, I, 166.
[50] Ibid., 92.
[51] Ibid., 93.
[52] Chicago Hist. Soc'y Rept., 1908, p. 69.
[53] Wis. Hist. Coll., VI, 154.
[54] Moses' "Hist. Ill.," I, 462.
[55] Hurlbut, 189.
[56] Andreas, I, 90.
[57] Ibid., 100.
[58] Ibid., 35.
[59] Ibid., 100.
[60] Ferg. Hist. Series, No. 1, p. 21.
[61] Ibid., No. 16, p. 27.
[62] Andreas, I, 101.
[63] Ibid., 101.
[64] Ibid., 100.
[65] Ibid., 599.
[66] Ibid., 100.
[67] Fergus, No. 27, p. 141.

1828. Fonda's second visit.[68] Fort Dearborn reoccupied.[69]

1829. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis visits Chicago.[70] Illinois & Michigan Canal incorporated.[71]

1830. Canal Section platted.[72] Special election; fifty-six votes cast.[73]

1831. March 31, Chicago post office established.[74] May, Fort Dearborn again evacuated.[75] June 15, Cook County Organized.[76]

1832. April, Breaking out of Black Hawk War.[77] June 17th, Fort Dearborn again reoccupied.[78] August 3d, End of Black Hawk War.

[68] Andreas, I, 101.
[69] Fergus, No. 16, p. 27.
[70] Fergus, No. 16, 28.
[71] Laws relating to I. & M. Can., 10.
[72] Andreas, I, 174.
[73] Fergus, No. 7, p. 54.
[74] Hurlbut, p. 530.
[75] Fergus, No. 16, p. 29.
[76] Rose, "Counties of Illinois," p. 52.
[77] Andreas, I, p. 266.
[78] Fergus, No. 16, p. 30.

CHAPTER VIII

NATURAL FEATURES OF CHICAGO

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF LAKE MICHIGAN—FLUCTUATIONS OF THE LAKE LEVEL—TIDES IN THE LAKE—SUDDEN AND GRADUAL FLUCTUATIONS—OPENING OF THE SANITARY CANAL—CLIMATIC EFFECT OF THE LAKES—ALTITUDE OF THE LAKE SURFACE—NATURAL HISTORY OF LAKE MICHIGAN—THE FISH OF THE LAKE—GULLS AND TERNS—BIRDS OF PASSAGE—ASPECT OF THE LAKE—VISIBILITY OF THE MICHIGAN SHORE—"BALD TOM"—TRIANGULATION SURVEYS OVER LAKE MICHIGAN—MIRAGES AND LOOMINGS—DRAINING LAKE MICHIGAN—PICTURESQUE VALUE OF THE LAKE—PRAIRIES OF ILLINOIS—ASPECT OF THE PRAIRIES—EARLY OPINIONS REGARDING THE PRAIRIES—CHICAGO'S LOCATION—CLEAVER'S OBSERVATIONS—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE PRAIRIES—A DESCRIPTION—CLIMATE OF CHICAGO—PREVAILING WINDS—WIND VELOCITIES—THUNDERSTORMS—RAIN AND SNOW FALLS—MEAN TEMPERATURES—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

LAKE MICHIGAN

LAKE Superior is the largest body of fresh water in the world, with an approximate area of 31,200 square miles. Next in order of size comes Lake Victoria Nyanza in Africa, with an approximate area of 26,000 square miles. The third in order of size is Lake Michigan, with an approximate area of 22,500 [1] square miles. It is three hundred and twenty miles long and is eighty-five miles broad at its widest part.[2]

"Lake Michigan receives the drainage of only a very narrow belt in northeastern Illinois and northwestern Indiana, comprised mainly in the drainage of the Chicago and Calumet rivers. It drains about one-half the area of the southern peninsula of Michigan and 1,500 square miles of the northeast part of Indiana. It drains also an area of several thousand square miles in the northern peninsula of Michigan and adjacent portions of Wisconsin, mainly tributary to Green Bay. South of the Green Bay drainage system, only a narrow belt is tributary to the lake. The watershed draining to Lake Michigan is estimated to be 45,000 square miles, and the total area of the basin [including the lake itself] is 68,100 square miles." [3]

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF LAKE MICHIGAN

There is no other lake in America, north or south, which traverses so many degrees of latitude, extending from 45 degrees, 55 minutes on the north, to 41 degrees,

[1] Salisbury: "Physiography," p. 297.
[2] Disturnell: "Great Lakes," p. 14.
[3] Leverett: "Illinois Glacial Lobe," p. 538.

37 minutes on the south. There are a number of islands in the northern part of the lake;—Beaver island, comprising an area of about forty square miles, the Fox islands, and the Manitous. South of the latter there is a stretch of over two hundred miles to the southern end of the lake in which there are no islands or even a sand-bar of any description rising above the surface. As the bed of the lake is composed of clay, sand and gravel throughout this portion of its extent, there is no danger to navigation from the occurrence of rocks either in its bed or on its shores, and vessels driven by storms can find good holding ground for their anchors. There are, however, some rather dangerous shoals and reefs, especially in the vicinity of Racine and South Chicago, which are shown on the government "Lake Survey" charts, printed for the use of navigators.

The elevation of the surface of Lake Michigan above the sea is five hundred and eighty-one feet,[4] and its approximate maximum depth is eight hundred and seventy feet. Its southwestern shores are bordered with "dunes" of sand nearly white, rising in mounds of many graceful shapes. The summits of some of these dunes in places reach an extreme height of one hundred feet or more.[5] "These dunes are, however, but a hem on the fertile prairie lands," said Schoolcraft in 1820, "not extending more than half a mile or more, and thus masking the fertile lands. Water in the shape of lagoons, is often accummulated behind these sand-banks, and the force of the winds is such as to choke and sometimes entirely shut up the mouth of its rivers. We had found this hem of sand-hills extending around the southern shore of the lake from the vicinity of Chicago, and soon found that it gave an appearance of sterility to the country that it by no means merited." On other portions of the lake the shore is a somewhat irregular line of bluffs, from fifty to seventy-five feet in height, though there are eminences which attain a much greater elevation, as, for instance, "Bald Tom," situated on the Michigan shore, directly east from Chicago, which is two hundred and forty feet high. An English traveler, in the course of a description of the view landward from a passing steamer, used the expression, "the monotonous shores of Lake Michigan," which from a distance may have deserved such a mention, if by that it was intended to notice the absence of hills or mountain ranges in the vicinity of its shores.

The whole extent of the shore line of Lake Michigan is 1320 miles. The length of Chicago's shore line, from the Indiana state line on the south to the city limits at the "Indian Boundary Line" on the north, is 25½ miles. The city frontage therefore occupies about one-fifty-second part of the entire coast line of Lake Michigan, thus forming a suitable and appropriate outlook for the Queen City "of the Unsalted Seas."

FLUCTUATIONS OF THE LAKE LEVEL

The fluctuations in the level of the waters of the Great Lakes have attracted much attention among scientific observers to ascertain if possibly they could be identified with regular tidal movements. As early as 1670, Father Dablon in the "Jesuit Relations," says, "as to the tides, it is difficult to lay down any correct rule. At one time we have found the motion of the waters to be regular, and at others extremely fluctuating. We have noticed, however, that at full moon and

[4] Lake Survey Bulletin, No. 18, p. 90.
[5] Salisbury: "Geography of Chicago," p. 60

new moon the tides change once a day for eight or ten days, while during the remainder of the time there is hardly any change perceptible."

TIDES IN THE LAKE

It is worth while remarking, in this connection, that Schoolcraft, who was an eminent geologist, and who visited Green Bay in 1820, did not believe there were any tides in the lakes. "Governor Cass caused observations to be made," he says, "which he greatly extended at a subsequent period. These give no countenance to the theory of regular tides, but denote the changes in the level of the waters to be eccentrically irregular, and dependent, so far as observations extend, altogether on the condition of the winds and currents of the lakes."[6]

Whether or not there is actually a lunar tide in Lake Michigan was made the subject of an address by Lieutenant Colonel James D. Graham, a government engineer, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1860. Referring to the writings of the early missionaries and explorers, he said that in them were noted some peculiar fluctuations in the elevation of the waters of these inland seas. "In the speculations indulged in by some of these writers," he continued, "a slight lunar tide is sometimes suspected, then again such an influence on the swelling and receding waters is doubted, and their disturbance is attributed to the varying courses and forces of the winds.

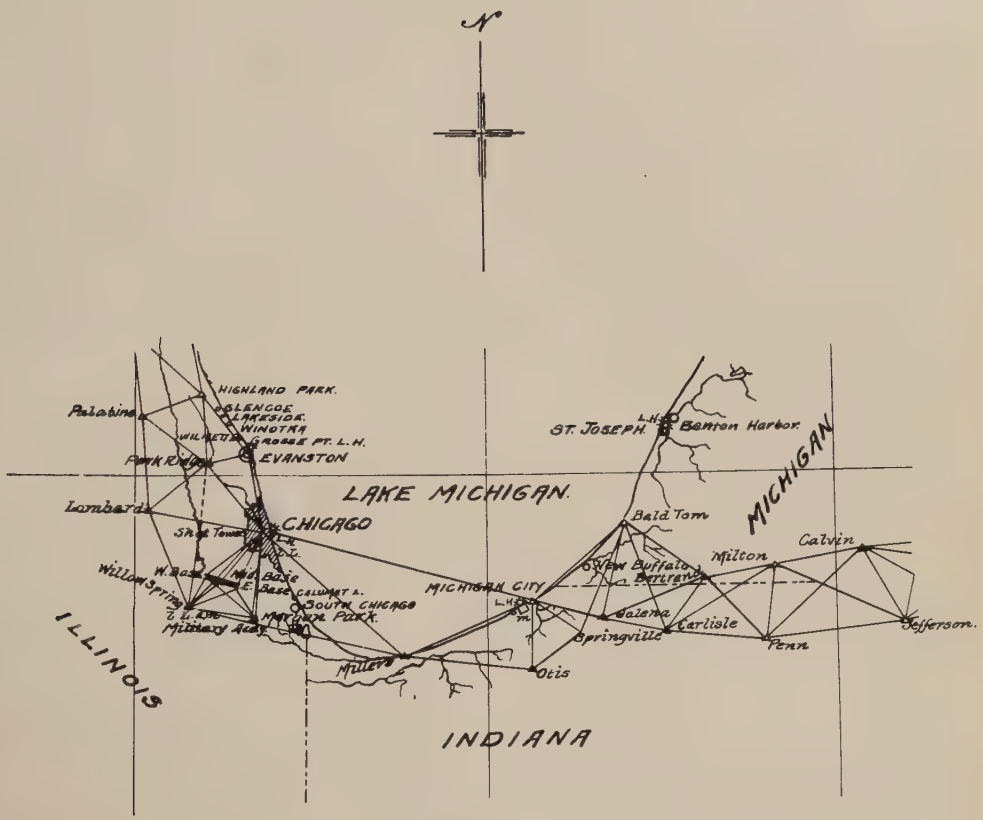
"But we have nowhere seen that any systematic course of observation was ever instituted and carried on by these early explorers, or by any of their successors who have mentioned the subject, giving the tidal readings at small enough intervals of time apart, and by long enough duration to develop the problem of a diurnal lunar tidal wave on these lakes. The general idea has undoubtedly been that no such lunar influence was here perceptible.

"In April, 1854, I was stationed at Chicago by the orders of the Government, and charged with the direction of the harbor improvements on Lake Michigan. In the latter part of August of that year, I caused to be erected at the east or lakeward extremity of the north harbor pier, a permanent tide-gauge for the purpose of making daily observations of the relative heights and fluctuations of the surface of this lake.

"The position thus chosen for the observations projects into the lake, entirely beyond the mouth of the Chicago river, and altogether out of the reach of any influence from the river current upon the fluctuations of the tide-gauge. It was the fluctuations of the lake surface alone that could affect the readings of the tide-gauge.

"On the first day of September, 1854, a course of observations was commenced on this tide-gauge, and continued at least once a day, until the thirty-first day of December, inclusive, 1858. . . These observations were instituted chiefly for the purpose of ascertaining with accuracy the amount of the annual and also of the secular variation in the elevation of the lake surface, with a view to regulating the heights of breakwaters and piers to be erected for the protection of vessels, and for improving the lake harbors."[7]

[6] Schoolcraft: "Mississippi," pp. 191, 214.
[7] Coast & Geodetic Survey, 1907, p. 485.



PART OF TRIANGULATION SYSTEM
SURVEY OF
NORTHERN AND NORTHWESTERN LAKES.

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES.

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 MILES

NOTE:

Stations, at which either the latitude, longitude, azimuth, or magnetic elements have been observed, are designated, respectively, by l. L. a. m.

RESULTS OF TIDAL OBSERVATIONS

The result of this series of tidal observations, continued over a period of four years and four months, is given by Colonel Graham as follows: "The difference of elevation of the lake surface, between the periods of lunar low and lunar high water at the mean spring tides is here shown to be two hundred and fifty-four thousandths (.254) of a foot, and the time of high water at the full and change of the moon is shown to be thirty minutes after the time of the moon's meridian transit."

For the benefit of readers who may not be accustomed to terms familiar enough to residents of tide-water regions, we will here state that "spring tides" have no relation to the spring season. Spring tides occur twice a month.[8]

Colonel Graham sought to justify himself in taking so much pains to ascertain the facts regarding tidal movements in Lake Michigan, by saying: "Although this knowledge may be of but small practical advantage to navigators, yet it may serve as a memorandum of a physical phenomenon whose existence has generally heretofore been either denied or doubted." He concluded his paper by submitting his observations as a solution of the "problem in question," and as "proving the existence of a semi-diurnal lunar tidal wave on Lake Michigan, and consequently on the other great fresh water lakes of North America," varying from fifteen hundredths of a foot to twenty-five hundredths of a foot; that is, from one and four-fifths inches to three inches rise and fall.[9]

"Colonel J. D. Graham's report on the tides in Lake Michigan," says R. A. Harris in the Coast and Geodetic Survey Report for 1907, "have not been altered by subsequent observations." Graham's work was discussed by Ferrel in his book "Tidal Researches" (pp. 250-255); Harris accords Colonel Graham the honor of being the discoverer of tides in the lakes.

Professor Salisbury of the University of Chicago sums up the matter in his work entitled "Physiography" as follows: "Tides are imperceptible in small lakes and feeble in large lakes and enclosed seas. In Lake Michigan, for example, there is a tide of about two inches."

SUDDEN AND GRADUAL FLUCTUATIONS

Oscillations of the lake level are familiar phenomena to residents on the shores of the lake. "They are generally attributed by scientific men," wrote Thomas C. Clarke in 1861, "to atmospheric disturbances, which, by increasing or diminishing the atmosphere pressure, produce a corresponding rise or fall in the water-level. These are the sudden and irregular fluctuations. The gradual fluctuations are probably caused by the variable amount of rain which falls in the vast area of country drained by the lakes." Thus, according to a more recent authority it may be said in general that the levels of lakes, with river outlets of limited volume, change from time to time, according to the amount of precipitation on their surfaces and contiguous territory. The sources of such a body of water as Lake Michigan, for example, are springs and rivers; and, since these are dependent upon

[8] Salisbury: "Physiography," p. 744.

[9] Disturnell, p. 23.

rain and snow, the source of the supply of lake water may be said to be atmospheric precipitation. The fluctuations in the level of Lake Michigan in different seasons is thus accounted for;[10] though in the case of the frequently observed sudden changes in lake levels the cause is found in atmospheric pressure. "A sudden change in atmosphere pressure on one part of a large lake," says Salisbury, "causes changes of level everywhere. If the pressure is increased in one place, the surface of the water there is lowered and the surface elsewhere correspondingly raised."

On the 30th of April, 1909, a very remarkable rise of water of the lake occurred, reaching a height of six feet at Evanston. It rose and retired within the space of a few hours coming just after a storm of unusual severity. The account of it in the Evanston Index of the next day, says: "The lake shore presents a highly interesting sight following the action of the tidal wave which washed clear to the middle of the lake front park, filling the lagoon with debris and leaving a big windrow of driftwood of all sizes and shapes to mark its extreme reach." The Chicago Tribune of May 1st, 1909, states that the storm above referred to caused the loss of five lives, and of property estimated at $2,000,000. Collapsed and unroofed houses dotted the stretch of prairie land near the Illinois Central Railroad in the neighborhood of Seventy-fifth street. "The storm caused unusual disturbances in Lake Michigan at the Thirty-ninth street pumping station; variations in the lake level of between four and five feet occurred."

In the Coast and Geodetic Survey Report for 1907 (page 473), it is stated that "the most common cause of these periodic movements is the wind blowing over bodies of water in which they occur. The seldom variations in barometric pressure may cause seiches [or tidal waves] in lakes and other nearly enclosed bodies of water."

GRADUAL FLUCTUATIONS OF THE LAKE

The variations in the water levels of the lake extending over comparatively long periods of time, for example a month, a year, or even for a longer period, have been carefully measured at stated intervals, for more than fifty years. Results from such measurements, disregarding the sudden rises and subsidences of which we have spoken, show a slow increase or decrease in the general height of the surface, as compared with the level of the sea, such fluctuations sometimes extending over years of time.

The mean stage of water on the lake, for the period extending from 1860 to 1907 (inclusive), is given on the chart of Lake Michigan, issued by the United States Lake Survey, as 581.32 feet above mean tide at New York. The highest stage of water on record was that of "the high water of 1838," when it stood at 584.69 feet above sea level. The lowest stage was that of December, 1895, during which month the average was 578.98 feet. Thus between the extremes there was a variation of 5.71 feet.

There had, however, been many noteworthy fluctuations throughout the period from 1838 down to the end of the century between these extremes, as will be shown below. For example, in the year 1869 the level declined to 580 feet, followed

[10] Salisbury: "Physiography," p. 301.

two years later by a rise to 582.7 feet. Again, there was a decline in 1873, to 579.9 feet, followed by a rise, in 1876, to 583.5 feet.

In 1880, a low stage was again reached when the level stood at 580.7 feet; after which there was a gradual rise to the year 1886, when the level stood at 583.6 feet. After that there was a gradual descent for ten years, and, in 1896, the level dropped to 579 feet, the lowest on record. The level again began to rise so that by the year 1900 the elevation was 580.7 feet above the level of the sea.

FLUCTUATIONS SHOWN BY A CHART

This may be best illustrated by a rough chart showing the variations in the water levels for certain years for alternately high and low stages of the lake. From this it can be seen that the intervals, within which a gradual rise or decline is taking place, are very irregular.

AVERAGE ELEVATIONS OF THE SURFACE OF LAKE MICHIGAN ABOVE SEA LEVEL, IN CERTAIN YEARS, AS SHOWN:

Range	1838	1869	1871	1873	1876	1880	1886	1896	1900
584+	584.69[11]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
583+	.....	.....	.....	.....	583.5	.....	583.6	.....	.....
582+	.....	.....	582.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
581+	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
580+	.....	580.0	.....	.....	.....	580.7	.....	.....	580.7
579+	.....	.....	.....	579.9	.....	.....	.....	579.0[12]	.....

OPENING OF THE SANITARY CANAL

The great Sanitary Canal, elsewhere described, was completed, and the waters of Lake Michigan began to flow through its channel, in January, 1900. During the previous year (1899) the highest point reached had been 581.1 feet. It may be remarked here that the water levels for every year, as shown by the United States Lake Survey charts, are, on the average, highest in midsummer and lowest in midwinter.

When the canal was opened the elevation of the lake was a fraction above 580 feet, the average for the year 1900 being 580.7 feet. It was freely predicted that there would be a serious fall in the lake level by reason of the quantity of water taken by the canal—about four thousand cubic feet a second—, and that navigation interests would suffer. It was observed, however, that the usual rising tendency in the early months of the year followed its regular course to the middle of the summer followed by the usual decline in the later months, the effect of the canal flow being imperceptible as compared with previous records.

TEN YEARS' OPERATION OF THE CANAL

In a letter written by Mr. Isham Randolph, Consulting Engineer of the Sanitary District, dated May 9th, 1910, a brief review of the effect of the canal is

[11] Highest on record.

[12] Lowest on record.

given. "Water from Lake Michigan," he says, "has been flowing westward through the Sanitary Canal for ten years and four months, and navigation interests have not suffered an atom's loss in carrying capacity. The lake stages, as observed by the Engineers of the United States Army, afford the only authentic source of knowledge bearing upon that feature of the controversy between the Sanitary District of Chicago and the Government of the United States.

"The published hydrographs which set forth the facts show that between December, 1894, and January, 1900, the level of Lake Michigan reached 581 once only. In August, 1899, the highest stage, the elevation was 581.05; whereas, in 1901, it reached an elevation of 581.10; in 1904, 581.45; 1905, 581.65; 1906, 581.45; 1907, 581.55; and in 1908, 581.85; and in all the years since 1899 the low water has never been so low as it averaged in the nine years previous to 1900; and the difference in favor of the later period has not been accounted for by excess of rainfall in the years since 1900, as disclosed by the records published by the Government."

It is thus shown that the fears entertained as to the decline in the level of the lake, by reason of the abstraction of water through the Sanitary Canal, have no basis of support, and that the lake for the ten years that the canal has been in use has actually risen in its general level.

CLIMATIC EFFECT OF THE LAKES

"The great number of lakes in the northern part of the United States and Europe," Salisbury states, "have some influence upon the climate of the regions in which they occur. They increase its humidity to some slight extent at least, and, since water is heated less readily than the land and gives up its heat less readily, the lakes have the effect of tempering the climate. Until they freeze over, they tend to keep the temperature of their surroundings a little higher than it would otherwise be in the autumn and early winter, and to reduce the temperature of the spring. The temperature effects of lakes are felt chiefly on the sides toward which the prevailing winds blow." Lake Michigan however, keeps open in the center all through the cold season, the ice seldom becoming firm more than a mile from the shore, and then frequently broken up by gales. "In the winter of 1874-5, Professor Hazen tells us in his work, "The Climate of Chicago," "ice was cut sixteen inches thick two or three miles out on the lake, but this is a rare occurrence."

"The prevailing westerly winds temper the climate of the east shore of Lake Michigan in such a way as to make it favorable for fruit-growing, while the west side of the lake, affected by winds not tempered by the lake, is not favorable for this industry."

ALTITUDE OF THE LAKE SURFACE

The elevation of the surface of Lake Michigan above the sea, as previously stated, is five hundred and eighty-one feet, and its approximate maximum depth is eight hundred and seventy feet.[13] Its greatest depth, on a line directly east from Chicago, is about one hundred and seventy-five feet. This rapidly increases towards the north until the greatest depth between Racine and Holland is nearly six hundred feet. North of this line the water becomes shallower until the greatest depth

[13] Salisbury: "Physiography," p. 297.

of water between Milwaukee and Grand Haven is only about two hundred feet, this appearing to be the summit of a ridge between the two basins in which Lake Michigan lies. Further north the bottom descends to a considerably greater depth again, where in fact, the deepest portion of the lake is found.[14]

If the city of Chicago were, by some magic, placed on the bottom of the lake in its deepest part, directly east of its present location, at a point some thirty or thirty-five miles distant, it would by no means be buried from view, for all the buildings higher than one hundred and seventy-five feet would project above its surface. For example, the Montgomery Ward tower, three hundred and ninety-four feet in height, would still rise two hundred and twenty feet above the lake, and a multitude of other buildings, domes, roofs and chimneys, would likewise extend upwards into view.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LAKE MICHIGAN

Some notice of the animal life of the lake, its fishes and aquatic birds, seems appropriate in this place. The first mention of fishes will naturally be that of the common whitefish, a species of fish occurring in vast abundance in all the Great Lakes. While it was formerly abundant in that part of Lake Michigan adjacent to the shore of Illinois, it is not so now, as reckless fishing has reduced its numbers to insignificant proportions. Indeed the numbers of this desirable fish have been greatly diminished throughout the entire extent of the Great Lakes, and at Chicago they have practically disappeared from the returns, only two hundred pounds being given as the yearly catch in 1899, a vast reduction from the figures shown in 1885, which were eighty thousand pounds in that year.[15]

Another important fish of our Great Lakes is the lake trout, which though common in the northern part of Lake Michigan is rarer to the southward. It is extremely variable in size, form and color, particularly under the influence of local conditions, and hence has received many local names,—Mackinaw trout, salmon trout, and a variety of other names. Lake trout are closely allied to brook trout, though they attain a far greater size. "This is due," says Goode, of the United States Fish Commission, "to the greater ease with which, for hundreds of generations, the lake trout have obtained their food. They are almost always found in the same lakes with one or more kind of whitefish, whose slow helpless movements render them an easy prey, and upon whose tender luscious flesh the lake trout feeds voraciously."[16]

OTHER VARIETIES OF FISH

Of the fish found in the Great Lakes there are but a few which are common to the river systems of Illinois, the "Michigan district," as it is called in the "Natural History Survey of Illinois," being "the farthest removed from the Illinois ichthyologically."[17] One species, the lake sturgeon, was formerly met with frequently in this part of the lake, but has now practically disappeared. The sturgeon was common in the Mississippi river along our own state borders in former years, but

[14] Leverett: "Illinois Glacial Lobe," p. 12.
[15] "Nat. Hist. Survey, Illinois," III, p. 52.
[16] Ibid., III, p. 56.
[17] Ibid., III, p. 90.

is now rarely taken. At Alton, Illinois, fishermen take not more than five or six in a year that weigh over ten pounds, whereas fifteen or twenty years ago forty or fifty large ones, weighing from fifty to one hundred pounds each were taken during a given year.[18] The lake sturgeon is said to inhabit comparatively shoal waters in the lakes, and were frequently taken by our lake fishermen near the shores. Captain Lawson, an old time fisherman living at Evanston, states that he took a sturgeon from the lake near Gross Point in 1872, which measured six and one-half feet in length, and weighed one hundred and five pounds. As late as 1900, he caught one on a "set line" which weighed eighty-five pounds, but he says he has seen none since.

The so-called lake herring "is by far the most abundant food-fish of the Great Lakes," says Professor Forbes, in the "Natural History Survey of Illinois."[19] In 1899, there were twenty million pounds of this fish caught in Lake Michigan. They are the chief reliance of fishermen along the Illinois shore of the lake, and always find a ready market notwithstanding their small size. They are taken in nets in great quantities within a mile of the shore. The name of herring "is a misnomer," says Professor Forbes, "as this is properly a whitefish and not a herring. It should be generally known by the much more distinctive name of cisco, already frequently used for it, but now commonly limited to a variety of the species found in the smaller lakes of Wisconsin and of Indiana."[20]

The yellow perch is one of the best known fishes in this region of the lake, its principal mission in life apparently being to furnish sport to youthful anglers, and indeed to thousands of grown people as well. It swarms along the piers and breakwaters of the lake shore, and, in 1899, the total catch of perch, from the Illinois shore of the lake, was 677,000 pounds according to the returns, though this must have been far short of the quantity actually taken of which no record could be made. It prefers the clear, cool waters of the lakes and running streams. While the perch has always been found in the rivers of northern Illinois, it is said to have greatly increased since the opening of the drainage canal has allowed an immense volume of lake water to flow into the Illinois. As a game fish, the yellow perch can be commended chiefly on account of the fact that anybody can catch it; it can be taken with hook and line any month in the year, and with any sort of bait.[21]

The German carp, which have become remarkably abundant in the rivers of Illinois since their introduction by the United States Fish Commission in 1880, have not made much impression in the fish product of Lake Michigan, and probably never will. While the streams flowing into the lake were planted with carp they do not thrive well in the lake itself, as they prefer moderately warm water with plenty of aquatic vegetation. The fishermen often find them in their nets, but they are difficult to capture owing to their propensity to leap over the floating edge of the nets and escape. The introduction of the German carp, like that of the English sparrow, has been much condemned owing to their supposed crowding out of more desirable fishes, and that they are inferior as a foodfish. Practically, however, it

[18] "Nat. Hist. Survey Ill.," III, 25.
[19] Ibid., III, 54.
[20] Ibid., III, 54.
[21] Ibid., III, 278.

has not been found that either of these objections to their presence has much force, for other fish are as numerous as before, and more so in fact, in spite of the carp, and there is a constant demand for these fish in the markets. The shipments of carp from the Illinois river alone now reaches six to eight million pounds a year, valued at more than $200,000; indeed the carp have brought more money than the catch of all the other fish combined.[22]

Under the authority of the state legislature there was published in 1908 a volume descriptive of the fishes of Illinois, which is known as Volume III of the "Natural History Survey of Illinois." This work of nearly five hundred pages, beautifully illustrated with drawings, is a credit to the director of the State Laboratory of Natural History, Stephen A. Forbes, and his colleague, Robert E. Richardson, as well as to the state legislature which authorized its preparation.

GULLS AND TERNS

No one who is familiar with scenes along the shore of Lake Michigan can have failed to observe the great numbers of gulls which resort thither in certain seasons of the year. They are not shy of inhabited places, and follow the river through the city circling about over its surface in search of food. These interesting specimens of bird life are watched with the greatest interest by curious crowds from the bridges and piers on the river and lake shore. Travelers on the railroads entering the city, along the shore of the lake from the south, often see them in great flocks circling around the edge of the lake, where their presence adds a picturesque element to the scene. While there are several varieties of gulls known to naturalists, the most common is the herring gull. This gull is also frequent on the Atlantic coast, and many of them pass over the chain of lakes and rivers from the coast to these inland waters. The larger terns are often called gulls, are of similar appearance and habits, but of smaller size. Many varieties of gulls, curlews, terns and kittiwakes visit this region at one time or another, and are among the most interesting visitors that we have, and in their wheeling flights are one of the prettiest sights on the lake.[23]

It sometimes happens that fierce storms raging inland from the Atlantic coast drive a few individuals of strictly maritime species to this region, where they find a temporary refuge on the shores of Lake Michigan. Thus within recent years our local naturalists have obtained specimens of the Burgomaster gull, the Franklin gull, the Iceland gull, the Caspian tern, and the "man-o'-war" bird; and it is believed that in time many other varieties of sea-coast birds, so far not taken or recognized, will be found and added to the list of "accidental visitants." To the proximity of Lake Michigan we are indebted for visits of "extra-limital" birds of various aquatic species, some belonging to the Pacific coast regions, and others, like the Florida cormorant, wandering far to the north of its usual range, finding a temporary abode on our shores.

WILD PIGEONS

Up to the year 1880 there were great numbers of wild pigeons found in this region, and throughout the North and West generally. During the season of their

[22] "Nat. Hist. Survey, Ill.," III, 106.

[23] Frank M. Woodruff: "Birds of the Chicago Area" (Chicago Academy of Sciences), p. 17.

presence in the North they were met with in incredible numbers, no other game bird comparing with them in this respect. The wild pigeon, otherwise known as the "Passenger pigeon," was one of the finest and noblest species of game birds that has ever inhabited the country, and so numerous were they that old residents relate experiences hardly to be believed. After the spring migrations their resting places were so thronged that they often were found upon the ground beneath trees hiding in the undergrowth. Many farmers derived a considerable part of their revenue from the capture and sale of these pigeons for the markets. In the state of Michigan, near one of the east shore ports, the railroad actually built a spur into a region which was a favorite resort of these birds, and brought them to the markets in Chicago in carload quantities.

It is a strange fact in natural history that, within a few years after 1880, the Passenger pigeon should have utterly disappeared, for at the present time there is not known to be a single specimen out of captivity. They began to disappear in about 1879, immediately after the last known great nesting season. To their nesting grounds came hunters who took hundreds of thousands of these birds for shipment to the markets of Chicago and the East, and from that time wild pigeons were no longer found together in great numbers. The chances for perpetuation of the species were slight, after this decimation of their numbers, as they laid but one egg, or occasionally two, and their nests when discovered were robbed of the young by greedy hunters.

In late years the natural history societies of the country have attempted to discover if possible any remaining individuals of this interesting game bird. At a meeting in December, 1909, of the American Ornithologists' Union a movement was started for this purpose, and a reward was offered for information that would lead to the finding of any nests of the Passenger pigeon. This offer was in these terms: "For the first nest or nesting colony discovered and confirmed anywhere on the continent of North America, three hundred dollars." This was supplemented by other rewards for the different states represented by the members of the Union. The president of the Audubon Society, Mr. Ruthven Deane, of Chicago, has taken a great interest in this movement, and there is a faint hope that some remaining members of the species may yet be found in some of the remote sections of the country.

BIRDS OF PASSAGE

It is curious to note the remarkable influence that the proximity of Lake Michigan has upon the routes chosen by the land birds in their migratory flights, especially in the spring of the year. It would naturally seem that a region so densely populated as this would be avoided by the streams of birds passing to the north, or that even in passing over they would keep to a high line of flight. But, on the contrary, it happens that Chicago, with its extensive parks, and the outlying districts are favorite places for birds to pause in their spring migrations, and they are seen here on such occasions in vast numbers. The parks and nearby country districts are thronged with every variety of bird life. Thus, says Mr. Frank M. Woodruff, the ornithologist of the Chicago Academy of Sciences, "it would be a difficult matter to find a more interesting and fertile field for the study of birds than our area. We have the great wooded region north of us, Lake Michigan on the east, the desolate sandy southern portion, somewhat resembling the western plains and upon

BALD TOM

This eminence is situated on the Michigan shore, fifty-one miles from the mouth of the Chicago river, slightly north of a line running directly east from the latter point. Its summit is 240.1 feet above the surface of the lake. Its position is about one-half mile from the shore. The summit could be seen by an observer at Chicago from a height of 537 feet under ordinary conditions of refraction. It is, in appearance, an immense sand dune partly overgrown with trees and bushes. Its slope is marked with gullies which from a distance resemble wagon-tracks, and an irregular foot-path can be traced from the foot to the summit. The view here shown is from the east, or landward, side.

which there are found growing quite a number of western plants and the prickly pear cactus, the whole area forming an attraction for birds which favor such localities. What greater inducements could be offered birds to visit our area during their migrations, for south and west of us there are rich broad fields with ridges of timber, and several large rivers, the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, which tend to lead the birds to us."

In his work "Birds of the Chicago Area," Mr. Woodruff writes as follows: "A large portion of our area, lying in a great basin formed by the old lake beaches and the wooded hills of Lake and Du Page counties, the temperature influenced by that of Lake Michigan, forms what might be called a 'wind harbor,' causing at times a perfect deluge of migrating birds. . . . Much more time is spent by these birds with us, apparently, than in the regions lying outside of our area. I believe that the reason for this is the temperate basin, which I have spoken of as a wind harbor, and the influences of Lake Michigan."

ASPECT OF LAKE MICHIGAN

The surface of the lake, as viewed outward from the shore at Chicago and its vicinity, stretches to the utmost limits of vision without sight of land on its opposite shore. The width of the lake looking directly eastward at this point is nearly fifty-one miles, though it widens farther north, and at Milwaukee, ninety miles distant, the lake attains a width of eighty-six miles. When Schoolcraft, in 1821, was approaching the lake from the west, while on his way from the Mississippi over the Des Plaines-Chicago portage, he wrote that "the sight of Lake Michigan, on nearing Chicago, was like the ocean."[24] Doubtless his sensations were similar to those of the ten thousand Greeks when after their long and perilous march through Asia Minor they came into view of the Euxine, and hailed it with loud shouts of "The sea! The sea!"

VISIBILITY OF THE MICHIGAN SHORE

The limit of visibility of an object on the surface of the lake or a distant coast line depends, of course, upon its prominence, the upper portion coming into view first. The coast line opposite Chicago could be seen were an observer elevated to a sufficient height. As there is no point in Chicago where such a view could be obtained, the opposite coast does not come into view at all. This will be better understood by referring to the tables of the United States Coast Survey[25] in which it is shown that a tangent line drawn from one extremity of an arc fifty-one miles long on the earth's circumference would, at the other end of the arc, be 1,735 feet above the surface. But the path of a ray of light through the air is affected by refraction, so that the line of sight, instead of following the tangent line, is slightly curved downwards. The refraction therefore, under average atmospheric conditions, would reduce the height necessary for an observer at one extremity of the arc to see the other extremity, to a height of only 1,492 feet. Of course the height of the land on the opposite shore would have to be taken into consideration in a case of this kind. It will thus be seen that it would require an eminence at this point far

[24] Schoolcraft: "Indian Tribes," p. 68.

[25] Report for 1882, p. 154.

exceeding that of any known structure, from which to see the Michigan shore looking directly eastward, if that shore were low and not perceptibly above the lake itself.

"BALD TOM"

There is an elevation, however, on the Michigan shore, on a line directly east from the mouth of the Chicago River, known as "Bald Tom," a hill whose upper portion rises to a height of two hundred and forty feet. This hill reaches the most considerable height in that vicinity though there is an eminence near by known as Sleeping Bear, spoken of by Hoffman when he passed that way on horseback late in the year 1832, which rises to nearly the same height. Bald Tom is a summit of sand quite bare of trees for some distance down its slope, the lower portion being covered by a growth of trees and bushes. It is an object well known to lake sailors, standing, as it does, near the shore about half way between St. Joseph and Michigan City, but is seldom seen from excursion or passenger boats, not being on the route of any of the Chicago lines of steamers. Its summit was used as one of the stations of the government "Triangulation Survey," made in the years 1874 and 1877.

This eminence is situated on the Michigan shore fifty-one miles from the mouth of the Chicago river, slightly north of a line running directly east from the latter point. Its summit is 240.1 feet above the surface of the lake. Its position is about half a mile from the shore. The summit could be seen by an observer at Chicago from a height of 537 feet under ordinary conditions of refraction. It is, in appearance, an immense sand dune partly overgrown with trees and bushes. Its slope is marked with gullies which from a distance resemble wagontracks, and an irregular foot-path can be traced from the foot to the summit. The view here shown is from the east, or landward, side.

"Bald Tom" does not rank in altitude with the "mountain tops" of the traveler and poet, but, in the almost total absence of any marked eminences in this neighborhood, we feel bound to take especial notice of this "peak," and to regard it with some natural pride. But while it cannot claim a sufficient eminence to cause a change of climatic conditions at its summit by reason of a long reach into the upper regions of the atmosphere, it should be regarded as a most desirable addition to the natural attractions of the vicinity, especially if at some future time a sufficiently tall building should be erected in Chicago from whose summit we may obtain a view of its bald "pow."

The latitude of this hill is 41° 54′ 19″, while that of Chicago, at the mouth of the river, is 41° 53′ 11″. Thus while the two points are not precisely on the same parallel, the hill on the Michigan shore is only one and three-tenths miles north of a true east and west line intersecting the Chicago position. The distance of Bald Tom from the pier-head, at the mouth of the Chicago river, is fifty-one miles. Allowing for refraction under average atmospheric conditions an elevation of only five hundred and thirty seven feet at Chicago would be sufficient for an observer to see its summit, provided his eyesight were sufficiently keen or if he used a glass. It is, of course, presumed that in such a case the atmosphere would be clear. While there are no buildings or towers in Chicago of a height sufficient to make such an observation, which would indeed have to be only a little less than the height of the Washington monument, it is by no means unlikely that such a building will, in the course of

time, be erected. Again, if towers of equal heights on either shore of Lake Michigan, one at the mouth of the Chicago river, and another on the Michigan shore on an east and west line were constructed, so that observers at their summits might come into each others' view, such towers would need to be only three hundred and seventy-three feet in height above the surface of the lake. In that case, and from equal heights as mentioned, the line of vision from the top of either tower would barely reach the top of the other, the "point of tangency" being precisely midway between its termination at the opposite towers, that is just twenty-five and one-half miles from either shore.

TRIANGULATION SURVEYS OVER LAKE MICHIGAN

A practical example of the limit of visibility over level surfaces is found in the triangulation survey conducted by United States engineers, during the years from 1874 to 1877. The report of this survey was printed by the government in "Professional Papers," number 24, Corps of Engineers.

Two stations were established, one on the summit of the shot tower which then stood at the corner of Fulton and Clinton streets, in Chicago, and the other on the summit of a sand dune near Michigan City, Indiana, forty-one and one-tenth miles distant from each other. The line between these two points would follow nearly a southeasterly direction from Chicago. The summit of the shot tower was a little over two hundred feet above the surface of the lake, while the observing point near Michigan City was two hundred and eighteen feet above the lake surface. The sand dune was one hundred and forty-eight feet in height, on which an observing tower seventy feet in height had been erected, thus reaching an elevation which was made sufficient for the purposes of the surveyors in the following ingenious manner.

Under average conditions of refraction the line of sight from the summit of the shot tower was tangent to the lake surface about nineteen miles distant, while that from the Michigan City point was tangent about twenty miles distant. The sum of these two distances is thirty-nine miles, two miles less than the whole distance between the observing points. But computations showed that when refraction was seventy per cent greater than its average value, which happens occasionally for short intervals, the points were intervisible. By taking advantage of this condition, in part, and also by mounting bright signals on poles considerably above the telescopes of the observers, they were able to establish satisfactory communications. At the time these observations were taken the shot tower was the greatest elevation to be found in the city available for the purposes of the surveyors. Since that time, as is well known, there have been a number of structures erected which attain a much greater height.

Inquirers who desire a more extended knowledge of the range of visibility over the surfaces of lakes and plains, should consult any standard text book of geodosy, where the properties of the tangent line and its relation to the curvature of the earth's surface are fully set forth.

The writer is indebted to Professor John F. Hayford, Director of the College of Engineering of the Northwestern University, for guidance and advice in the statements above made in regard to lines of visibility.

MIRAGES AND LOOMINGS

A mirage occasionally lifts the Michigan shore into view so that apparently it may be discerned by the beholder, and photographs have been taken of this phantom view. In May, 1901, for instance, such a mirage was plainly to be seen for two hours or more during one afternoon, as reported in the "Chicago Tribune" of May 4th in that year, and the article describing it was accompanied by a reproduction of the view as shown in the camera. While the name of mirage is popularly given to this interesting phenomenon, it is more correct to speak of it as "looming." A true mirage inverts the images of objects which it brings into view. Examples of mirages are frequently seen on the lake when vessels beyond the range of vision appear in an inverted position above the horizon line.

DRAINING LAKE MICHIGAN

If the bottom of Lake Michigan opposite Chicago were exposed to view as a plain, without a body of water above it, its appearance would be that of a sandy desert, that is, supposing it to have but recently become dry. There would be no perceptible depression in the prospect, as the slope downward to its deepest part is so gradual that it would not be distinguishable to the eye; indeed the curvature of the earth's surface would shut off the view of objects distant a few miles just as it does on the prairies. If the bottom of the lake, thus supposed to be dry, should remain in that condition for long, that is for some generations, it would, of course, gradually become covered with herbage and forests. It would simply be a tract of so-called level country. In fact there are many places in the state of Illinois that are lower than the surface of Lake Michigan. This fact was known to the people in the early days, and one of the objections named by certain elements of the opposition to the Illinois and Michigan Canal, was that it would open a way for the waters of Lake Michigan to flood extensive tracts of country in some of the low lying lands of the state.[26]

On the other hand there was at one time under serious consideration, a plan for draining Lake Michigan. This was during Governor Coles' administration, 1823 to 1827. A bill had been introduced in the legislature to drain certain lakes as "not only much good land would be reclaimed, but the health of the country materially benefited." Several amendments adding other lakes to the bill were proposed and adopted. Finally "one member," said W. H. Brown in a lecture before the Chicago Lyceum, "moved an additional section, proposing to drain Lake Michigan, which was also adopted by a large majority," with an appropriation to carry the provisions of the bill into effect. "Fortunately for the country lying south-west of the lake," says the editor of the state paper of that day, "its inundation was prevented by a motion to read the bill in committee of the whole, which prevailed," where it seems to have received its quietus.[27]

PICTURESQUE VALUE OF LAKE MICHIGAN

As one stands on the shore of the lake gazing on the broad expanse stretching far to the north, east and south, a noble view is presented. One realizes the great extent over which his eye wanders by noting the lake craft in the distance, some vessels "hull down," and trailing clouds of smoke lying on the horizon, indicating

[26] R. W. Patterson, Fergus, No. 14, p. 124.
[27] Fergus' Hist. Series, No. 14, p. 95.

passing steamers beyond the limit of vision. Those passing in plainer view seem to stand fixed and immovable, while in strange contrast the waves near the shore dash violently on the breakwaters, throwing up clouds of spray, or break in thunderous surges on the sand and gravel at one's feet. There is this difference to be observed between the breakers rolling in from a body of fresh water and those from the ocean, that there is not nearly so much froth lying on the surface where the crests of the waves break on the fresh as on the salt water, the bubbles and foam quickly disapearing on the former while lingering long on the briny surges of the sea.

From the crest of the bluffs of the North Shore the view of the lake is, on ordinary occasions, one of the most charming imaginable; and this view is the principal attraction to the dwellers in the beautiful homes that have been built in that neighborhood. When tossed by the wind the ruffled surface of the lake shows many shades of blue and green according to the light reflected upon it from the sky; and when light, fleecy clouds are passing over it, casting broad shadows upon its far extending surface, the colors are shown in varied hues ranging from neutral tints to most beautiful olive greens and violet blues. One of our local poets happily likened its broad expanse under these conditions to "a pictured psalm."

"A level plain of a vast extent on land is certainly no mean idea," writes Burke; "the prospect of such a plain may be as extensive as a prospect of the ocean; but can it ever fill the mind with anything so great as the ocean itself?" This can be well appreciated by those who have long dwelt on the shores of Lake Michigan.

> But when "storms and tempests wake the sleeping main,"
> "And lightnings flash while winds grow hoarse and loud,
> And writhing billows toss their white crests high;" [28]

then indeed Lake Michigan's aspect changes from the beautiful to the sublime. It is then, when darkness adds its terrors to the scene, that the perils of the mariner come home to the observer with moving force and quickened sympathy.

THE PRAIRIES OF ILLINOIS

The cultivation of prairie lands had not yet been begun to any considerable extent, in 1818. But about that time a shrewd observer, traveling through the western country, suggested what eventually was to be the solution of the question of prairie agriculture. This traveler was Benjamin Harding, who afterward published a book entitled, "A Tour through the Western Country in 1818-19," in which he said: "It will probably be some time before these vast prairies can be settled, owing to the inconvenience attending the want of timber. I know of no way, unless the plan is adopted of ditching and hedging, and the building of brick houses, and substituting the stone coal for fuel. It seems as if the bountiful hand of nature, where it has withheld one gift has always furnished another; for instance, where there is a scarcity of wood, there are coal mines."

ASPECT OF THE PRAIRIES

In those times the subject of emigrating to the regions of the boundless West was extensively talked and written about. Many books were published giving ad-

[28] Pearson: "Three Fold Cord," p. 158.

vice to prospective emigrants, describing the country—its availability for settlement, the climate, soil, means of transportation; and giving a thousand details of interest about the natural features of this "land of promise." Every traveler passing through the Illinois country was especially impressed with the vast level and treeless plains which the French had called by the name of prairies, a name signifying a meadow, happily called by Cooper "a natural meadow." Bryant's fine poem, "The Prairies," has a description of them, a few lines from which we quote:

"These are the gardens of the Desert, these
The unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful,
For which the speech of England has no name—
The Prairies."

The prairies are never called the plains by the western people, as are the treeless regions in the far West.

EARLY OPINIONS OF THE PRAIRIES

But prairies were not regarded as desirable for agricultural purposes by the early settlers. They were considered as an obstacle to settlement, and as far back as 1786, Monroe wrote to Jefferson concerning the Northwest Territory, as follows: "A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."

In later times, however, the true value of the prairies for cultivation came to be appreciated at their proper worth, and they were enthusiastically described as gardens. Thus Chicago, at its incorporation as a city, in 1837, adopted the motto which was engraved on its seal, "Urbs in Horto," that is, a City in a Garden, from which the name of "Garden City" and "Garden City of the Prairies," was readily evolved. In an old letter from Chicago, in 1837, to friends in the East an idea is given of how the fertile soil of the prairies had come to be regarded. "Tell John," said the writer, "to come out here *at once*. This is God's country. Leave the rocks and come here where you can plow a straight furrow a mile long without striking a stump or a stone."

CHICAGO'S PRAIRIE LOCATION

A large part of the site of the present city of Chicago is on prairie land. For a distance of four miles south from the mouth of the Chicago river the "Grand Prairie of Illinois" reached the shore of the lake, narrowing to this space from the vast stretches towards the southwest. All of the present "loop district," and much more territory now within the city limits towards the southwest and west, was formerly true prairie.

When Charles Cleaver arrived in Chicago in 1833, he spoke of its situation as follows: "To the south of the village was an almost interminable prairie said to

be three hundred miles in length . . . reaching, as we were told, to the most southern point of the state."

CLEAVER'S OBSERVATIONS

The time of Cleaver's arrival was in October. The winter season had set in early, and the ground was already frozen. He came with a party from the East by land in a wagon drawn by oxen. Following the lake shore from Michigan City, he emerged from the woods about where Thirty-First street is now located. "We found ourselves," he wrote, "for the first time, on a wide expanse of level prairie, bounded on the west by a belt of timber which lined the banks of the South Branch of the river, a mile or two distant. Three or four miles to the north of the point where we stood lay the village of Chicago, stretching from the lake some half mile or more to the west along the bank of the river, the white houses and stores, together with the buildings and the fence of the garrison grounds, giving it quite a pleasant and cheerful appearance under the genial rays of the wintry sun. . . . There was but one building between us and the village, and that was a log barn standing at about Twentieth Street. To the East of us was the beautiful lake, on the bosom of which we could, now and then, between the hills of sand that lined its bank, catch sight of two schooners that lay at anchor half or three-quarters of a mile from land, lazily rising and falling with the swell of the waves as they rolled into shore."

TOPOGRAPHY OF PRAIRIES

But prairies do not all of them have the "topography of a pancake," as described by some humorist, but are frequently undulating, and thus known as "rolling prairies;" and among the depressions are often found groves of trees, especially along the banks of the numerous streams that intersect them. The prairies are the most remarkable feature of Illinois, just as the lakes are of Wisconsin, the steppes of Russia, and the Alps of Switzerland.

The general elevation of the prairies above the surface of Lake Michigan, which itself is 582 feet above the sea, varies from 150 feet below its surface to 300 feet above. At numerous points throughout the state the surfaces of the prairies are below the lake, as may be seen by consulting the table printed in Leverett's "Illinois Glacial Lobe" (page 9) published by the United States Geological Survey, in 1899. The variations in altitudes, however, are very gradual. In fifty-five counties, or more than half the number in the state, there is a range of altitudes of less than 300 feet. Estimates have been made of the areas between each one hundred foot contour in every county of the entire state, and the result shows that the average altitude of the state is 633 feet above the sea, that is, only 51 feet above the surface of Lake Michigan. Thus "the state of Illinois has the distinction," says Leverett, "of being the lowest in the North-Central States."

In a general way the altitudes in Illinois decrease from north to south. The highest point in the state is at Charles' Mound, a long narrow ridge on the line between Wisconsin and Illinois in Jo Daviess County, which reaches an elevation of 1,257 feet above tide-water, that is, 675 feet above the surface of Lake Michigan.

THE PRAIRIES—A WORD PICTURE

In a remarkable book by Francis Grierson, published in 1909, entitled, "The Valley of Shadows," purporting to be the writer's recollections of the "Lincoln Country," in the years from 1858 to 1863, a description of the prairies is given which is worthy of a place in this connection.

"I have done my best," he writes, "to depict the 'silences' that belonged to the prairies, for out of those silences came the voices of preacher and prophet, and a host of workers and heroes in the great War of Secession." The writer continues his wonderful picture of the prairies, which formed so true and beautiful a setting to the momentous events of the succeeding years, as follows:

"People were attracted to this region from Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, the shores of the Ohio, the British Isles, France, and Germany. Other states had their special attractions: Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri contained hills and forests, appealing to the eye by a large and generous variation of landscape; Iowa and Kansas sloped upward toward the West, giving to the mind an ever-increasing sense of hope and power. To many Illinois seemed the last and the least, because the most level. Only a poet could feel the charm of her prairies, only a far-seeing statesman could predict her future greatness.

"The prairie was a region of expectant watchfulness, and life a perpetual contrast of work and idleness, hope and misgiving. Across its bosom came the covered wagons with their human freight, arriving or departing like ships between the shores of strange, mysterious worlds.

"The early Jesuit missionaries often spoke of the Illinois prairie as a sea of grass and flowers. A breeze springs up from the shores of old Kentucky, or from across the Mississippi and the plains of Kansas, gathering force as the hours steal on, gradually changing the aspect of Nature by an undulating motion of the grass, until the breeze has become a gale, and behold the prairie a rolling sea! The pennant-like blades dip before the storm in low, rushing billows as of myriads of green birds skimming the surface. The grassy blades bend to the rhythm of Nature's music, and when clouds begin to fleck the far horizon with dim, shifting vapors, shadows as of long gray wings swoop down over the prairie, while here and there immense fleeting veils rise and fall and sweep on towards the skyline in a vague world of mystery and illusion.

"The prairies possessed a charm created by beauty instead of awe, for besides the countless wild flowers they had rivers, creeks, lakes, groves, and wooded strips of country bordering the larger streams.

"Everywhere, even in the most desolate places, at all times and seasons, signs of life were manifest in the traces, flights, and sounds of animals and birds. Over the snow, when all seemed obliterated, appeared the track of the mink, fox, and chick-a-dee, while during the greater part of the year the grass, woods, and air were alive with winged creatures that came and went in a perpetual chorus of audible or inaudible song.

"The prairie was an inspiration, the humble settlers an ever-increasing revelation of human patience and progress. There was a charm in their mode of living, and real romance in all the incidents and events of that wonderful time."

By courtesy of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway

THE ROLLING PRAIRIES OF ILLINOIS

By courtesy of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway

THE DESPLAINES RIVER

CLIMATE OF CHICAGO

The influence of the lake upon the climate of Chicago is of greater importance than any other local feature of its situation. "In studying the climate of Chicago," says Hazen, "the greatest interest at once centers upon the lake and the influence of its waters upon the temperature, rainfall, winds, clouds, etc. While it is true that the broader features of the climate are dependent upon atmospheric causes and influences taking their rise to the westward and northwestward of the city, yet these are often markedly changed by the lake and the conditions induced by its temperature and moisture."

The temperature of the lake, and its effect upon the atmosphere of the country surrounding it, is the chief consideration in a study of this kind. In Hazen's "Climate of Chicago," published by the government weather bureau, in 1893, he gives a table covering seventeen years' observations, from 1874 to 1890, inclusive, a period which though now somewhat remote, answers this purpose as well as any other. The mean temperature of the air and water is shown to be equal in March and September, while in January the water is eight and nine-tenths degrees higher than the air, and in June nine and one-tenth degrees lower than the air.

"In the colder months," says Hazen, "we see a most marked influence from the lake, an east wind giving a temperature almost thirteen degrees higher than a northwest wind. In the medium temperature months there is little or no influence, as was to be expected, since this is the transition period when the air and water temperatures are nearly the same. At first it appears a little singular that the lake wind does not show a greater cooling of the air during the warm months. . . . We must remember [however] that in summer the wind velocity is largely diminished, that is, about thirty per cent less than in winter; but the more potent influence would seem to be the effect of the earth's heat upon the wind before it reaches the thermometer."

PREVAILING WINDS

Chicago is frequently termed the "Windy City," and a consideration of this phase of its climatic condition shows that the cause of the frequency of winds is closely connected with its situation on the lake. There is a general tendency here, says Professor Hazen, for greater velocity of winds, especially those blowing in northeast and southwest directions. And this may be expected, for the reason that the greater lake surface extends in a northeast direction, and there is less friction while the wind is passing over its surface from or toward that quarter.

Then again, a potent influence is, that during the day the land surface becomes heated considerably above that of the water, and there arises in the afternoon a tendency for the air to flow from the water to the land; while at night the land becoming greatly cooled by radiation of its heat causes the air to flow in the contrary direction. As the air is exceedingly sensitive to the temperature of the surfaces beneath it, which excites a motion in the direction of least resistance, the difference of temperature in the lake and land surfaces, which prevails during most of the time, easily accounts for the winds that are characteristic of the climate of Chicago.

But winds, though frequently high, very seldom reach the violence of tornadoes. Only one such is on record, which is described in Professor Hazen's journal under

date of May 6, 1876, as follows: "At 9:10 p. m. the city was visited by a violent tornado which, though lasting but from two to three minutes, did damage in and about the city estimated at $250,000. The course of the tornado was from southwest to northeast, having a swift rotary motion from right to left, bounding along like a ball in its full force, apparently reaching the ground but two or three times. The last seen of it was on the lake in the vicinity of the crib, at which place it demolished the fog bell and tower. It was also reported that numerous waterspouts were seen in that vicinity at the time. During its passage the rain fell in torrents, and it was accompanied by thunder and sharp flashes of lightning."

The nearest approach to a storm of this character in recent years was in May, 1896, when one passed over the northern portion of Cook County. "As it approached the lake," says Professor Henry J. Cox, "it rapidly diminished in force and disappeared, and there is no doubt that the cool air of Lake Michigan destroyed its energy."

WIND VELOCITIES

In order to compare the velocities and general character of winds and storms at Chicago with a number of other cities, an illustration by means of a table is given herewith, which supplies in a condensed form some interesting statistics on the subject. This table was prepared at the office of the United States Weather Bureau at Chicago, and covers the years 1905 to 1908, inclusive, a period of four years.

It will thus be seen that while there is a greater volume of wind movement at Chicago than in the other places mentioned in the table, other considerations affect the general result. Compared with Buffalo, for instance, the total wind movement there very nearly equals that of Chicago; and the frequency of high winds at Buffalo considerably exceeds that at Chicago; while the number of gales above forty miles an hour at Buffalo *greatly* exceeds the number at Chicago, thus indicating a steadier stream of air at Chicago than at Buffalo. Further, comparing Chicago with St. Paul, while the volume of wind movement at the latter place is considerably less, there are only about twelve per cent fewer violent gales there. Denver, as we see, has the most favorable record in the matter of wind movement, high winds and gales.

TABLE OF WIND MOVEMENTS

	CHICAGO			BUFFALO			ST. PAUL			DENVER		
Year	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
1905	134.854	58	38	125.934	73	50	88.298	59	9	63.171	49	9
1906	127.128	59	32	120.797	76	44	91.526	50	12	65.243	52	12
1907	126.071	60	25	129.577	84	63	91.121	47	15	64.953	43	6
1908	132.751	68	33	131.759	76	69	96.377	54	12	64.961	52	5
Totals	520.804	245	128	508.067	309	226	367.322	210	48	258.328	196	32
Average	130.201	61+	32	127.016	77+	65+	91.830+	52+	12	64.582	49	8

Key: A. Total movement for year; that is, the number of miles of wind passing a given point; B. Greatest velocity per hour reached during the year; C. Number of days in each year when wind exceeded forty miles an hour.

"While Chicago is called the windy city," says Professor Henry J. Cox, "it has no special claim upon this pseudonym. The wind velocity increases with the elevation above ground, and the weather bureau instruments in Chicago happen to be located at a much greater height than is available in most cities. It is, in fact, not in the course of any regular storm track, generally merely being on the edges of the storms that pass to the north over Lake Superior or to the south over the Ohio valley. It lays claim, however, to brisk and sometimes strong winds which are more beneficial than objectionable. The prevailing direction of the wind is southwest, for the year as a whole. During the spring and early summer the wind is mostly northeast."

THUNDERSTORMS

Thunder storms are comparatively infrequent, and arising, as they usually do, in the southwest, upon striking the lake they often lose their force or are dissipated altogether. Professor Hazen kept a journal covering the period from 1870 to 1891, which was printed by the government in 1893. In this journal, under date of May 25, 1871, he writes:

"Thunder storms traveling about all day. Cumulus clouds, whether discharging rain or not, which approach the lake from the land, increase or at least maintain their proportions, until they reach the margin of the lake. There they dissipate, and what an hour before was a dense cloud becomes reduced to a few filaments. Day after day, with the cumulus clouds traveling from the southwest, have I seen them standing about like giants over all the land and around the shores of the lake, while over the lake the sky was entirely free." [29]

NUMBER OF THUNDERSTORMS

Years	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total ea. yr.
1892	0	0	0	4	3	16	3	3	4	1	0	1	35
1893	0	0	0	5	2	4	6	0	1	1	0	0	19
1894	0	0	2	4	8	7	2	4	10	2	0	0	39
1895	1	0	1	0	4	4	8	6	4	0	0	0	28
1896	0	0	2	4	7	7	2	7	5	1	0	0	35
1897	1	1	3	4	5	9	3	4	1	0	0	0	31
1898	1	0	3	0	4	7	5	6	8	2	0	0	36
1899	0	0	0	1	15	9	6	4	3	0	1	0	39
1900	0	1	0	1	7	7	7	12	5	2	2	0	44
1901	0	0	1	0	5	13	9	5	3	1	1	0	38
1902	0	0	1	1	14	10	9	4	2	3	0	0	44
1903	0	0	2	6	6	1	9	9	6	2	1	0	42
1904	0	1	5	3	4	8	11	7	7	5	0	0	51
1905	0	0	4	4	8	11	8	5	5	2	0	0	47
1906	2	3	0	4	4	9	6	7	6	0	0	0	41
1907	2	0	6	4	7	10	10	7	6	2	0	0	54
1908	0	1	9	3	12	10	11	8	3	0	2	0	59
1909	3	1	0	9	5	9	4	9	2	0	3	0	45
Total by months	10	8	39	57	120	151	119	107	81	24	10	1	
Grand total													727

[29] Hazen: "Climate of Chicago," pp. 10-113.

FREQUENCY OF THUNDERSTORMS

A table of thunderstorms, prepared by the United States Weather Bureau office at Chicago, covering the years from 1892 to 1909, inclusive—that is, for eighteen years—shows the total number of such storms occurring in that period, the number occurring annually, and the number for each month. As this table is of unusual interest it is inserted herewith.

It will be observed that the average number of thunderstorms for the years covered by this table is about forty for each year. More thunderstorms occur in the month of June, on the average, than for any other month of the year, the months of May and July standing next in the order of frequency. The month in which a thunderstorm is least likely to occur is the month of December, in which month only one such storm occurred during the eighteen years under review.

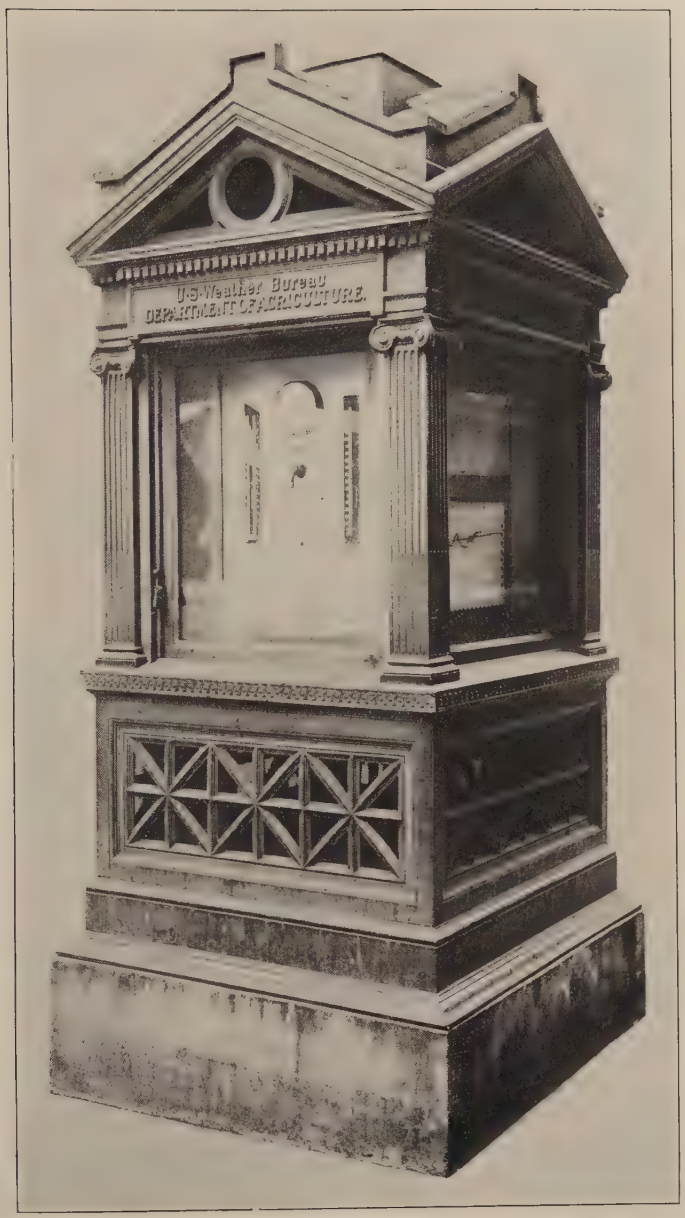
"Thunderstorms are more frequent in Florida and the Mississippi and lower Missouri valleys," says General Greely, in his book "American Weather." Over the lake region the frequency of such storms is considerably less, and in New England it is still less. To the westward of the Rocky mountains the average annual number of thunderstorms is less than ten for the whole region, while in southern California one or two years may pass without a single storm occurring. Seneca said that "lightning, which brings fear to everybody, brings peril only to a very few." Notwithstanding this observation of the ancient philosopher, who said many wise things, the damage and loss of life caused by thunderstorms should not make us forget their far greater services to mankind. "Lightning strikes comparatively but seldom with destructive effect," says Dr. Hartwig in his exhaustive treatise on thunderstorms, included in the volume entitled, "The Aerial World," "but every thunderstorm purifies the air and imparts new energies to vegetable and animal life. All nature seems renovated; the fields and woods smile with a fresher green, and exhale perfumes which are never more delightful than after a thunderstorm."

RAIN AND SNOW FALLS

The greatest amount of precipitation usually occurs in July, the least in January. For the ten years from 1900 to 1909, inclusive, the average annual rainfall was thirty-two and one-half inches. "It is exceptional," says Professor Cox, "that the city is visited by drought or by protracted rain periods. The autumn weather is especially pleasant. It is the time of year when rain is least needed and when but little falls. It is a time of protracted sunshine and delightful weather. The geographical location of Chicago is such that it is visited by a moderate amount of snowfall each year. This snow covering tends greatly to the healthfulness of the community in preventing the circulation of impurities in the atmosphere."

TEMPERATURE

"The highest civilization has never loved the hot zones," Emerson wrote. The climate of Chicago, generally speaking, "is such as to incite the activities of man," says Professor Cox. "There is not sufficient heat at any time to make him sluggish in his movements, while on the other hand it is sufficiently varied and rigorous to make him active and energetic."



WEATHER KIOSK

At the southwest corner of Adams and Dearborn streets. On the four faces of the kiosk are shown recording instruments in the process of making charts which show daily changes of temperature and weather conditions, both locally and throughout the country.

A table of temperatures for the ten years from 1900 to 1909, inclusive, is presented herewith; transcribed from the records of the United States Weather Bureau, at Chicago.

MONTHLY AND ANNUAL MEAN TEMPERATURES

Years	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
1900	29	20	29	47	58	64	72	76	66	61	38	30	49
1901	26	17	34	45	54	69	77	72	64	55	38	24	48
1902	25	21	39	46	59	64	72	68	61	55	47	26	49
1903	21	25	40	47	60	61	72	68	64	54	36	20	48
1904	18	17	35	41	57	64	71	68	64	53	43	27	47
1905	18	17	39	46	56	65	71	74	68	53	41	32	48
1906	33	28	30	51	60	68	72	76	70	53	42	33	51
1907	28	26	43	40	52	66	73	71	65	53	41	33	49
1908	29	27	41	49	59	68	74	73	71	55	44	31	52
1909	29	32	36	45	56	67	72	75	64	51	48	22	50
Means.	25.6	23.0	36.6	45.7	57.1	65.6	72.6	72.1	65.7	54.3	41.8	27.8	49.1

The average temperature for ten years shows that February is a colder month than January, verifying the weather adage, "as the days grow longer the cold grows stronger;" while the months of July and August are nearly equal in temperature.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In concluding this subject we again quote from Professor Cox, the able authority on meteorology in charge of the United States Weather Bureau at Chicago:

"The climate of Chicago is quite variable, as is characteristic of places situated in the temperate zone, especially in the interior of the United States. The extreme range of temperature during the past thirty-three years has been 126 degrees, from a maximum of 103 degrees to a minimum of 23 degrees below zero. This variation, however, is not as great as what usually takes place in other sections of the northern states. Located as it is at the southern end of Lake Michigan the extreme heat of summer and the cold of winter are tempered by the waters bordering the city. In only one year did the temperature equal 100 degrees and that occurred in the summer of 1901 when the entire country was under the influence of an unprecedented hot wave for a long period. In fact, a heated period seldom lasts long and it is unusual that a maximum of 90 degrees or over is reached on three consecutive days. Generally before the fourth day arrives Lake Michigan turns cool breezes into the city which are refreshing, and yet not as uncomfortably cool as at places farther north.

"In winter the influence of the lake on the temperature is also very great in producing equable conditions. The extremes recorded in the interior are not approached along its shores."

CHAPTER IX

WINNEBAGO WAR—BEGINNINGS OF CHICAGO'S GROWTH

WINNEBAGO INDIANS—CAUSES OF THE WAR—THE NEWS REACHES CHICAGO—MEASURES TAKEN FOR PROTECTION—HUBBARD'S RIDE—TREATY—REOCCUPATION OF FORT DEARBORN—JEFFERSON DAVIS' FIRST VISIT TO CHICAGO—HIS LATER VISIT—ORDER OF COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS—COUNTIES OF INDIANA TERRITORY—COUNTIES OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY—COUNTIES OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS—EVOLUTION OF COOK COUNTY—EARLY COUNTY RECORDS—FURTHER COUNTY CHANGES—JURISDICTION OF PEORIA COUNTY—COOK COUNTY—SKETCH OF DANIEL P. COOK—COMPARISON OF COOK AND POPE—CHICAGO IN 1835—NARRATIVE OF PETER VIEAU—SECOND GENERATION OF THE KINZIE FAMILY—"WAU-BUN"—NELLY KINZIE GORDON.

WINNEBAGO WAR

VERY alarming news reached the little community of Chicago in the summer of 1827, to the effect that an uprising of the Winnebago Indians was threatened, and that an attack from them might soon be expected. The troops from the fort had been withdrawn four years previously, and the place was in a defenseless condition. The fort was occupied as a residence by Dr. Alexander Wolcott, the Indian agent, who was in charge of the establishment. Other occupants were Russell E. Heacock and a number of *voyageurs* and their families. A brief account of the Winnebagoes is given in the following paragraphs in order to understand more clearly the causes and incidents of this "speck of war," as it has been called.

THE WINNEBAGO INDIANS

The Winnebagoes were a Wisconsin tribe of Indians who, it is thought, came to Wisconsin from the Lake Winnipeg region. The name Winnebago means in the language of the Indians fetid, a name they obtained from the sulphur springs in the neighborhood of which they lived. The appellation given them by the French was "Les Puans," that is, the Fetids. In "Wau-Bun" we read that they were so called "from the custom of wearing the fur of a pole-cat on their legs when equipped for war." The principal village of the Winnebagoes was on Lake Winnebago. The early missionaries and explorers had found them there nearly two centuries before the time of which we write.

The Winnebagoes were enemies of the whites in the Tippecanoe campaign of 1811. The perpetrators of the murders at "Lee's Place," in the spring of 1812 were a party of Winnebagoes;[1] and many of that tribe were among the hostile

[1] Kirkland: "Chicago Massacre," p. 116.

savages who took part in the massacre near Fort Dearborn in August of that year. Governor Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," says of them that they were dirty and savage in their habits. "They are a stout, robust people;" he continued, "their cheek bones are higher, and they are generally a degree more uncouth and savage than the other tribes near them."

CAUSES OF WAR

But notwithstanding the low character given to the Winnebagoes, the conduct of the whites with whom they came in contact gave the latter no advantage by comparison. The treatment that the Indians received from white adventurers who flocked in great numbers into the country provoked their resentment and caused them to regard the invaders with suspicion and distrust. A letter of Joseph M. Street, addressed to Governor Ninian Edwards, dated at Prairie-du-Chien, November, 1827, describes the situation in great detail. Street was then the Indian agent at that point.

Many of the whites, he says, "had great contempt for naked Indians, and behaved like blackguards among them." The attraction of the lead mines in that region brought a constantly increasing number of whites, who disregarded the occupancy of the Indians, and opened mines beyond the limits agreed upon by treaties. The territory of the Winnebagoes included a large part of the lead mining region, and they became soured in consequence of the impositions and insults from which they constantly suffered.

The trouble with the Winnebagoes was further aggravated by a hostile encounter between the Dakotas and the Chippewas under the walls of Fort Snelling, in which a number of the latter were killed. Thus at the start it was an affair between these two tribes. The Chippewas, who had been wantonly attacked by their enemies, appealed to the commandant, Colonel Josiah Snelling. Colonel Snelling recognized their right to be protected when within gunshot of the fort, and ordered the arrest of a number of the attacking party, who, though they were of the Dakota tribe, were regarded as friends by the Winnebagoes. Two out of the number were identified by the Chippewas and the Colonel handed them over to the Chippewas with orders to take them beyond the range of the guns of the fort. The Chippewas prepared for vengeance "Indian fashion;" and at some distance from the fort gave their captives thirty yards start for the run for their lives. They had not gone far before they were both shot dead by the Chippewas.

When they had reported the tragic ending of this act of vengeance to the Colonel at the fort, he told them that the bodies of the slain must be removed beyond the vicinity of the fort, as the execution was "the exclusive business of the Chippewas." Thereupon they "took the dead Dakotas by their heels, trailed them over the earth to the bluff, and there threw them over a perpendicular precipice a hundred and fifty feet high. The bodies splashed and sank, and nothing more was ever seen or heard of them."

This affair greatly irritated the Winnebagoes, who made common cause with the Dakotas; and, added to their other grievances, the Winnebagoes soon took occasion to renew their attacks on the Chippewas, disregarding the protection of the United States military authorities.

A short time before this, two keel-boats laden with supplies for Fort Snelling stopped at a camp of the Winnebagoes on the Mississippi not far above Prairie-du-Chien. The Indians collected about the boats, as was alleged, with hostile intentions and for purposes of plunder. The boat crews, however, placated them by treating them to liquor, and when they had become intoxicated, they seized six or seven squaws and carried them off. The Indians soon realized the great injury they had sustained, and several hundred infuriated warriors assembled to avenge their wrongs when the aggressors should return from Fort Snelling. They had not long to wait, and when the boats came in sight they prepared to attack them. One of the boats passed safely, but the other grounded on a sand bar, and the Indians attempted its capture. After a severe struggle, however, they were repulsed. Two of the white men were killed and so many wounded that it was with difficulty that the officer in charge succeeded in reaching Galena with the remnant of his crew.[2]

That part of the preceding episode referring to the seizing of the Winnebago squaws is narrated by Governor Reynolds in his book, "History of My Own Times," but is said, in a paper printed in the Wisconsin Historical Collection (Volume V, page 144), not to have happened, though it was reported in the St. Louis papers of the time. In a note to the narrative, as printed in the Wisconsin Collections, Lyman C. Draper considers the story to be "utterly without foundation." The story has, however, received wide acceptance, having been repeated by Moses in his "History of Illinois," and by Beckwith in the Fergus Historical Series (Number 27, page 141). But the fact that Reynolds, who was in the Illinois legislature at that time, and was familiar with all the news of the day, relates it in circumstantial detail, certainly gives it respectable authority.

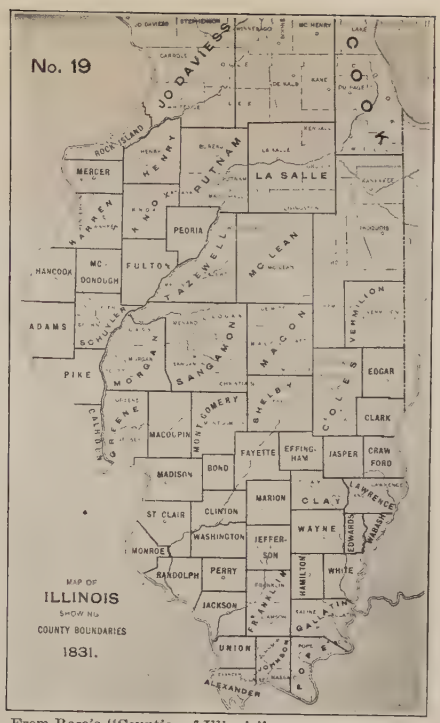
The report of this affair spread rapidly through the western country, and it was fully expected that attacks might be looked for at any time upon the frontier forts and trading posts. Just at this time General Lewis Cass, who was then Governor of Michigan Territory, reached Green Bay on a tour of the frontier; and, hearing of the "massacre" (as it was called) on the Upper Mississippi, he took a canoe with twelve *voyageurs*, and rapidly passed up the Fox River and down the Wisconsin into the Mississippi.

At Prairie-du-Chien the governor found the inhabitants in the greatest state of alarm, and after organizing the militia, continued his voyage to St. Louis. From this point he started a force under General Henry Atkinson to the lead-mining region, while he himself, in a canoe, hastened on his return to Lake Michigan by way of Chicago. He and his party passed over the "Mud Lake Portage," that is, from the Desplaines into the Chicago River, without leaving their canoe, the water having filled the swamps so that there was continuous navigation throughout. The entire journey, from Green Bay around by way of St. Louis to Chicago, had been accomplished in thirteen days.

THE NEWS REACHES CHICAGO

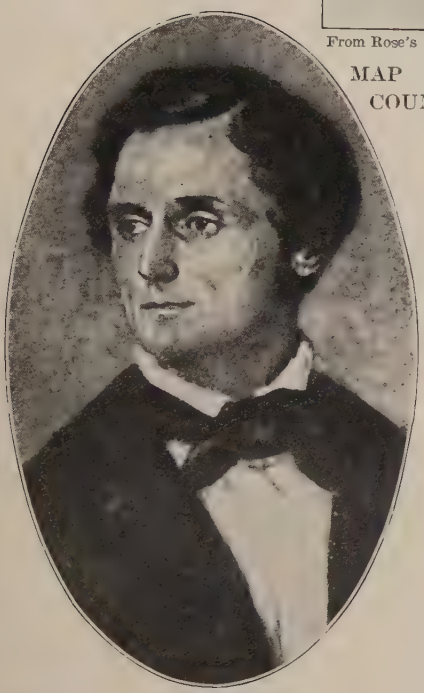
On the approach of Governor Cass and his crew of thirteen *voyageurs*, the family of Mr. Kinzie was at breakfast in his house, and with them was Gurdon S. Hubbard, then in business for himself as an Indian trader. Voices were heard

[2] Moses: "Illinois," I, 347.



From Rose's "Counties of Illinois"

MAP OF ILLINOIS SHOWING COUNTY BOUNDARIES IN 1831



From Stevens' "Black Hawk War"

LIEUTENANT JEFFERSON DAVIS

In 1829 Jefferson Davis, a second lieutenant stationed at Fort Winnebago, visited Chicago.

From Stevens' "Black Hawk War"

LEWIS CASS

Governor of Michigan Territory at the time of the Winnebago War.

CALUMET OR PEACE PIPE

in the distance, which on nearer approach proved to be the boat songs of the *voyageurs*. Every one left the table for the piazza of the house, and at once Mr. Kinzie recognized the leading voice as that of "Bob" Forsyth, who was then secretary to Governor Cass. From them they received the first news of the breaking out of the Winnebago war, and the massacre on the Upper Mississippi. "Governor Cass remained at Chicago but a few hours," says Hubbard in his autobiography, "coasting Lake Michigan back to Green Bay."

As soon as the governor left, the inhabitants met for consultation, and it was decided that Shabonee and Billy Caldwell, also called Sauganash, both of whom could be depended upon, should be asked to visit the Pottawattomie chief, Big Foot, at his village on Big Foot Lake, now known as Geneva Lake. The purpose of this visit was to ascertain the designs of the Winnebagoes, with whom it was known that Big Foot was on friendly terms. The two chiefs undertook the journey, but were not well received by Big Foot, and Shabonee and his companion chief made their way back to Chicago, where they made a report to the effect that the Winnebagoes maintained a hostile attitude toward the whites, and that an attack might soon be expected.

MEASURES TAKEN FOR PROTECTION

The small community, now thrown on its own resources, was greatly excited. No troops at the fort, no militia organization in effect, and far removed from succor if the Indians should attack them, there was ample cause for the alarm of the the few inhabitants of the place. The total population at that time was about one hundred,[3] the principal men being John B. Beaubien, and his brother Mark, Jonas Clybourn and his son Archibald, John K. Clark, John Crafts, Jeremy Clermont, Louis Coutra, James Galloway, Russell E. Heacock, John Kinzie, Claude Laframboise, Joseph Laframboise, David McKee, Peter Piche, Alexander Robinson, Alexander Wolcott, and Antoine Ouilmette.[4] The name of Gurdon S. Hubbard is not included among these, for, although he was present at Chicago at this time, his business establishment was on the Wabash. In addition there was also a considerable number of *voyageurs* and *engagés* of the Fur Company, hunters and woodsmen, composed mostly of Canadian half-breeds, interspersed with a few Americans.

On receiving the report brought by Shabonee and Caldwell, the inhabitants again assembled for consultation, when a suggestion was made by Gurdon S. Hubbard, then a young man of twenty-five, that some one ought to go to the Wabash to obtain assistance, at the same time tendering his services. "This was at first objected to," writes Hubbard in his narrative, "on the ground that a majority of the men at the fort were in my employ, and in case of an attack, no one could manage them or enforce their aid but myself. It was, however, decided that I should go, as I knew the route and all the settlers."

HUBBARD'S RIDE

Many famous rides have been celebrated in song and story, like the ride of Paul Revere, with whom, as the poet says,

[3] Wisconsin Historical Collections, V, 216.

[4] Andreas, I, 101.

"The fate of a nation was riding that night;"

or like that of the rider in Browning's poem, who bore

"— the news that alone could save Aix from her fate."

Such a ride was that which the gallant young Hubbard had before him, through a thinly settled region; for not a moment was to be lost, and the day was approaching its close. Hubbard saddled his horse, and, without a companion, was off on the hundred mile stretch to the Wabash. Here was a situation which might well kindle the imagination of a poet, or become the subject of a thrilling romantic tale.

Let Hubbard relate it as we find it in his narrative, told in his own simple and unpretentious words: "I started between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, reaching my trading house on the Iroquois river by midnight, where I changed my horse and went on; it was a dark, rainy night. On reaching Sugar creek, I found the stream swollen out of its banks, and my horse refusing to cross, I was obliged to wait till daylight, when I discovered that a large tree had fallen across the trail, making the ford impassable. I swam the stream and went on, reaching my friend Mr. Spencer's house at noon, tired out. Mr. Spencer started immediately to give the alarm, asking for volunteers to meet at Danville the next evening, with five days' rations. By the day following at the hour appointed, one hundred men were organized into a company, and, appointing a Mr. Morgan,[5] an old frontier fighter, as their captain, we immediately started for Chicago, camping that night on the north fork of the Vermilion River. It rained continually, the trail was very muddy, and we were obliged to swim most of the streams and many of the large sloughs, but we still pushed on, reaching Fort Dearborn the seventh day after my departure, to the great joy of the waiting people.

"We reorganized, and had a force of about one hundred and fifty men, Morgan commanding. At the end of thirty days, news came of the defeat of the Winnebagoes, and of their treaty. . . . Upon hearing this, Morgan disbanded his company, who returned to their homes, leaving Fort Dearborn in charge of the Indian agent, as before."

The treaty referred to was concluded by Governor Cass at Green Bay, and came just in the nick of time to prevent a devastating Indian war.

This flying trip made by Governor Cass, so fraught with consequences of good or ill to the scattered people of the Northwest, was one of the most thrilling in the adventurous life of the man whose early career was so closely woven into the warp and woof of western history. The scenes of that journey, made in a light canoe, traveling night and day, "the silence, the wildness of the scenery, the intense excitement and anxiety lest his efforts should be too late, made the deepest impression upon his own imagination and memory."[6]

In later years Lewis Cass, who had been a general in the United States army, governor of Michigan Territory, and the negotiator of a score of Indian treaties, was appointed United States minister to France; and while at the palace of St. Cloud, the recollection of these scenes came back to him with all their vividness, and as he contemplated the quiet flow of the Seine, he compared it with "the mighty

[5] Achilles Morgan. See Fergus, No. 10, p. 48.

[6] McLaughlin: "Lewis Cass" (Ed. 1899), p. 129.

Mississippi and the even more mighty Missouri, remembering how he was whirled along through the night on a race for peace and the lives of his people."

THE REOCCUPATION OF FORT DEARBORN

Fort Dearborn was reoccupied by United States troops in consequence of an order issued by the general-in-chief of the army, Major General Alexander Macomb, under date of August 19, 1828. Two companies of the Fifth regiment of Infantry were sent here under command of Captain John Fowle, Jr. This force arrived on the third of October in the same year.[7] The first lieutenant of one of the companies was David Hunter, who rose to the rank of major-general during the Civil War. Lieutenant Hunter was married to Maria Indiana Kinzie, who was born in Chicago in 1807, one of the daughters of John Kinzie.[8]

This reoccupation, however, only lasted until May 20, 1831, when the fort was again evacuated, only to be once more reoccupied just before the Black Hawk War in 1832. The vicissitudes in the military history of Fort Dearborn—its various periods of occupation and vacancy—will be recapitulated when the final evacuation shall have been noticed in a later chapter of this history.

Fleeting glimpses of various personages, well-known in the later history of the country, are obtained from the records of these times. Mrs. Kinzie while at Fort Winnebago, in 1831, makes mention, in "Wau-Bun," of a young lieutenant who had superintended the construction of the house which she and her husband, John H. Kinzie, were to occupy. After its completion they christened the whole affair, in honor of its projector, "The Davis," thus "placing the first laurel on the brow of one who was afterwards to signalize himself at Buena Vista, and in the cabinet of his country." This was none other than Jefferson Davis, who was at that time second lieutenant in the First Infantry. It will be remembered that the date of the publication of Mrs. Kinzie's book, 1856, was subsequent to the Mexican War, but before the opening of the Civil War. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis had in fact assisted in the construction of Fort Winnebago in 1828, and was on duty there at the time of Mrs. Kinzie's sojourn at that fort.[9]

JEFFERSON DAVIS' FIRST VISIT TO CHICAGO

Jefferson Davis was a visitor at Chicago even before Mrs. Kinzie's mention of him as above related. In an address made in 1881 by John Wentworth at the unveiling of the memorial tablet to mark the site of Fort Dearborn, he quotes from a letter he had recently received from General Hunter. "In October, 1829," writes the General, "I saw on the north side of the river, opposite the fort, a white man; and wondering where he could have come from, I got into a small wooden canoe, intended for only one person, and paddled over to interview him. He introduced himself to me as Second-Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, of the First Infantry, from Fort Winnebago in pursuit of deserters. I, of course, was very glad to see Lieutenant Davis. I invited him to lie down in my canoe, and I paddled him safely

[7] Fergus' Historical Series, 16, p. 48.
[8] Ibid., No. 16, p. 30. Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 16.
[9] Chicago Historical Society Report for 1908, p. 71.

to the fort. He was my guest until refreshed and ready to return to Fort Winnebago. This, no doubt, was the first visit of Jefferson Davis to Chicago." [10]

Let us briefly follow the subsequent career of this remarkable man, although anticipating later history to some extent, until we again meet with him in the streets of the city of Chicago. After seven years of arduous service chiefly on the frontier, taking part in Indian wars, during which time he distinguished himself by bravery and devotion to duty, he resigned his commission in the army. He married the daughter of Major Zachary Taylor and settled down to the life of a prosperous cotton planter and slave owner in Mississippi, and became a member of Congress in 1845. At the breaking out of the Mexican War, in 1846, he once more entered the army and was commissioned a colonel of a Mississippi regiment, which he led with brilliant success in that war.[11]

In 1847 Davis was appointed by the governor of Mississippi to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate; in 1850 he was chosen by President Franklin Pierce as Secretary of War. In 1861 he became president of the Confederate States, was made a prisoner at the close of the war, and passed two years in captivity; all of which is well-known history.

DAVIS AGAIN VISITS CHICAGO

On the day when John Wentworth made his address above referred to, namely May 21, 1881, the speaker paused to make a digression in order to state, he said, that while on his way to the assemblage he had noticed, in the *Evening Journal* of that day, the announcement that Jefferson Davis had arrived in the city. "I immediately drove to his hotel," said he, "and found that he was absent. I intended to have invited him to come here and address you. He could tell you many things of interest about the North-West in early times. And I know he would. For when he and I were in the House of Representatives together, he was accustomed to inquire for our early families, and to narrate many pleasant incidents. I know you would have given him a cordial reception. I think we must have nearly a thousand of his soldiers, in the late war of the Rebellion, amongst us doing business, and we had rather have more than less of them. Chicago has ever been a hospitable, as well as a cosmopolitan city.

"Now, would it not have created a sensation throughout the country," continued Mr. Wentworth in his address, "if it could have been telegraphed that Jefferson Davis was here today entertaining us with his experience in early Chicago!" Unfortunately, however, Mr. Davis did not make his appearance, owing to some misunderstanding. He rode within one block of the place where Mr. Wentworth was making his address, but apparently was not aware of it; and when the next morning he read the report of the proceedings and the speech of Mr. Wentworth, with its kind reference to himself, he expressed his regrets at not having been present.

THE ORDER OF COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS

In order to understand the development of the county divisions in Illinois, so far as they affect the history of Cook County, it will make it clearer to give a brief summary of the history of county divisions from the beginning.

[10] Fergus, No. 16, p. 28.

[11] Lee: "Civil War," p. 138.

By permission of Historical Society
From a sketch made by his daughter, Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, from the painting by Healy

JOHN H. KINZIE

Son of John Kinzie, Chicago's first settler

When Virginia assumed jurisdiction of the Illinois Country, the "County of Illinois" was formed by an Act of the Virginia House of Delegates, passed December 9, 1778.[12] "The new county," says Boggess, "was to include the inhabitants of Virginia, north of the Ohio River, but its location was not more definitely established." [13] Captain John Todd was appointed "Lieutenant Commandant," and the county seat was located at Kaskaskia.[14] The County of Illinois has been called the "Mother of Counties," for from its vast extent was afterwards formed the Northwest Territory, and, still later, the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, with their numerous county divisions included within them.

The "County of Illinois" ceased to exist in 1782,[15] and thereafter there was no county government provided for until the formation of the Northwest Territory had been completed under the Ordinance of 1787. "When that county ceased to be," writes Boggess, "anarchy became technically as well as practically its condition;" [16] and so continued until 1790. On April 27th of that year, General Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory, established by proclamation the County of St. Clair,[17] which, however, only included the western portion of what is now the State of Illinois. On June 20th of the same year, General St. Clair, by proclamation, established the County of Knox [18] (named after General Henry Knox of Revolutionary fame), within the limits of which county the present County of Cook was included. Afterwards, on October 5, 1795, Randolph County was set off from St. Clair County by proclamation of the governor, which however did not affect the boundaries of Knox County. These were Counties of the Northwest Territory.

COUNTIES OF INDIANA TERRITORY

The Territory of Indiana was established May 7, 1800,[19] which included what is now the State of Illinois, and General William Henry Harrison was appointed governor. The boundaries of the counties of St. Clair, Knox and Randolph remained the same as established by the proclamations of General St. Clair. On the 3d of February, 1801, General Harrison issued a proclamation changing the boundaries of St. Clair County, which then embraced almost the entire territory within the present State of Illinois, including the present County of Cook. Knox County thus ceases to have any further interest in this connection. Subsequently, other changes in county boundaries were made without affecting the territory of the northern portion of St. Clair County.

COUNTIES OF ILLINOIS TERRITORY

On February 3, 1809, the Territory of Illinois was formed by Act of Congress, though it did not go into effect until the 1st of the following March.[20] The county

[12] Boggess. "Settlement of Illinois," p. 9.
[13] Ibid., p. 10.
[14] Rose. "Counties of Illinois," p. 3.
[15] Boggess, "Sett. Ill.," p. 31.
[16] Ibid., p. 40.
[17] Rose. "Counties of Illinois," p. 4.
[18] Ibid., p. 16.
[19] U. S. Statutes-at-Large, Vol. II, pp. 58-59.
[20] Greene. "Government of Illinois," p. 221.

boundaries existing under the previous form of government were continued the same until the 28th of April of the same year, when a change was made in the southern boundary of St. Clair County, but this made no difference with that part of the county in which the present county of Cook is situated. On the 14th of September, 1812, another change was made whereby the larger portion of the Territory was included in a new county division, called Madison County, named in honor of President James Madison. On the 28th of November, 1814, the county divisions were changed so that Edwards County, named in honor of Ninian Edwards, comprised the eastern portion of Madison County. On December 31, 1816, Crawford County, named in honor of William H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury, was formed from the northern part of Edwards County.

COUNTIES OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Illinois was admitted as a state December 3, 1818. On March 22, 1819, a number of changes were made in county divisions and the northern portion of Crawford County was formed into a new county division called Clark County, named after General George Rogers Clark. On the 31st of January, 1821, the northern portion of Clark County was placed within the limits of Pike County, named in honor of Zebulon M. Pike. On the 13th of January, 1825, a large portion of the northern part of the state was included in a new county division called Putnam County, named in honor of General Israel Putnam, a hero of the Revolutionary war. This continued until the 15th of January, 1831, when Cook County was formed by legislative enactment, further details of which will be given below.

The reader is advised to procure the very interesting pamphlet compiled by Secretary of State James A. Rose, in which the boundaries of the counties of Illinois are given at the time of their formation, with the changes that were made at later dates. A series of maps is given in the same work showing the regions embraced in the county divisions.

THE EVOLUTION OF COOK COUNTY

The succession of county changes, with reference to the present site of Cook County, is shown below:

Virginia Jurisdiction, 1778-1784—Illinois County, formed December 9, 1778, ceased to exist, January 5, 1782.

Northwest Territory, July 13, 1787—Knox County, formed June 20, 1790.

Indiana Territory, May 7, 1800—Knox County, continued as it existed, under the government of the Northwest Territory. (St. Clair County, formed April 27, 1790, under the government of the Northwest Territory. Enlarged, February 3, 1801.)

Illinois Territory, February 3, 1809—St. Clair County, continued as it existed under the government of Indiana Territory. Madison County, formed, September 14, 1812. Edwards County, formed November 28, 1814. Crawford County, formed, December 31, 1816.

State of Illinois, December 3, 1818—Crawford County, continued as it existed under the government of Illinois Territory. Clark County, formed, March 22, 1819. Pike County, formed, January 31, 1821. Fulton County, formed Jan-

uary 28, 1823. Putnam County, formed January 13, 1825. Peoria County, formed January 13, 1825. Cook County, formed January 15, 1831.

In the foregoing paragraphs the history of the Counties of Illinois is given only so far as it affects the present site of Cook County.

EARLY COUNTY RECORDS

There are no county records referring to Chicago or its inhabitants until after Pike County was formed, January 31, 1821. On the 5th of June, 1821, this entry appears on the records of the County Commissioners of Pike County: "Ordered, on motion of Abraham Beck, Esq., that John Kinzie be recommended to the Governor of this state as a fit and suitable person to be commissioned as a Justice of the Peace of this [Pike] County." [21]

On the formation of Fulton County, January 28, 1823, the northern portion of what had been Pike County came under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Fulton County. On the 3d of June, 1823, it was ordered by the Commissioner of Fulton County "that Amherst C. Rausam be recommended to fill the office of Justice of the Peace, vice Samuel Fulton, resigned." [22]

There is no mention of John Kinzie's receiving the appointment of Justice of the Peace, as recommended by the Commissioners of Pike County, two years before. The records show that Rausam qualified soon after the date above mentioned, evidently having received the appointment as recommended.

On the 5th of July, 1823, this record appears: "Ordered . . . that the Treasurer pay to A. C. Rausam the sum of four dollars for taking a list of the taxable property at Chicago in said County, and collecting the same, so soon as he, the said Rausam, shall pay the same over to the County Treasurer, in such money as he received." [23]

An election was ordered in the following September to be held at John Kinzie's house for one major and company officers in the militia. On the marriage records of Fulton County is that of Alexander Wolcott and Ellen M. Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie. The date of this marriage is July 20, 1823. The ceremony was performed by John Hamlin, a Justice of the Peace of Fulton County, who happened to be passing through Chicago from Green Bay to his place of residence.[24]

FURTHER COUNTY CHANGES

When Putnam County was formed, January 13, 1825, the boundaries specified included a large portion of the territory lately under the jurisdiction of Fulton County, and within these boundaries was the present area of Cook County. On the same day that Putnam County was formed Peoria County was also formed, with boundaries the same as it has at the present day. A section of the act creating Peoria County is as follows: "Be it further enacted, that all that tract of country north of said Peoria County, and of the Illinois and Kankakee rivers, be, and the same is hereby, attached to the said county for all county purposes." [25]

[21] Records of Commissioners of Pike County, No. 1, page 3.
[22] Fergus, No. 7, page 50.
[23] Fergus, No. 7, page 50.
[24] Ibid., p. 51.
[25] Laws of Illinois, 1825, page 87.

As all that tract of country, thus described, exactly corresponds to the region included within the boundaries of Putnam County (and in which Cook County now lies), it will be seen that Putnam County had no governmental powers whatever at this time, and that the entire area of Putnam County came under the jurisdiction of Peoria County. Thus, while the present Cook County was nominally included within the limits of, and was evolved geographically from, Putnam County, it was reckoned a part of Peoria County "for all county purposes."

UNDER JURISDICTION OF PEORIA COUNTY

The Board of Commissioners of Peoria County, on July 28, 1825, commissioned John Kinzie as Justice of the Peace. He was the first Justice of the Peace resident at Chicago, as the others previously mentioned in that connection were residents of other parts of the state. Having at last become Justice of the Peace, John Kinzie exercised his authority and performed the marriage ceremony for a number of couples during the year 1826, as appears by the records. Among those united in marriage was Samuel Miller and Elizabeth Kinzie, his daughter by Margaret McKenzie; also Alexander Robinson, the Indian chief, and Catherine Chevalier.[26]

The county was divided into two election precincts on December 8, 1825, one of which was called the "Chicago precinct." [27] There were special elections ordered from time to time for local officers, while Chicago was a precinct of Peoria County. At one of these, July 24, 1830, John S. C. Hogan was elected for Justice of the Peace, (this office having been made elective in 1826), and Horatio G. Smith for constable. At this election there was a total of fifty-six votes polled.[28]

COOK COUNTY

The County of Cook was organized January 15, 1831.[29] It was named after Daniel P. Cook, first Attorney General of the State and representative in Congress from 1819 to 1827.[30] The first commissioners were Samuel Miller, Gholson Kercheval and James Walker, sworn into office, March 8, 1831, by John S. C. Hogan.[31] Three election districts were organized; one at Chicago, one on the Du Page River, and one on Hickory Creek.[32] At the time of its organization it included within its limits all of the present territories of Cook, Lake and Du Page Counties, and portions of those of McHenry, Kane and Will Counties.[33]

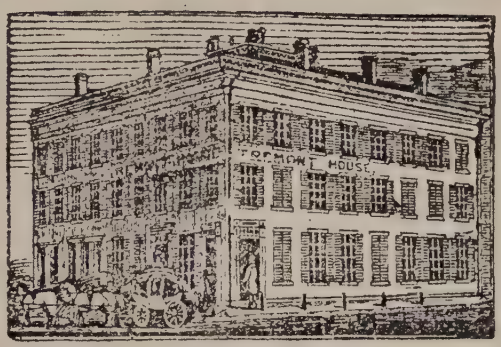
DANIEL P. COOK

Some more extended mention of Daniel Pope Cook will give the reader a clearer idea of the man in whose honor Cook County was named. Daniel P. Cook was

[26] Fergus, No. 7, page 56.
[27] Drown. "Record and Historical Review of Peoria," p. 85.
[28] Fergus, No. 7, page 54.
[29] Rose. "Counties of Illinois," p. 52.
[30] Blue Book, Illinois, for 1907, p. 364.
[31] Blanchard. "Northwest," Vol. I, p. 584.
[32] Ibid., p. 584.
[33] Rose. "Counties of Illinois," p. 53.

TREMONT HOUSE,

J. GURLEY, Late of Am. Temp. House.



A. JOHNSTON, Late of City Hotel, Chicago.

BY GURLEY & JOHNSTON,

CORNER LAKE AND DEARBORN STREETS,

CHICAGO, ILL.

THIS spacious Hotel, is the most convenient to the Steam Boat Landings of any in the city The offices of the Eastern,

By permission of Chicago Historical Society

PART OF A PAGE REPRODUCED FROM THE CHICAGO DIRECTORY OF 1846

The first Tremont House was built in 1833 and burned in 1839. The second Tremont House, built in 1840, was destroyed by fire in 1849.

born in Kentucky in 1795. He removed to Illinois and began the practice of law at Kaskaskia in 1815. The next year he became editor and part owner of the *Illinois Intelligencer,* at that time the only newspaper in the territory. In a note on the letters of Cook, printed in the "Edwards Papers," it is said that "Cook was undoubtedly one of the ablest and most remarkable men whose names ever graced the annals of Illinois." In 1816 he was appointed by Ninian Edwards, the Governor of Illinois Territory, as Auditor of Public Accounts. In 1817 he was sent by President Monroe as bearer of dispatches to John Quincy Adams, then minister to London, and on his return was appointed a Circuit Judge. Two years after Illinois was admitted as a state Cook was elected to Congress, and re-elected three times, thus making a service of eight years. He married a daughter of Governor Ninian Edwards and became a resident of Edwardsville. A son of this union, John Cook, born in 1825, was colonel of the Seventh regiment of Illinois Volunteers, which was the first regiment organized in this state after the first call for troops by President Lincoln. (The regiments which were numbered from one to six, it will be remembered, belong to those in service during the Mexican War). John Cook was brevetted a major-general at the close of the war.

Daniel P. Cook was conspicuous in his opposition to the attempt made during Governor Coles' administration, in 1823-4, to make Illinois a slave state. While in Congress he bore a prominent part in securing the donation of lands by the National Government for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. "He was distiguished for his eloquence," says a writer in the Historical Encyclopaedia, "and it was during his first Congressional campaign that 'stump speaking' was introduced into the state."

In 1826, Mr. Cook was beaten for Congress by Joseph Duncan, who afterwards became governor of the state. Cook's health began to fail during his last term in Congress, and after his retirement from that body he went to Cuba in the vain hope of recovering his health and strength. After a few months he returned to his home in Edwardsville, but nothing could stay the progress of the disease from which he was suffering. His mind reverted to the scenes of his childhood, and he went back to Kentucky, where he breathed his last, a victim of consumption, October 16th, 1827. He was thus only thirty-two years of age at the time of his death, but so great an impression had he made upon the men and events of his time that when four years after his death a new county was formed it was named Cook County in his honor.

Daniel P. Cook probably never visited the part of the state in which Cook County is situated, and he holds a place in this history only in consequence of the fact that Cook County, in which Chicago is situated, bears his honored name. But it should be a matter of pride with the citizens of Chicago that so eminent and illustrious a man as Daniel Pope Cook is thus honored. A note referring to Cook, printed in the "Edwards Papers," written apparently by Ninian W. Edwards, the son of the first territorial governor of Illinois, contains this suggestion: "In respect of his high character, his great ability, his honorable name, and of the inestimable service he rendered to our great commonwealth, the County of Cook should erect a monument to his memory."

POPE AND COOK—A PARALLEL

In connection with the sketch of Daniel Pope Cook, as given above, the reader will be able to obtain a still clearer impression of the man and his career, if a reference is made in this place to Nathaniel Pope, a contemporary of Cook. We have already give some space to a description of Pope's vital share in shaping the destiny of the state in establishing its northern boundary when the Enabling Act, preliminary to the admission of Illinois as a state in the Union, was before Congress in April, 1818. There were so many passages in the careers of both Pope and Cook that were similar, that it will be instructive to make a brief review of their personal histories and achievements in the form of a parallel.

Pope was born in Kentucky in 1784. Cook was also born in Kentucky, in 1795. Pope was the uncle of Cook. Pope came to Illinois Territory in 1809; Cook, eleven years his junior, came in 1815. Both entered upon the practice of law at Kaskaskia, and both entered the political field. Pope was elected a delegate to Congress from the Territory of Illinois in 1816, and at the same time Cook was appointed a judge in the Western Circuit. Soon after the state was admitted in 1818, Pope was appointed a United States District judge in the new state. Cook resigned his office as judge and was elected to Congress in 1820; thus they practically exchanged places with each other. Both men had sons who bore the first name of John. John Pope became a general in the Civil War, and John Cook also attained to the same rank. Both Pope and Cook have counties in Illinois named in their honor.

The services rendered to the state by Nathaniel Pope were of the first order of importance, for, had it not been that he seized the opportune moment when the enabling act was before Congress, the northern boundary line of the state would have been sixty-one miles south of where it is at present, the possible results of which have been already set forth in a previous chapter. This act alone will render his name forever illustrious in the annals of Illinois.

The services rendered to the state by Daniel P. Cook consisted of two conspicuous acts in his public life. He strenuously opposed the movement, which in 1824 almost became successful, to make Illinois a slave state. Governor Edward Coles led the forces in opposition to this movement, and with the effective aid of Cook and others was able to defeat the pro-slavery party. Cook's eloquence and untiring devotion to the cause of freedom proved most effective in the struggle. He was the ablest man on the stump against the proposal to introduce slavery into Illinois, and, in the words of an older historian, "was more than a match for any speaker that could be brought against him."

Cook was likewise chiefly instrumental in securing the grant by Congress in 1827, of the alternate sections of public lands, contained within a strip ten miles wide, along the line of the proposed Illinois and Michigan Canal, in aid of its construction. This made possible the building of that canal, which without that aid the State of Illinois could not have undertaken alone.

A GLIMPSE OF CHICAGO IN 1835

An interesting sketch of Chicago in the years 1835 and 1836, is given in a narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, printed in the Wisconsin Historical Collections.

Vieau, then a youth of seventeen, came to Chicago from Milwaukee in 1835, and was employed as a clerk in the store of Medore Beaubien. His father was Jacques Vieau, an old time French *voyageur,* who had entered into the Indian trade and had been successful. This was probably the man to whom Ouilmette refers in his letter to John H. Kinzie, a copy of which is printed elsewhere in this work.

The language of the narrative is largely that of the editor of the volume in which it is published, Mr. R. G. Thwaites. In 1887 Mr. Thwaites made notes of an interview with Andrew J. Vieau, then in his seventieth year, at his home at Fort Howard, Wisconsin. "Chicago was very small then," said Vieau in his narrative. "The principal store was kept by Oliver Newberry and George W. Dole, on South Water street, corner of Dearborn. Beaubien's store occupied the opposite corner. Major John Greene was commandant at Fort Dearborn, with perhaps one company of soldiers. General Hugh Brady's son was sutler. J. B. Beaubien, father of my employer, lived in the old American Fur Company's post, south of the fort on the lake shore.

"From a half to three-quarters of a mile further along the lake shore, was Colonel Thomas J. V. Owen, who was Indian agent and lived in an old log house which served as the agency building. Walter Kimball and ——— Porter were on South Water street, three or four lots west of the Dearborn street crossing. Peter Pruyne kept a drug store next door to Kimball and Porter. Another man named Kimball had a store further on. Boilvin and Le Beau had quite a large confectionery establishment, corner of Clark and South Water streets.

"Among the smaller shops, I remember: Peter Cohen, clothing and dry goods, two doors east of Newberry and Dole; James Mulford, jeweler, close to us on the same side. The Tremont House was the only hotel. There were, perhaps, from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty buildings in Chicago, shops and all, at the time of which I speak. They were mostly unpainted and there was certainly no promise of the place ever amounting to anything. On the streets, mud was knee-deep; and wagons had often to be lifted out of the mire with handspikes. I am sure that nearly every inhabitant of the place would have smiled incredulously if any one had prophesied that here was to be the great city of the west.

"Among the people there at that time were the Kinzies, the Gordons, Hubbards, and Shermans. But I was so young that I did not mingle with people generally, and became acquainted only with those among whom I was thrown in a business way." [34]

NARRATIVE OF PETER VIEAU

The narrative of Peter Vieau, a younger brother of Andrew, who, as we have seen, spent a year or more in Chicago in 1835 and 1836, gives some interesting episodes of history connected with their father's trading operations among the Indians. The elder Vieau was in Chicago when the large payments made to the Indians under the treaty of 1833 were going on.

"My father went there," relates Peter, "with a lot of goods, and to present some claims: for the Indians nearly always bought on credit, and were ever owing a great deal to the traders—claims which could only be collected at the time of the government payments, when money was plenty.

[34] Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XI, p. 228.

"One afternoon the Indians were having council. While it was in progress there swaggered into father's shanty, Sanguanauneebee (sour water), a Pottawattomie village chief from St. Joseph's River. He was rightly named, for he had a sour temper. Father had a big keg of tobacco in carots (plugs). The chief took five or six carots (six or seven pounds), and began to walk off with them.

"Father: 'What are you going to do with that?'

"Chief: 'I want to use it.'

"Father: 'It doesn't belong to you.'

"Chief: 'What of that? I am a chief, and can do as I please.'

"Father: 'You can, can you?'

"The chief pulled a long bowie knife, but father made a spring, caught the fellow by his neck and his breechclout, and threw him out, the plugs of tobacco scattering in all directions.

"The intruder sneaked off into the circle of the council, which was being held in front of the shanty, and father followed him a little way. Chepoi (the corpse), a headman of the Pottawattomies,—a frightful looking fellow, with his nose cut off clear to the bridge,—now got up, and shaking his finger at father, cried: 'Jacques Vieau, we have always heard you were a popular man, a benefactor of the Indians, feeding them when hungry; but today you have lost all, you have spoiled yourself, by doing that which you have just now done to our noble chief, Sanguanauneebee. Never again will you have the favor of the Indians.'

"Father: 'Who are you, there, that is talking with such authority?'

"Speaker: 'I am the head councilman of the St. Joseph band.'

"Father: 'If I were such a looking man as you are, Chepoi, I should consider that the name you bear became me well. You, who want to show so much authority, go where you lost your nose, and find it; then you will be a fit subject to come here to Chicago and make such fine speeches.'

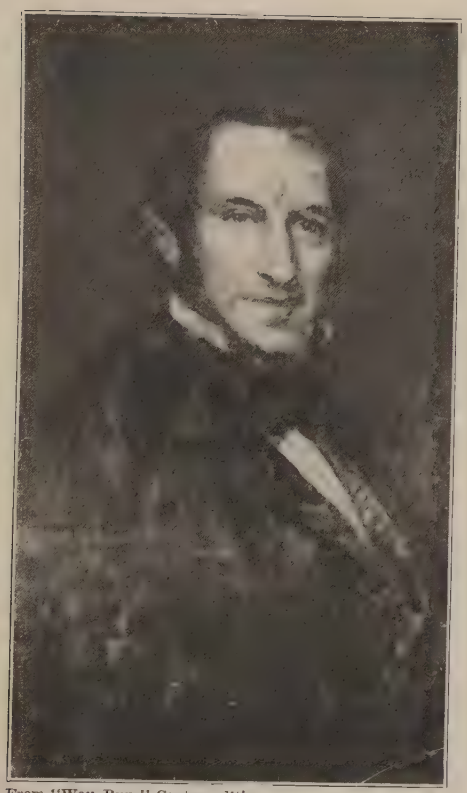
"It required bravery and assurance to talk like this to the leader of a band of four hundred Indians. But father, who spoke Pottawattomie like one of them, of course knew his ground. The whole ring of savages, of whom there were at least a thousand in the hearing of his voice, burst out in vociferous applause. Chepoi, glaring fiercely at the impudent trader, sat down in chagrin." [35]

A tragic affair took place between two young Indians one day, which is described by Peter Vieau as follows:

"There were, I think, at this Chicago payment, five or six thousand savages of different tribes. It had much the appearance of a fair. A curious episode now occurred. There were at this gathering two young men who were the best of friends, as well as being two of the finest-looking Indians I ever saw. One was the son of Sanguanauneebee; the other, the son of another chief, Seebwasen (cornstalk). Both were courting the same young squaw, the daughter of Wampum, a Chippewa chief living at Sheboygan. They had proposed to fight a duel to decide who should have the girl. She had agreed to marry one of them at this payment, but did not care who.

"This was the question being discussed at the council and it had been decided

[35] Wisconsin Historical Collections. Vol. XV, p. 460.



From "Wau-Bun," Caxton edition

JOHN H. KINZIE

From a copy of an oil portrait painted by G. P. A. Healy, the copy being in possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

JULIETTE A. KINZIE

From an oil portrait by G. P. A. Healy, painted in 1855.

that the young fellows should fight to the death, the survivor to take the girl. The boys were brought before the wise men, and informed of the conclusion reached.

"Then their ponies were brought, one a black, the other a gray. The duelists and their saddles were decked with beads, silver brooches, ribbons, and other ornaments such as the traders bartered with the Indians; and altogether it was like one of those ancient tournaments in France, that I have read of in the old histories. First, the ponies were driven side by side one or two times in a circle around the council place, in front of the store. Then, together, the duelists and their friends started out for the place of encounter, swimming their horses across the river, and drew up on an open spot on the north side. Crude flags were hung on poles, which were stuck up in the sand roundabout, an Indian sign that a fight to the death was in progress. Indian guards were placed, to clear a ring of two or three hundred yards; heading these guards, and acting as seconds, were Chepoi and Seebwasen. A little outside the ring, all alone, stood the girl being fought for, apparently indifferent, her arms akimbo. The time was an hour before sundown, and there were present four or five hundred whites and Indians. I was then in Green Bay, at school; but my father and Juneau, who were there and saw everything, often described it to us children.

"One of the duelists wheeled to the right, the other to the left. Then they brought their horses sideways close together, head to tail, tail to head. Either Chepoi or Seebwasen cried, in the Pottawattomie tongue, 'Time is up! Ready!'

"At this each fighter instantly drew his green-handled bowie, fully twenty inches long. As they rushed together, there was a frightful hubbub among the spectators, Juneau fainted, so did many others. The Indian women rent the air with their cries. Such thrusts as those fellows gave each other in the back! The blood spurted at each blow. Finally Sanguanauneebee's boy fell over backwards, his arm raised for a blow, but with the knife of the other in his spine. A moment later, Seebwasen's son cried out in his death agony, and also fell backwards. Both died almost simultaneously. The horses stood stock still. The girl now with no lover left, wrung her hands in frenzy." [36]

SECOND GENERATION OF THE KINZIE FAMILY

John Harris Kinzie, son of John and Eleanor (Lytle) McKillip Kinzie, was scarcely one year old when his father came to Chicago in the spring of 1804.[37] Here he lived during his boyhood; he was nine years old at the time of the massacre in 1812; during the succeeding four years the family remained in Detroit, where they had sought refuge; he returned with the family to Chicago in 1816, and in 1818 was sent to Mackinac to be apprenticed to the American Fur Company. Young Kinzie was carefully trained in the conduct of the fur trade, then the principal commercial interest in the Northwest. In 1824 he was sent to Prairie du Chien, where he learned the Winnebago language, of which he constructed a grammar. Two years later he became private secretary to Governor Lewis Cass, whom he assisted in making numerous treaties with the Indian tribes. His general proficiency in the languages of the aborigines especially qualified him for the appoint-

[36] Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 462.

[37] Wau-Bun (Caxton Ed.), p. 16.

ment, which he received in 1829, as Indian agent to the Winnebagoes in Wisconsin. He was called "Colonel" by courtesy, because of his position as Indian agent.

JULIETTE A. KINZIE

In 1830, John H. Kinzie was married to Juliette Augusta Magill, at Middletown, Connecticut, in which place she was born on 11th of September, 1806. Her father was a prominent banker of that city, and her mother's ancestors were men and women prominent in the early history of New England. It was from such an ancestry that Juliette Magill inherited the courage, strong good sense, brilliant wit, and personal attractiveness for which she became noted, and which made her a social power in Chicago throughout her life.

"Her early life," says her daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, in a note to an edition of "Wau-Bun," published by Rand, McNally and Company, in 1901, "was spent in her native town, where her education, which was thorough, was conducted under the supervision of her mother, a woman of remarkable mental powers and great cultivation, while her course of reading was directed by her uncle, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Jr. It was chiefly to the wise judgment and careful training of this relative that Juliette Magill owed the uncommon scope of her knowledge of books and her fine literary taste.

"At the age of fifteen, she was sent to a boarding school at New Haven, and from thence to Miss Willard's seminary in Troy, New York." The Magill family later removed to Fishkill, where Juliette continued her studies and also prepared two of her brothers for college. She was a good Latin scholar, spoke French fluently, and read Spanish and Italian with ease. In later years, while living in Chicago, she took up German, which she read, wrote and spoke with facility. She was an excellent musician, playing both the piano and organ, and she also painted in water colors, and sketched from nature rapidly and accurately. All the illustrations in the first edition of "Wau-Bun" are from sketches she made on the spot.[38]

"Like all well-bred and carefully trained New England girls, she was an accomplished needlewoman, and could cut out and make a suit of gentleman's clothes as well as any tailor, while her embroidery was as exquisite as that of the French nuns from whom she learned the art. In combination with these accomplishments. . . . she was an admirable housekeeper. . . as all who enjoyed her conversation and hospitality could testify." [39] She was possessed of a brave and indomitable spirit, and enjoyed a wide and intimate familiarity with the forms and manners of good society, and had visited many cities in the East.

It was indeed a fortunate event for John Harris Kinzie, a man whose life had so far been spent on the frontier, to find this sensible and accomplished woman for a wife.

"WAU-BUN"

Mrs. Kinzie afterwards became the author of the "Wau-Bun," the work we have so often referred to, a work consisting of sketches and narratives concerning the "Early Day" of the Northwest. The first edition of this book, published in 1856,

[38] Wau-Bun (Rand McNally, Ed. 1901, note).
[39] Ibid.

By courtesy of Mrs. Gordon

NELLY KINZIE, NOW MRS. W. W. GORDON

From an oil portrait painted by G. P. A. Healy

MRS. W. W. GORDON, NEE NELLY KINZIE

is now out of print, though a reprint issued in later years gives the full text of the work. An edition was published by the Caxton Club of Chicago in 1901, edited by Mr. R. G. Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and limited to 259 copies. In his introduction, Mr. Thwaites says of Mrs. Kinzie and her book: "Upon her pages we seem to see and feel the life at the frontier military stockades, to understand intimately the social and economic relations between the savages and the government officials set over them, to get at the heart of things within the border country of her day. It is the relation of a cultivated eye-witness, a woman of the world, who appreciates that what she depicts is but a passing phase of history, and deserves preservation for the enlightenment of posterity." Taking "Wau-Bun" by and large, continues Mr. Thwaites, "it may safely be said that to students of the history of the Middle West, particularly of Illinois and Wisconsin, Mrs. Kinzie has rendered a service of growing value, and of its kind practically unique."

Some idea of the hardships of existence in this early time may be gathered from Mrs. Kinzie's interesting account of a journey made by her in 1833, with her husband from Fort Winnebago to Chicago. The party were mounted and had arrived at the house of Colonel William S. Hamilton, a son of Alexander Hamilton, who had settled some years before in the lead mining region. One of the miners who lived on the place with his wife and child remarked to Mrs. Kinzie, "I pity a body when I see them making such an awful mistake as to come out this way, for comfort *never touched* this western country."

Later in the course of the journey the party arrived at the Fox River towards evening on a cold March day. They found two Indian women with a small canoe, and while the men set about unpacking the horses, Mrs. Kinzie was paddled across the river. "The old woman immediately returned," she writes, "leaving the younger one with me for company. I seated myself on the fallen trunk of a tree, in the midst of the snow, and looked across the dark waters. I am not ashamed to confess my weakness—for the first time on my journey I shed tears. It was neither hunger, nor fear, nor cold which extorted them from me. It was the utter desolation of spirit, the sickness of heart which 'hope deferred' ever occasions, and which of all evils is the hardest to bear. The poor little squaw looked into my face with a wondering and sympathizing expression. Probably she was speculating in her own mind what a person who rode so fine a horse, and wore so comfortable a broadcloth dress, could have to cry about. I pointed to a seat beside me on the log, but she preferred standing and gazing at me, with the same pitying expression. Presently she was joined by a young companion, and after a short chattering, of which I was evidently the subject, they both trotted off into the woods, and left me to my solitary reflections. 'What would my friends at the East think,' said I to myself, 'if they could see me now? What would poor old Mrs. Welsh say? She who warned me that *if I came away so far to the West, I should break my heart?*' "

The attractive personality of the talented author of "Wau-Bun" engages our attention to a degree, and when we consider the rapid rise and development of our city, we must regard it as a fortunate circumstance that one so gifted and cultured should have made such a deep impress upon its early life; that, amidst a maelstrom of material interests, there was kept afloat in the mad waters the frail bark of an enlightened and cultivated company which has eventually arrived in a safe harbor. The higher interests of the community have survived the period of material pros-

perity and adversity, and, though these interests have been often lost sight of in the wild whirl of its development for long spaces in our annals, the city has won a high position in art, literature, science and good society, among those of the nation.

MRS. NELLY KINZIE GORDON

A daughter of John Harris Kinzie is now living at Savannah, Georgia, the wife of General W. W. Gordon. She was born in Chicago, June 18th, 1835, and in a letter to the author of this history, under date of December 3, 1909, she says that she is "older than Chicago itself, as it was not incorporated as a city till after I was born." She refers to Chicago as her "beloved native city, which, after fifty-two years' absence, I still regard as *home*." In this letter she writes with most charming naivete, "You will recognize, that being in my seventy-fifth year, I can look back a great many years. I have hardly a gray hair, I read without glasses, I have my own good solid teeth, my hearing is perfect, and so is my memory."

Mrs. Nelly Kinzie Gordon is living at Savannah, and has in recent years made occasional visits to this city. In 1893 she came as the guest of the World's Columbian Exposition directory; and in September, 1903, she came to attend the celebration of the centennial anniversary of Chicago. Her husband, William W. Gordon, was a captain of cavalry in the Confederate army during the Civil War, and at the time of the Spanish-American war he received the commission of brigadier-general from President McKinley. As one of the incidents of that war it is related that Mrs. Gordon was in Florida when a train of sick and disabled soldiers passed on its way to the North. She at once assumed charge of the train, and at every station bought milk, fruit and delicacies for the use of the soldier boys, and when Savannah was reached she had those who were not expected to survive removed to her own home on Oglethorpe avenue, and the family mansion for days served as a private hospital.

When Mrs. Gordon visited Chicago in 1903, she was accompanied by her husband, and while here Mrs. Gordon related many amusing and interesting incidents of the early days, some of which were printed in the papers. These incidents will find a place in a later portion of this history.

CHAPTER X

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

BLACK HAWK WAR—EVENTS LEADING TO WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1831—BLACK HAWK VIOLATES TREATY—CAMPAIGN OF 1832—STILLMAN'S DEFEAT—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—INCIDENTS OF THE WAR—WAR CARRIED INTO WISCONSIN—GENERAL HENRY PURSUES BLACK HAWK—FLIGHT AND CAPTURE OF BLACK HAWK—SUMMARY OF THE WAR—WAR EXCITEMENT AT CHICAGO—COLONEL OWEN'S ACTION—EXPERIENCES OF FUGITIVES—CHOLERA PESTILENCE—GENERAL SCOTT'S DIFFICULTIES—ABATEMENT OF THE CHOLERA—HISTORIES OF THE SAUK WAR—STEVEN'S HISTORY—BLACK HAWK AT WASHINGTON.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

HE wars of the republic have, without exception, deeply affected the life and history of Chicago. As we have seen, a battle of the War of Independence was fought in 1780 on Chicago territory, which, while a comparatively trifling affair from a military point of view, was serious enough for Chicago, as the sole inhabitant which it then possessed, old Pointe de Saible, was carried off by the British a captive to Mackinac.

The War of 1812 occasioned the awful calamity of the massacre of most of the troops of the garrison at Fort Dearborn and of the dwellers of the place, a few only escaping, and but one, Antoine Ouilmette, remaining on the spot. At a later period the Winnebago War stirred the little community to its depths, which, however, happily ended without bloodshed or damage.

Fort Dearborn, a name interchangeable with that of Chicago during the first three decades of the last century, had experienced vicissitudes of a strange and thrilling character. Established in 1803, it was abandoned and burnt at the time of the massacre. Rebuilt in 1816, it was reoccupied by a garrison until 1823, when it was evacuated as no longer necessary for frontier defensive purposes. Warned by threatening Indian troubles, however, the government restored the garrison on October 3, 1828; but on May 20th, 1831, it was again evacuated.

Indian alarms again called the attention of the government to the need of a garrison at Fort Dearborn, and on February 23d, 1832, the general of the army, Alexander Macomb, issued an order transferring troops from Fort Niagara to Fort Dearborn. This force was under command of Major William Whistler, a son of Captain John Whistler, the builder of the first Fort Dearborn in 1803. Major Whistler, however, did not arrive until June 17th, 1832, when the Black Hawk War had arrived at its most acute stage.

The following concise and scholarly narrative of the Black Hawk War in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin was prepared by Professor George L. Scher-

ger of the Armour Institute, and delivered as a lecture before the Evanston Historical Society on November 22d, 1902; and is here inserted with Professor Scherger's permission, with some changes in the verbiage as seemed to be required.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE BLACK HAWK WAR

The Black Hawk War is not to be numbered among the great campaigns of history. The officers who served in this war are not to be placed alongside of Napoleon, Caesar or Hannibal. No fierce battles such as those of Marathon or Waterloo took place. In fact, the incidents of the war in general scarcely rise above the dignity of the skirmishes and forays common along the frontier during the pioneer period. Yet the Black Hawk War is one of the most important events in the history of the Northwest. Numerous descriptions of this campaign have appeared, but many of the contemporary accounts are untrustworthy and inaccurate, for they were intended chiefly as electioneering documents to sound the praises of those who were seeking office and posed as heroes who had delivered their country from great perils. The real results of the war are important enough, however, as are also the events of sufficient interest to merit our investigation of the chief incidents.

On November 3d, 1804, the United States government purchased from the Sac and Fox Indians fifty million acres of land for an annuity of one thousand dollars. This tract comprised the eastern third of the present state of Missouri, and the land between the Wisconsin river on the north, the Fox river on the east, the Illinois on the southeast, and the Mississippi on the west. Clause seven of the treaty stated that the Indians might occupy the land until the United States government granted it to individuals. The treaty was negotiated by General William Henry Harrison at St. Louis. In 1815 this treaty had been confirmed by the Sac and Fox nation.

The chief village of the Sacs, named Saukenuk, lay on the north side of Rock river, three miles above its mouth, and the same distance south of Rock Island on the Mississippi, in the midst of a region whose soil is very productive. About five hundred Indian families lived in this valley, and there were few Indian settlements so large as this. The chief cemetery of the Sacs being located here, the interests and affections of the entire tribe centered around this spot, where about three thousand acres of land were in a state of cultivation. Of these farms the Sacs were very proud.

PERSONALITY OF BLACK HAWK

Black Hawk, or Black Sparrow Hawk, was born at the Sac village in 1767. He was restless and ambitious, though lacking first rate capacity. He was a demagogue, jealous of the other chiefs, and hating the Americans. His mind was slow and plodding, and he could not compare in ability to such great Indian characters as Pontiac, Brant and Tecumseh. In person he was large and well developed, and he had been a warrior since the age of fifteen. His prime ambition was to a great warrior, and it was a boast of his that the number of the enemy he had killed surpassed belief.

Black Hawk frequently visited the English at Malden; and on these occasions they flattered his vanity. It had been the policy of the English since the war of 1812 to incite the Indians of the Northwest against the Americans. Black Hawk

had taken part in the war of 1812, fighting on the British side as the leader of "the British Band," although Keokuk, the principal chief of the tribe, and the rival of Black Hawk, was friendly to the United States government. Black Hawk would take no gifts from the United States, but often accepted presents from the English.

After the war of 1812, the relations between the Indians and Americans continued quite friendly until 1830. In that year Keokuk ceded definitely to the United States all the land of his tribe east of the Mississippi. Black Hawk opposed this cession most bitterly, and determined not to leave the ceded tracts, declaring that the treaty of 1804 had been obtained by fraud, and bent upon using force if need be to prevent the expulsion of his party from their lands. Black Hawk tried to convince his followers by maintaining that the land could not be sold; that the treaties were void because fraudulent; and that the nation had not been consulted when the treaty was made in 1804,—all of which statements were false. Even the British authorities advised him to leave the village. The leniency of the United States toward him, and its hesitancy in forcing him to move westward he misinterpreted, believing that he would or could never be forced to evacuate these lands. Moreover, the Sacs had their just grievances. Since 1823 squatters, attracted by the news of the fertility of the soil, had gradually encroached upon their lands. Though this section had not yet been surveyed, and there was still a large extent of unsettled territory to the east; this territory was seized by white settlers without a shadow of right. The white settlers even encroached upon the village of the Sacs, and, taking advantage of the absence of the tribe upon their annual hunts, began to drive off the squaws and children of the Indians and fence in their cornfields.

CAMPAIGN OF 1831

Black Hawk remonstrated in vain. Year by year the whites appropriated a larger extent of territory. When the Indians attempted to regain their land by destroying the crops of the whites and even attacking and wounding certain settlers, Governor Reynolds was petitioned to interfere and prevent the outrages which the Indians were committing. One of these petitions stated that "the Indians pasture their horses in our wheat fields, shoot our cattle, and threaten to burn our houses over our heads if we do not leave." Reynolds, a conscientious, able and energetic man, after giving the matter careful consideration, decided that everything seemed to show that the three hundred Indians at Sac village intended to use force to retain possession of the country; and, on May 26th, 1831, called on the militia for seven hundred mounted men. The whole state of Illinois, with its forty thousand white settlers, resounded with the war clamor, everything being in bustle and uproar. More than double the number of men called for assembled at Beardstown early in June, from whom were chosen a brigade consisting of two regiments and two battalions, which were placed under General Joseph Duncan as commander. This small force was composed of the flower of the state, of men possessed generally of strong sense and unbounded energy. The men were intensely bitter towards the Indians. Eight miles below the Sac village General Gaines of the United States regular army received the troops into the national service and assumed command. He appeared before the Sac village on the 25th of June, 1831. Black Hawk, having less than three hundred men at his command, left the place during the night, with-

drawing to the west bank of the Mississippi. The town was then burned, after which Black Hawk was brought back to the headquarters of the general, where he signed a treaty to remain on the farther side of the Mississippi, and never cross the river unless with the permission of the President of the United States. Thus terminated the campaign of 1831, no blood having been shed on either side. Black Hawk and his followers passed a very disagreeable winter. It was too late to raise crops for their sustenance, and though food was dealt out to them by the United States authorities, they suffered greatly.

CAMPAIGN OF 1832.

Black Hawk now attacked the Menominees, who were encamped on an island opposite Prairie du Chien, to retaliate for an attack which had been made by that tribe upon his followers the previous year. Out of twenty-eight Menominees all, except one, were massacred. The Indian agent, General Joseph M. Street, demanded that the murderers be delivered up. This was refused. Believing that the Winnebagoes and Pottawattomies would support him, Black Hawk resolved to recapture the old village. He therefore violated the treaty he had entered into and crossed the Mississippi, April 6th, 1832, marching up the Rock river. His pretext was that he intended to visit his Winnebago friends in Wisconsin, and to plant corn in their country. He disregarded the warnings of General Atkinson at Fort Armstrong, and finally reached Dixon's Ferry, where he encamped with a force including about five hundred men.

Northern Illinois at this point possessed very few settlers. The United States government had not yet surveyed the Sac and Fox lands; there were a few posts in the lead region about Galena; Galena and Peoria were connected by a coach road opened in 1827, over which the mail traveled daily, and along which a few taverns had been established. Galena was connected by an Indian trail with Chicago, whose population at this time consisted of from two to three hundred souls, whose rude huts clustered about Fort Dearborn.

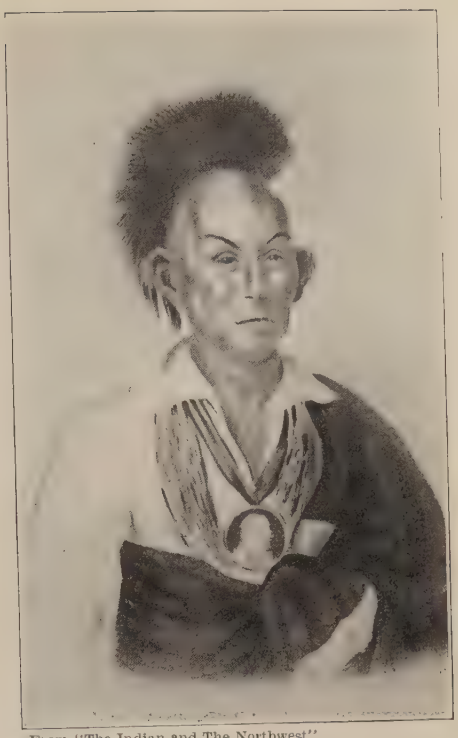
Governor Reynolds, hearing of Black Hawk's invasion and his warlike intentions, raised a force of eighteen hundred volunteers, with General Whiteside in command. This force was sworn into the service of the United States by Brigadier General Atkinson of the regular army, and, on the 12th of May, 1832, reached Dixon's Ferry. Colonel Zachary Taylor, Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, and Abraham Lincoln were among the members of the army.

THE FIRST ENCOUNTER—STILLMAN'S DEFEAT

Black Hawk had in the meantime advanced to Sycamore Creek, thirty miles away. At Dixon's Ferry the volunteers met Major Stillman with a battalion of two hundred and seventy-five men awaiting their arrival. Stillman requested permission to go out with his men as a scouting party, and make a reconnoissance of Black Hawk's camp. Reluctantly the privilege was granted. Stillman had marched twenty-five miles up the Rock river, and was preparing to encamp within a few miles of Black Hawk's main camp. His troops were in confusion and disorder; no pickets or sentinels had been stationed. Suddenly three unarmed Indians appeared bearing a white flag. Disregarding the flag the whites took the Indians prisoners.

By permission of the Chicago Historical Society
From Catlin's "North American Indians"

KEE-O-KUK



From "The Indian and The Northwest"

BLACK HAWK

TAKEN FROM THE LOCATION OF THE FORMER VILLAGE OF SAUKS, CALLED SAUKENUK

On the north side of Rock river, three miles above its mouth and three miles south of the present city of Rock Island

Soon after six others appeared on horseback three-fourths of a mile away. Without any orders a few soldiers gave chase while a great portion of the troops joined in the pursuit. Several of the Indians were killed, but no whites.

This violation of the rules of war can only be understood by remembering that the whites were intoxicated. At the time Black Hawk was feasting with many of his Pottawattomie friends. Hearing the uproar he and his friends hastily mounted and rushed into the fray, falling with fury upon Stillman's disorganized band. The whites were chased to their camp. The troops at the camp, frightened at the yelling and tramping of horses' feet, which seemed all the more terrible now that night had set in, believed that Black Hawk's whole band was upon them, although but forty Indians were pursuing the fugitives. They became panic stricken and fled precipitately to Dixon's Ferry, telling a horrible tale. But one straggler after another appeared while these stories of wholesale slaughter were being told, so that all save fifty-two had appeared by the next morning.

Want of discipline among the officers and men was the cause of this rout. Eleven of the whites were killed. But while it filled Black Hawk with disdain for the fighting qualities of the militia, and with an exaggerated estimate of the courage of his followers, it aroused the whites to redoubled efforts, though the immediate effect was a reign of terror for the inhabitants who dwelt between the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers. The name of Black Hawk was spoken with dread and fear in every household, and consternation prevailed everywhere, the men and their families gathered at the forts believing that the war had now begun in deadly earnest.

RENEWED PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

On the day that news reached him of the rout just described Governor Reynolds issued a call for two thousand additional volunteers. It was feared that the Indian tomahawk and scalping knife would now endanger the lives of the settlers, sparing neither age nor sex. General Whiteside had buried eleven mangled corpses of the men who had been killed during Stillman's rout, after which the army, now numbering about twenty-four hundred men, started up Rock river in pursuit of the Indians. But just at the time when they were most needed the men wished to return to their homes, to protect the families they had left behind them. The news received was of the most heart-rending character. The Indians had visited the houses of Hall, Davis and Pettigrew, not far from Ottawa, on the 20th of May, and massacred and scalped fifteen persons, mangling the bodies in a frightful manner. They had likewise taken with them the two daughters of Hall. The news of this massacre filled the country with alarm, yet the soldiers persisted in demanding their discharge, and accordingly the Governor discharged them all. A few reenlisted and a new force was at once organized. Among those who continued in the service were General Whiteside and Abraham Lincoln. The two thousand volunteers called out by the Governor assembled at Fort Wilbourn (near Peru) on June 15th, and were organized into three regiments and a spy battalion, the whole forming a brigade.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR

We shall here attempt to describe but a few of the many incidents of the irregular war which ensued. About two hundred and fifty whites, as well as an equal

number of Indians, lost their lives in the conflict. The country was ravaged far and wide and the inhabitants were in constant fear of being massacred. Black Hawk now sent out many scouting parties, particularly against the settlements around Galena. On June 24th, he personally commanded an attack on Apple River fort, fourteen miles east of Galena, where the town of Elizabeth now stands. The besieged garrison repulsed the Indians with great gallantry, even the women aiding by moulding bullets and loading guns. After withdrawing, Black Hawk attacked a body of troops under Major Dement numbering one hundred and fifty men. A detachment of militia under General Posey brought relief, and the Indians were routed with a loss of fifteen killed. About three weeks after Stillman's defeat the new force of soldiers, embracing in all about three thousand, two hundred men, had assembled at Fort Wilbourn, and had been placed under the command of Generals Alexander Posey, M. K. Alexander, and James D. Henry. In addition there were also in the field at this juncture a band of rangers under Fry, another under the leadership of Dodge in Michigan Territory, and a force of United States infantry, making a total strength of about four thousand men to oppose a band of about five hundred Indians.

THE WAR CARRIED INTO WISCONSIN

After the news of the defeat of Black Hawk by General Posey had been received, General Alexander was sent to Plum river to attack him in case he should attempt to cross the Mississippi in this vicinity. Atkinson remained at Dixon until learning that Black Hawk was still at his camp near Lake Koshkonong, when he set out in pursuit, crossing the state line one mile east of Beloit at the head of twenty-six hundred men. Upon reaching Lake Koshkonong on the 2d of July, however, he found the camp deserted. The signs indicated that Black Hawk, instead of crossing the Mississippi, had reached Rock river above the Kishwaukee three or four days before. The troops were on their guard, for they perceived that the savages were prowling about throughout the neighborhood.

Posey and Dodge with about three hundred men advanced through swamps for several days, being led by White Crow and thirty Winnebagoes; and had almost reached the place where they expected to find the hostiles, when to their great disappointment Atkinson recalled them to his camp on Rock river. Probably this order saved the force from the destruction which White Crow was treacherously meditating. Having been informed by some Winnebagoes that Black Hawk's camp was on an island in the Whitewater river a few miles to the east, General Atkinson set out in a fruitless pursuit, wading through morasses, from the 7th to the 9th of July.

The Winnebagoes were plotting the destruction of the entire American army by giving wrong information and attempting to lure the whites into a trap. While the army was continuing its vain pursuit of Black Hawk, the latter had fled from his almost inaccessible position on the east bank of Rock river. Governor Reynolds and a number of others who were with him regarded the pursuit through trackless marshes as unlikely to result in success; and at this period he left the army. The Governor knew that the troops were doing their duty, and he had been praised by President Jackson for his course in the war.

On the 10th of July, General Winfield Scott with about one thousand regulars

arrived from the Atlantic coast at Chicago. He had been dispatched by the government and had conveyed his troops from Old Point Comfort in Virginia to Chicago in eighteen days. The Asiatic cholera had appeared in the army, and many had died of the disease.

GENERAL HENRY'S PURSUIT OF BLACK HAWK

Generals Henry and Dodge, while at Fort Winnebago, where they had been sent to obtain supplies, ascertained from Pierre Poquette, a well known half breed scout and trader, the true location of Black Hawk's camp. They set out with seven hundred and fifty men, and when they had reached the spot where it was expected they would find the Indians no trace of them was to be seen. The leaders learned that the Sacs had proceeded to Cranberry lake, now Horicon, about half a day's march up the river. While on their way the soldiers discovered a broad fresh trail leading westward. The discovery that Black Hawk's band was retreating toward the Mississippi aroused unbounded enthusiasm in Henry's men, and they pushed on in hot pursuit, wading through swamps, the water often reaching to their armpits. All encumbrances were cast aside. They found all along the road kettles, blankets and the like, which the Indians had thrown away in their haste to advance. On the 19th of July Henry's men had marched fifty miles. A terrific thunderstorm occurred in the evening and continued nearly all night; the soldiers could not make a fire for cooking, and they lacked tents and blankets, but in spite of their discomforts they continued the pursuit vigorously. They were told by several Winnebagoes who were deserting the Sacs that the Hawk was but two miles in front, and they hurried forward therefore in spite of their hardships.

On the evening of July 20th the troops bivouacked near Third Lake (now Madison) and ate the first regular meal they had taken while covering the distance of one hundred miles since they had first seen the Indian trail. On the 21st the march was resumed and the excitement grew at every step of the way. The hostile Indians were only a few miles ahead, and the soldiers were straining every nerve to overtake them. Forty horses gave out and were abandoned. At length, with the Wisconsin only a mile and a half ahead, they came up with the Indian rear. The Indians had prepared themselves for attack in order to gain time enough to cover the flight of the main body across the stream. Though the Indians fought and yelled like madmen they were driven towards the river, where the main body were attempting to cross. On the bank of the stream was a dense forest from which the savages could inflict great damage upon the Americans. General Henry therefore sounded a retreat when evening set in. The Indians had lost sixty-eight in killed up to this time, while the American loss was but one killed and eight wounded.

This battle, known as the battle of Wisconsin Heights, was fought with great skill by General Henry and was the first decisive victory obtained by the whites in the war. Though young and inexperienced, General Henry had shown ability and bravery. His conduct on this occasion made him the most popular man in Illinois. He had set out in pursuit of Black Hawk without orders from his superior, General Atkinson, and though a number of officers refused to join him because they did not want to move without orders and incur the charge of insubordination, Henry saw how much depended upon immediate pursuit. It was certain

that Black Hawk would escape if the army returned to General Atkinson, almost a hundred miles away from Fort Winnebago, from which Henry had set out in pursuit of the Sacs.

FLIGHT AND DEFEAT OF BLACK HAWK'S BAND

During the night following the battle just described, the Indians placed their women, children and old men on a raft, believing that the regular troops stationed at Fort Crawford, near the mouth of the Wisconsin river, would permit them to cross to the western bank of the Mississippi unmolested. At the same time the Indians themselves crossed the Wisconsin river, and, supposing that the safety of their helpless ones had been assured, plunged into the wilderness with the purpose of reaching the Mississippi at some point farther north than Prairie du Chien.

But when the morning dawned and the whites discovered the raft loaded with the women, children and old men, with needless cruelty they opened fire upon them, killing fifteen outright while some fifty others were drowned in making attempts to escape. Thirty-six of the survivors were made prisoners. The escape of Black Hawk and his warriors, however, was effectual for the time being, as the whites being without provisions found it necessary to abandon the pursuit long enough to return to Blue Mounds and replenish their supplies. At the latter place General Atkinson joined the victorious forces under Henry with additional troops, and assumed command of the entire force. The task of recuperation occupied a week, and on the 28th of July all the troops, regulars and volunteers, joined at Helena where they were to cross the Wisconsin river and attempt to cut off the flight of the hostile Sacs.

The advance was begun at noon, Brady with the four hundred and fifty regulars in front. Then came Dodge, Posey and Alexander; while Henry in charge of the baggage was ingloriously bringing up the rear. Atkinson and the regulars were extremely jealous of Henry and his Illinois volunteers because they had won the laurels of the campaign, and every occasion was sought to diminish and disparage their achievements.

After advancing four or five miles the trail of the Sacs was discovered leading towards the Mississippi. Though the intervening territory was almost completely unknown, besides being swampy in some places, and covered with steep and thickly wooded hills in others, the soldiers had become animated with the hope that the hostiles would soon be overtaken. Black Hawk had indeed reached the Mississippi at the mouth of the Bad Axe river, forty miles north of the mouth of the Wisconsin at Prairie du Chien. He could not, however, obtain the means of transporting his band across. When he saw the military transport steamer "Warrior" he showed a white flag, thus manifesting his desire to surrender. But the twenty-three soldiers on board mistrusted him and fired upon the Indians, and they returned the shot. One of the white men and over twenty of the Indians lost their lives in this affair. The steamer returned to Prairie du Chien. Black Hawk becoming hopeless of furthur resistance now deserted his tribe, fleeing westward across the river, and taking refuge among some Winnebagoes who offered to give him shelter.

The Sacs were now mercilessly attacked by Henry, who was soon joined by Atkinson. The Indians were driven into the river or took refuge in the forest. Great numbers of them perished while bravely fighting or in attempting to escape across

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society. From Catlin's "North American Indians"

INDIAN DANCE

From a painting by Samuel M. Brookes. By courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society

MOUTH OF BAD AXE RIVER

Scene of battle of Bad Axe, which was the last battle of the Black Hawk War

the river. The battle of Bad Axe, as it is called, was one of cruel and wanton extermination, about three hundred of the Indians being either killed or drowned. There were still as many more who succeeded in crossing the river, but upon reaching the other shore they were attacked by a party of a hundred Sioux under Wabasha, sent out by Atkinson, and one-half of those who had escaped thus far were now slaughtered. Out of a thousand warriors who had crossed the Mississippi in April, about a hundred and fifty survived the war.

CLOSE OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR

On the 7th of August General Winfield Scott, who had been detained by the ravages of cholera among his troops at Chicago, arrived at Prairie du Chien and discharged the volunteers the day after. The war was now over. The Americans had lost over two hundred and fifty men, while the financial cost of the war aggregated about two millions of dollars. Black Hawk was delivered up to General Joseph M. Streeter, the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, on the 27th of August, and on the 21st of September, 1832, a treaty of peace was signed. Black Hawk, Neapope and the Prophet were kept as hostages for the good behavior of the remnant of the tribe. They were imprisoned at Fortress Monroe until June of the following year, after which they were taken through the chief cities of the East. On August 1st they were returned to Fort Armstrong, Black Hawk becoming the ward of the Sac chief Keokuk, his bitter rival. He regarded this as the crowning indignity of all the humiliations to which he had been subjected. He died five years later on the 3d of October, 1838, at the age of seventy-one.

Black Hawk was honest; he was attached to the home of his people, but he was indiscreet and sentimental. The war might have been prevented had the whites shown more forbearance and honesty, virtues which indeed were difficult to practice when Indian massacres and depredations were taking place along the border, arousing the frontiersmen and impelling them to acts of blind ferocity. During the war the whites frequently acted with unnecessary cruelty, disregarding all rules of civilized warfare. After the battle of Wisconsin Heights (Henry's victory), firing on the women and old men placed by the Indians on a raft was an indefensible act of cruelty.

SUMMARY OF THE WAR

"The Black Hawk war, while full of exciting incidents, was not of the importance it is often supposed to be," says Professor Scherger in his summary of the results of the war; "it made the political fortunes of several of the participants who afterward aspired to become statesmen. But the means used were out of all proportion to the real danger or the results gained. It is often stated that this war opened up to settlement the northern part of Illinois and the southern half of Wisconsin. This statement is rather exaggerated; the section would have been occupied even if the war had not occurred. The Sacs did not hinder settlement so long as their village was spared; and there was plenty of unsettled country in the immediate neighborhood of this village. It cannot be denied that public interest was, during the war, strongly attracted toward this region. The whole country, east and west, watched the Black Hawk War and its issue with eager attention. Many of the scenes had seldom or never before been looked upon by white men, and the soldiers

in the campaign moved in virgin wilds. Numerous descriptions of the war and of the territory upon which it had taken place appeared, awakening a remarkable interest throughout the country. Another noteworthy result was that the mischievous and treacherous Winnebagoes were humbled so that they no longer opposed the settlement of the white men. No doubt on the whole the Black Hawk War greatly promoted the development of the Northwest."

HUMOROUS REFERENCES TO THE WAR

When, some years after the war, Mr. Lincoln was a member of Congress, he made a humorous speech, in which, alluding to the custom of exaggerating the military services of candidates to public office, and ridiculing the extravagant claims to heroism set up for General Lewis Cass, then a candidate for the presidency, he referred to his own services in the Black Hawk war, in the following terms: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass' career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. . . If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero." [1]

Colonel James M. Strode made a burlesque report of Stillman's defeat in which he said: "It was just after twilight, in the gloaming of the evening, when we discovered Black Hawk's army coming down upon us in a solid column; they deployed in the form of a crescent on the brow of the prairie, and such accuracy and precision of military movements were never witnessed by man; they were equal to the best troops of Wellington in Spain, and what was most wonderful, there were large squares of cavalry resting upon the points of the curve. which squares were supported again by other columns fifteen deep, extending back through the woods and over a swamp three-quarters of a mile, which again rested upon the main body of Black Hawk's army, bivouacked upon the banks of the Kishwaukee. It was a terrible and glorious sight to see the tawny warriors as they rode along our flanks attempting to outflank us, with the glittering moonbeans reflected from their polished blades and burnished spears.

"It was a sight well calculated to strike consternation to the stoutest and boldest heart, and accordingly our men began to break in small squads for tall timber. In a very little time the rout became general, the Indians were upon our flanks and threatened the destruction of the entire detachment. About this time Major Stillman, Colonel Stephenson, Major Perkins, Captain Adams, Mr. Hackleton and myself, with some others, went back to the rear to rally the fugitives and protect the retreat; but in a short time all my companions fell, bravely fighting hand to hand with the savage enemy, and I alone was left upon the field of battle.

[1] Arnold's "Life of Lincoln," p. 37.

"About this time I discovered, not far to the left, a corps of horsemen who seemed in tolerable order. I immediately deployed to the left, when leaning down and placing my body in a recumbent position upon the mane of my horse, so as to bring the heads of the horsemen between my eye and the horizon, I discovered by the light of the moon that they were gentlemen who did not wear hats, by which token I knew they were no friends of mine. I therefore made a retrograde movement and recovered my former position, where I remained for some time meditating what further I could do in the service of my country, when a random cannon ball came whistling by my ear, and plainly whispering to me, 'Stranger, you have no further business here.' Upon hearing this I followed the example of my companions in arms and broke for tall timber, and the way I ran was not a little, and quit." [2]

Colonel Strode was a lawyer living in Galena, and, at the time of this episode, was just returning from the circuit with a slight wardrobe and Chitty's "Pleadings" packed in his saddle-bags, all of which were captured by the Indians. The Colonel afterwards related, "with much vexation," says Ford, "that Black Hawk had decked himself out in his finery, appearing in the wild woods amongst his savage companions, dressed in one of the Colonel's ruffled shirts drawn over his deerskin garments, with a volume of Chitty's 'Pleadings' under each arm." [3]

THE WAR EXCITEMENT AT CHICAGO

The news of the uprising of the Sacs reached Chicago from the settlements on the Fox river, which were immediately threatened after Stillman's defeat. By the 10th of May the fleeing families began to arrive at Chicago and took refuge in the fort, which was as yet unoccupied by troops then on the way from Fort Niagara. The fort soon gave shelter to nearly seven hundred souls, two-thirds of whom were women and children. Colonel T. J. V. Owen, the Indian agent then in charge of the fort, spared no effort to accommodate all that came, and, though occupying the commander's house with his own large family, confined himself to a single room and gave up the rest of the house to the fugitives. Many of the heads of families had sent their women and children to the fort while they themselves drove their live stock towards the Wabash.[4]

SHABBONA'S GOOD INFLUENCE

When, soon after Stillman's defeat, Shabbona, the chief of the Ottawa tribe (who was also a Pottawattomie chief by virtue of his marriage to a woman of the latter tribe), was visited by Black Hawk, "Shabbona," said the wily Sauk Chief, "if you will permit your young men to unite with mine, I will have an army like the trees in the forest, and will drive the pale-faces before me like autumn leaves before an angry wind." "Ay," replied Shabbona, "but the pale-faces will soon bring an army like the leaves on the trees and sweep you into the ocean beneath the setting sun." [5]

[2] Ford's "History of Illinois," p. 120.
[3] Ford. "History of Illinois," p. 121.
[4] Bross. History of Chicago, p. 19.
[5] P. A. Armstrong. Address to the Shabbona Memorial Assn. (Folio Records, Evanston Historical Society).

While this language was hardly likely to have been used between these two Indian chiefs, there is no doubt that in substance it was the purport of their conversation,—an appeal by the one, a firm rejection by the other. Shabbona and his son then stole away from the camp of the Sauks and hastened to warn the settlers of impending danger. Some did not heed the warnings and were soon after massacred by the advancing enemy. Others were wiser and started on the long flight towards Fort Dearborn. For the distinguished services performed by Shabbona at this time he was granted a pension by the United States government, and his memory is held in high esteem among the people where he was known. He died in 1859 at Morris, Illinois, where a monument to his memory in the form of a block of granite was placed in position in 1903.

COLONEL OWEN'S ENERGETIC ACTION

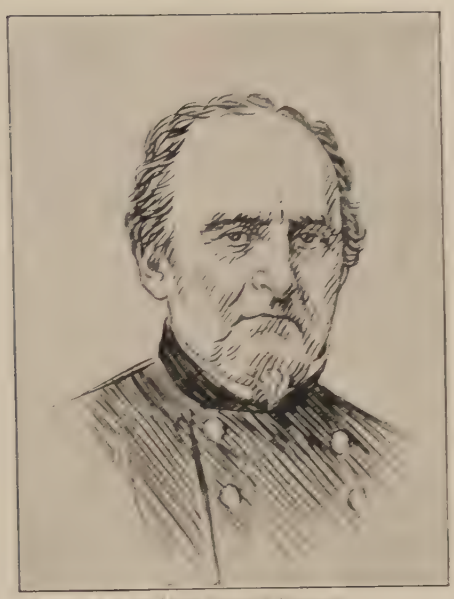
The people at Chicago had, however, been by no means idle in dealing with the emergency. Colonel Owen had called a council in which Alexander Robinson and Billy Caldwell, the two friendly chiefs of the Pottawattomies, took part, as well as some other chiefs who were inclined to emphasize their grievances against the whites. It was made plain to them, however, that if any of the Indians within the district surrounding the fort should form any alliance or give aid to Black Hawk and his Sauks they would be held to a strict accountability for it, and would be punished severely. This council had good results, and among the Pottawattomies a company of scouts was soon after formed which did good service in protecting the outlying settlements. It may be well to mention here that the name Sac often appears in the older histories as Sauk, either of the two forms being used indifferently. Individuals of the tribe were known as Sauks, Saukees, or Saukies.

In May a company of twenty-five men was organized in the fort, which advanced towards the Fox river and rendered aid to the settlers in that direction. They soon arrived at Walker's Grove, since called Plainfield. Here was the residence of the Reverend Jesse Walker, superintendent of the mission work of the Methodist church in the region extending from Peoria to Chicago. Here also lived the Reverend Stephen R. Beggs, an itinerant Methodist preacher. Beggs had built a rude fort of logs which for the time being was called "Fort Beggs," within which were sheltered one hundred and twenty-five persons. It was decided, however, to remove all the fugitives to Chicago, which was done accordingly, though the suffering endured both on the journey and after their arrival was heartrending.[6]

EXPERIENCES OF THE FUGITIVES

There was scant accommodation for the fugitives after their arrival in Chicago. Five or six families were in some cases crowded into one small room, and though it was then the summer season there was much suffering and distress. Among the refugees some fifteen new born infants were added to the number. The troops arriving soon after, even the shelter of the fort buildings were denied them and a large number of women and children were obliged to find shelter in open sheds outside the fort. General Scott's army arrived about this time and among them the cholera had broken out, adding to the alarms of the unfortunate refugees. Mr. Beggs in

[6] S. R. Beggs. Early History of the West and the Northwest, p. 102.



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM WHISTLER

Portrait taken in the uniform of a colonel of the United States army about the time he was in command of Fort Dearborn in 1832.

From Blanchard's "Northwest and Chicago"

MAP OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS IN 1835

Showing Indian trail between Rock Island and Fort Dearborn

his book, "Early History of the West and Northwest," says that at this juncture he proposed to Mrs. Beggs that they return to their abandoned home at Plainfield. To this she consented, saying that "it would be no better to die here than to be killed by the Indians on the road." They started on the forty mile journey and reached it in one day's traveling.[7]

PESTILENCE AND WAR

Meantime many deaths from the cholera were occurring, and the people who had assembled at the fort for safety again began to flee from this new terror, and Chicago became almost deserted except for the troops. Some followed Beggs to his fort, and some went to Danville, then considered a place of safety.

On the 10th of July, General Winfield Scott had reached Chicago with a force of United States troops. President Jackson, having grown impatient at the delays in the conduct of the war against the hostile Indians, ordered Scott to take nine companies from the Atlantic coast and "proceed to the seat of war and put an end to it."[8] At Buffalo the troops were embarked on four steamers, but some cases of cholera having developed on the passage, two of the steamers were sent back from Fort Gratiot on the St. Clair river. The other two became separated, the steamer "Sheldon Thompson," with General Scott on board arriving some eight days in advance of the "William Penn" with the remainder of the force. The journey from Fortress Monroe had been accomplished by General Scott in the short space of eighteen days.[9]

Of the eight hundred and fifty men who left Buffalo more than half were sent back from Fort Gratiot, and but little more than one-third reached Chicago in a condition fit for service. On the passage and during the fortnight following their arrival eighty-eight died from the disease. Some were buried in the waters of Lake Michigan and a considerable number were buried at Chicago near the present northwest corner of Lake street and Wabash avenue. The fort was transformed into a hospital and the troops still in good health found shelter wherever they could, some under boards placed against the fence, others in tents.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMMANDER

"General Winfield Scott, some time after the Mexican war, told me," said John Wentworth in his address on Fort Dearborn, "that he had often been in great danger, and that he had witnessed a great deal of suffering, but he had never felt his entire helplessness and need of Divine Providence as he did upon the lakes in the midst of the Asiatic cholera. Sentinels were of no use in warning of the enemy's approach. He could not storm his works, fortify against him, nor cut his way out, nor make terms of capitulation. There was no respect for a flag of truce, and his men were falling upon all sides from an enemy in his very midst."[10] Indeed the general's responsibilities were never greater. Indian massacres were demanding the utmost haste, and all were looking to him for direction and decisive action.

Accompanying General Scott at the outset of his journey was the majority of the class graduated that year from West Point, who were sent with him to obtain

[7] Beggs. Early History of the West and Northwest, p. 105.
[8] Stevens. History of the Black Hawk War, p. 242.
[9] Stevens. History of the Black Hawk War, p. 242.
[10] Fergus' Historical Series, No. 16, p. 37.

their first lessons in Indian warfare. Twenty-nine of them left Buffalo with him, but nearly all were sent back from Fort Gratiot. During all the horrors of the situation the commanding general never wearied in his ministrations to the suffering men. "In many a campaign did this fine old hero distinguish hmiself," writes Stevens, "but in none did he win more fame than in this."

ABATEMENT OF THE CHOLERA

On the 29th of July, finding that there was an abatement of the pestilence, General Scott set out with three officers of his staff for Prairie du Chien. This was just at the time when General Atkinson was hotly pursuing Black Hawk's retreating band into Wisconsin; and when the commanding general arrived at Prairie du Chien on the 7th of August, the final battle of the war had been fought five days before, and Black Hawk was a fugitive.

The later movements of General Scott may be briefly told. After his arrival at Prairie du Chien he ordered the discharge of the volunteer forces so that they might speedily return to their homes and resume their interrupted occupations. He then proceeded down the Mississippi to Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, where, on the 21st of September, "a treaty of peace, friendship and cession" was concluded between the United States and the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians. On the part of the United States this treaty was signed by Winfield Scott and John Reynolds, and on the part of the tribes by Keokuk and a large number of other chiefs. General Scott returned to the East within a few weeks after the signing of the treaty. He visited Chicago again in 1839, being a guest on the occasion of the city's presentation of a flag to the steamer *Illinois,* built by Oliver Newberry.

HISTORIES OF THE SAUK WAR

Several volumes have been published having for their subject the life of Black Hawk or the Black Hawk War. The year after the war the fallen and captive chief dictated the history of his life, which was published by J. B. Patterson of Rock Island, under the title of "The Autobiography of Black Hawk." In the preface to the book the editor, as he calls himself, refers to him as a "hero," and a "patriot"; and elsewhere as a "brave man," and says that he was possessed in a marked degree of "the elements which constitute a noble nature."

A volume entitled "The Sauks and the Black Hawk War," written by the late Perry A. Armstrong, of Morris, Illinois, is a very complete account of the war, in which a mass of details is contained. Armstrong takes a favorable view of Black Hawk's character and usually finds a justification for him in all his acts of hostility towards the whites, speaking of his "true nobility of character," and of his abilities as a leader and as a natural orator. This author, however, was an ardent admirer of the Indian character, taking every occasion to show his sympathy for the wrongs of the savages, and passing unstinted condemnation on the encroachments and impositions of the whites. Armstrong was deeply influenced by the glamor and romance of the savage life, and wrote of Indian virtues and natural gifts in the most extravagant terms.

STEVENS' HISTORY OF THE WAR

The most exhaustive work on this period of history is that of Frank E. Stevens, published in 1903. This volume adequately treats of the events of the Black Hawk

War and appears to have taken notice of every detail that is worthy of mention in that connection. The author has likewise made a surprisingly large collection of portraits of the men of Illinois, contemporary with that period, as well as of the actors in the war itself. It is probable that there is no book on western history extant that has such a wonderful portrait gallery. The formation of this collection required many years of patient effort, and the three hundred rare and interesting portraits and views with which the volume is illustrated add greatly to its value.

Stevens has no sort of sympathy with Black Hawk, whom he charges with cherishing a malignant and enduring hostility towards the Americans throughout his career, until defeat and captivity worked in him at last a change of heart. This author denounces the old chief on every occasion and will not allow any consideration in his favor. Like a prosecuting attorney he marshals the evidence against him with many caustic comments. "Black Hawk," he says, "without provocation and contrary to his promises . . . waged a merciless war on the feeble settlements, simply because he hated the Americans." He calls him a "cold-blooded aggressor and murderer," speaks of his "implacable hatred," and says he was "churlish and revengeful." In other respects great praise must be given to Mr. Stevens for his "History of the Black Hawk War," which is one of the most valuable contributions to the early history of Illinois which we possess.

THE SAC CHIEFS' VISIT TO WASHINGTON

When, in the year following his capture, Black Hawk was taken to Washington on a visit to President Jackson, he and some other Sac chiefs who accompanied him were greatly impressed with the evidences of the wealth and power of the white people which they witnessed on every hand. In one of his speeches he said, "Brother, your houses are as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, and your warriors like the sand on the shore of the big lake that rolls before us." The president gave Black Hawk and his chiefs some good advice; "Bury the tomahawk," said he, "and live in peace with the frontiers," which admonition Black Hawk promised to heed. "When I get back I will remember your words," said he; "I won't go to war again; I will live in peace." [11]

The party then visited other eastern cities, attracting much attention and even admiration from the crowds which everywhere surrounded them. A poet of the day addressed a lengthy effusion to the "old forest lion," as he called him, the opening lines of which were;

> "There's beauty on thy brow, old chief, the high
> And manly beauty of the Roman mould,
> And the keen flashing of thy full dark eye
> Speaks of a heart that years have not made cold." [12]

BLACK HAWK'S CHARACTER

But the sentiments of people far removed from scenes of danger, and of people living in later times, who know nothing of the terrors of Indian alarms, were not

[11] Stevens: "Black Hawk War," p. 261.

[12] "Address to Black Hawk," by Edward Sanford, printed in the "New York Book of Poetry," 1837.

apt to be shared by the pioneers themselves. Neither are they shared by those whose duty it is to study the records of pioneer life. We have seen the estimate placed upon Black Hawk by Professor Scherger at the conclusion of his account of the war given above. "Black Hawk was honest," he says. "He was attached to the home of his people; but he was indiscreet and sentimental." Dr. Thwaites, in his account of the Black Hawk war, says of Black Hawk, "He was of a highly romantic temperament; his judgment was warped by sentiment; and tricksters easily played upon his weakness. . . He was, above all things, a patriot. In the year before his death, he made a speech to a party of whites who were making a holiday hero of him, and thus forcibly defended his motives: 'Rock River was a beautiful country. I liked my town, my cornfields, and the home of my people. I fought for them.' No poet could have penned for him a more touching epitaph." [13]

In the *Outlook* magazine number for April 10, 1910, there is a reference to an incident of Black Hawk's eastern trip. The "Spectator," while visiting an aerial exhibit in Boston, heard a story of the captured chief. "Near the Harvard exhibit," he writes, "where the Wright and Curtiss models faced each other, the Spectator found a gray haired man in an official blue coat and brass buttons, who was always the center of a group of boys. He was helping them build their aeroplanes for sale, and telling them about old days in air navigation. 'Yes, sir, I'm the son of Charles Durant, the aeronaut who made the balloon ascension in Castle Garden in 1834. Here's the handbill.' He showed a quaint old placard, with a queer ancient cylindrical barometer hanging along side of it. 'And that barometer was used on the ascent. So was this flag—pretty ragged and faded now, isn't it? Only twenty-one stars there were then, you see.' The red stripes were faded almost white, and the white yellowed and worn in the folds, but the flag spoke for itself, and the boys gazed at it delightedly.

" 'Andrew Jackson was President then. He came on from Washington—and that meant some traveling in those days—to see my father make the ascent. Black Hawk, the Indian chief (they'd just captured him) was brought to New York and saw it, too. The Government thought it might do him good to see what wonderful things the white man could do. The old fellow was astonished, sure enough. He wouldn't say much, but he looked and looked, and he asked whether the balloon would go all the way to the happy hunting-grounds, and whether my father would ever come back. That's a question no aeronaut can ever answer. But my father went up into the air, and did come back safe, and the Indian felt just the way they wanted him to—that the white man could do anything, no matter how wonderful.' "

[13] Thwaites. "Black Hawk War," p. 196.

CHAPTER XI

INDIAN REMOVAL—ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL

CHARACTER OF SAVAGES—EARLY TREATIES—TREATY OF CHICAGO—THE ENCAMPMENT—SIGNING OF THE TREATY—PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY—REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS—WHARFING PRIVILEGES—ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL—FEASIBILITY OF A CANAL—CANAL IDEA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—EASTERN OPINION REGARDING THE CANAL—STATE LEGISLATION—FINANCING THE WORK—CHICAGO JOYFULLY ANTICIPATES THE CANAL—MEETINGS OF CITIZENS AT CHICAGO—WORK IS BEGUN—PROGRESS OF THE WORK—MAGNITUDE OF THE UNDERTAKING—DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED—WORK RESUMED UNDER A TRUSTEESHIP—FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CANAL IN 1843—COMPLETION OF THE CANAL—THE ERIE CANAL OF NEW YORK—M'COWAN'S NARRATIVE—DESCRIPTION OF THE CANAL.

CHARACTER OF SAVAGES

E have had much to say in this history of Indians whose presence in the land which the whites came to occupy was the chief and most important fact among the conditions which were encountered by the pioneers of the wilderness. We of a later generation can little understand the deep interest with which the early settlers regarded them, nor wonder at their dealings with them. It is common to condemn the conduct of the white man in his so-called encroachments upon the savage, who, by reason of his want of experience in the ways of civilized men, was peculiarly subject to imposition. The savage, however, was not much impressed with ideas of justice, and when it came to making treaties the pleas he made for his rights were merely the sentiments which he had borrowed from the whites. Indeed Indians cared for the ideas obtained from civilized life only so far as they could be made use of to their own advantage and "played fair" only when obliged to do so. Like all savages they were apt to be bullies taking advantage of weakness rather than exercising the virtue of generosity or forbearance. Savage nature and characteristics were often depicted by writers in a sanguinary and lurid manner quite in excess of the real conditions. We quote a stanza from a poem read in 1881 at the unveiling of the memorial tablet, on the site of Fort Dearborn.

"Here where the savage war-whoop once resounded,
Where Council fires burned brightly years ago;
Where the red Indian from his covert bounded
To scalp his pale-faced foe."

Such practices by the "red Indian" were very exceptional and seldom indulged in. Indians were not always "bounding from their coverts" or scalping pale-faces, for they had too much reason to fear the people thus rudely pounced upon, as the consequences of such acts were apt to be very serious to them. When they did engage in warfare, however, they avoided open and fair fights, preferring the sneaking methods of surprises and ambuscades, and making attacks on defenseless women and children.

The Indian had only the most rudimentary ideas of right and wrong. He had no aspirations for mental or moral improvement, and an altruistic impulse of any kind was foreign to his nature. There were exceptions of course to such a statement but even then only as the result of ideas borrowed from the whites. The average Indian, when not hostile, was an idler and a vagabond. He was obliged to spend part of his time in hunting in order to provide sustenance, but he left all the drudgery to be performed by the weaker sex. He spent much time, when near posts or settlements, in lounging about in the hope of picking up a few crumbs or cast-off articles, and in "watching the proceedings."

Indian lore is of absorbing interest. The literature of American history is heavily saturated with it. But the interest that the average person of today feels is of a far different kind from that which was felt by those who were in actual contact with the "noble red man of the forest." We criticise the harshness of the pioneer in his conduct towards the Indians, but we forget that constant vigilance was the price of safety, and it was almost inevitable that antagonisms should arise.

EARLY TREATIES

From the time of the signing of the Greenville treaty in 1795, there was a series of Indian treaties extending over thirty-eight years particularly affecting the region of northern Illinois. Some of these treaties were merely declarations of friendship, others provided for territorial cessions while some renewed the conditions of former treaties and included as participants additional tribes. The provisions of these treaties were often not clear to the ignorant chiefs who, after the agreement was made and ratified, would raise objections and demand another council. The government would then frame up a new treaty including the former provisions as well as added ones, and again the chiefs were gathered to sign away, usually unwittingly, still more of what remained to them. The odds were all against them, with their unstable conditions of land tenure, their ignorance and barbarity on the one side; and the keen, often unscrupulous, wits of the government agent on the other side. Finally came the great Treaty of Chicago in 1833, which provided for the removal of the Indians to the reservation in the West which was given them by the terms of this same treaty. It was a long time before the significance of this agreement came home to them, and they realized but slowly the seriousness of the great father's intention to send them away from their dwellings to new lands nearer the setting sun.

TREATY OF CHICAGO

The Treaty of Chicago was signed on September 26, 1833. By proclamation the President of the United States had gathered together at Chicago the United Na-

From Blanchard's "The Northwest and Chicago"

MAP SHOWING THE INDIAN TRIBES IN ILLINOIS IN 1812 AND BEFORE THE INDIAN REMOVAL

tion of Pottawattomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas for a council to be held on September 10, 1833. The purpose of this was to make a treaty whereby the Indians would cede to the United States all the land remaining to them on this side of the Mississippi, and remove to lands given them on the east bank of the Missouri river. The necessity for this had been made clear by the coming of increasingly greater numbers of Easterners, who were settling on land which the Indians had occupied and now threatened.

By the time appointed the Indians had assembled at Chicago in hundreds, and with them a multitude of those white people who expected to take advantage of the offer of the government to make good losses of all kinds that had been suffered in connection with the Indians. Everywhere were Indian wigwams; the encampment overspread the village, covered the river bank, occupied the lake shore and extended back over the prairie and into the woods. Of the countless agents, traders and adventurers who had come to get what spoils they could at this distribution, some presented claims for lost property averred to have been stolen by Indians; others were there as land speculators; others to trade with the Indians when drink should have made them regardless of the spending of the silver half dollars that came to them in the payment. Those who were present to conduct negotiations on behalf of the government were housed in the fort and in hastily constructed huts made for their accommodation.

THE ENCAMPMENT

An account of this picturesque event has been written by Charles J. Latrobe, the English traveller and author, who was present at the gathering, and whose complete and lively description is the basis for this narrative.

The council had opened with the statement from the principal commissioner, Governor George B. Porter of Michigan Territory, that "as their great father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent commissioners to treat with them." To this they replied that their "great father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie, for that far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it." The commissioner, urging that, nevertheless, as they had come together for a council, they must take the matter into consideration, prepared to state his terms. But as there was a passing cloud in the sky the chiefs refused to continue negotiations, and adjourned *sine die*.

For many days it was impossible to gather the Indians in council, owing to bad omens that continued to present themselves. In the meantime life at populous Chicago was chaotic; all day there were feasting and games and clamor or barter; all night there was dancing and yelling. As negotiations for the treaty had begun, the government supplied daily rations to the Indians, and all was well with them; the first night, in abandoned joy, they danced the war dance, and whooped and sang about the village. During the whole period of the encampment the forbidden whiskey was sold to the Indians, and this, too, in full view and knowledge of the commissioners. Many traders made preparations to have a great supply of this commodity so disastrous to the Indian, which they sold to him for exorbitant prices. Not only this, but they found him, intoxicated, a ready and open handed customer for any other goods that attracted his eye. So did these worthies ply their trade.

The scene during the encampment was an epitome—a condensation in time and space of most of the elements and experiences of Indian life. "Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors mounted or on foot, squaws, and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the grass in consultation. It was amusing to wind silently from group to group, here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbors; there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling, with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs, into the deep, black narrow trail running to the north."

Meanwhile no progress was made with the treaty. Each day the signal gun at the fort was fired to call the chiefs together, and each day an unpropitious omen forbade their responding. Finally, on the 21st of September, late in the afternoon, the council fire was lighted in a large open shed on the north bank of the river. The chiefs sat at one end of the enclosure; at the other end were the government commissioners (G. B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford), besides interpreters and visitors. After some bickering and speeches of more or less violence from a few Indians, the treaty was agreed to, by which these original proprietors of the country, degraded beyond their former state after years of contact with white men, were giving up the land which had immemorially been theirs, and agreeing to leave it forever to changes and to people they know not of. Each chief in signing put "his X mark" to the treaty, which was also signed by the government commissioners.

This was on September 26th, and on May 22nd following the treaty was ratified. By its terms the Indians ceded to the United States all lands claimed by the United Nation east of the Mississippi, supposed to be about five millions of acres. In return they were to receive as much land as they relinquished, on the east bank of the Missouri river, this land being located in the southwestern part of the present state of Iowa and the northwestern part of the present state of Missouri. The country thus assigned to them was to be inspected, previous to the removal, by a deputation of not more than fifty persons accompanied by five United States agents. The government undertook the expense of this deputation and of the entire removal, and agreed, moreover, to provide subsistence to the Indians for one year after their arrival at their new homes. Payments also were to be made,[1] "one hundred thousand dollars to be paid in goods and provisions, a part to be delivered on the signing of this treaty, and the residue during the ensuing year; two hundred and eighty thousand dollars to be paid in annuities of fourteen thousand dollars a year, for twenty years; one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be applied to the erection of mills, farm-houses, Indian houses, and blacksmiths' shops, to agricultural improvements, to the purchase of agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of such physicians, millers, farmers, blacksmiths and other mechanics, as the President of the United States shall think proper to appoint; seventy thousand dollars for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, to be applied in such manner as the President of the United States may direct."

[1] From Article 2 of Treaty of 1833.

In the articles supplementary to the treaty is one which provides for the payment of "twenty-five thousand dollars, in addition to the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, contained in the said treaty, to satisfy the claims made against all composing the United Nation of Indians, which they have admitted to be justly due, and directed to be paid according to schedule B, to the treaty annexed." The list of names of those who appear in Schedule B as creditors to the United Nation, either by debt or damage suffered, for sums ranging from $20 to $5,000, is an alarmingly extensive one, and there has been much merited doubt concerning the justice and honesty of the claims of certain ones. By signing the treaty the Indians endorsed these claims against themselves, whether they realized it or not, and the payments were made. Speaking of the treaty negotiations, Hurlbut writes of the expressions of an early resident here who "was familiar with the whole proceedings, and whose ideas of the business scarcely accord with those who would commend the action of our government officials on that occasion." This eye-witness said: "You, or hardly any other man, can imagine what was done, or how ridiculously the whole thing was carried on or closed up. It should have been conducted upon principles of truth and justice; but the whole thing was a farce, acted by those in office in our Government."

REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS

It was stipulated that immediately on the ratification of the treaty the Indians should leave the land ceded by them and lying within the state of Illinois. The country north of the boundary line of that state they could inhabit without molestation for not longer than three years. On one pretext and then another the removal was delayed from season to season, the Indians pleading that they must gather their crops, visit their old hunting grounds once more, remain near the burial places of their dead—and many another excuse given by these simple creatures reluctant to be sent away from all that was familiar to them. Finally the government agent, Major Sibley,[2] issued word to the Indians of this region that the time for their removal had come, and they must meet him in Chicago in the summer of 1835. There they were to receive their payments, and then be taken by the agent to their new homes beyond the Mississippi river. Major Sibley succeeded that year in collecting about one-half of the total number of 5,000 Indians. While awaiting the arrival of the goods for paying them off, many of the Indians, tired of lounging about the streets, withdrew to the woods west of the prairie until the time for payment. During their stay in the village, about eight hundred of the braves danced their last war dance in Chicago for the benefit of the residents there. In September, 1835, the government agent advertised for "ox teams and covered wagons, to remove the Indians," and the start was at length made. During the fall they were established on the lands assigned them near the Council Bluffs.

The task of gathering together the rest of the Indians in the following summer, preparatory to their removal West, would have been very great had not Billy Caldwell, brave in sacrifice and loyal to the interests of the whites, told them that he, too, intended to go with them, leaving the land they all loved and sharing their hardships in a strange home. He, with J. B. F. Russell, the government agent at that time, effected the peaceful departure of the Indians, taking some by steamboat from

[2] Fergus: 14: 33.

St. Louis to the Council Bluffs, and gathering numbers as they proceeded westward. Thus to leave behind them the country that had always been theirs and to go silently and reluctantly to a strange region where they were placed on reservations adjoining, frequently, those of some ancient enemy, was heart-breaking indeed to many a chief with his proud record of victories. During the lifetime of Caldwell his wise and peaceable councils prevailed, and there was little disturbance between his own brethren and hostile tribes on neighboring reservations.

The Indians were later moved by the government to Kansas, and again to the Indian Territory. By the census of 1900, the number of Indians then in Illinois was sixteen, a meagre remnant of the numbers that, but three-quarters of a century before, could claim this region as their own, and could assemble by thousands in a mighty encampment.

THE ALLEGORICAL INDIAN

In the old time geographies and histories there were often shown in the frontispieces allegorical pictures. One of these pictures represented an American Indian surveying an extensive landscape from an eminence. The landscape was diversified by a great variety of features. There were cities with domes and spires and tall chimneys, shipping at the water front, steamers passing in the harbor, railroad trains crossing lofty viaducts, and cultivated fields on the slopes of surrounding hills,—all these views presented themselves to the thoughtful gaze of the untutored red man. What he was thinking of was left to the imagination, but it was supposed that he was contemplating the advances of the white man's civilization, the wonderful progress of the arts of peace, and, perhaps, by contrast, the inferiority and ultimate doom of his own race.

Doubtless these old allegorical pictures fairly represented the truth, commonplace though it may be, that the white race had won complete possession. It was indeed a race problem which was thus approaching its solution after two centuries of conflict.

WHARFING PRIVILEGES

The first map of Chicago, which the Canal Commissioners had made in 1830, shows the front of those streets bordering the river, the "Water Streets," as they were called, as open to the water's edge. Some three years after the making of this map, namely, March 1st, 1833, the General Assembly of Illinois abolished the Board of Canal Commissioners, and it was not until January 9th, 1836, that an act was passed creating another board to prosecute the work of building the canal. During this interregnum practically all interest in the canal and canal matters was suspended. Meantime, says the writer of a historical sketch in the Canal Commissioners' report for 1900, "trespassers, timber thieves, squatters and speculators living along the Chicago river and the line of the proposed canal had full and undisputed sway. Those in the immediate vicinity of the original sub-divisions at Chicago appear to have taken prompt measures to secure the full benefit of this opportunity. Many pieces of state property were appropriated for private use, upon which were erected stores, dwellings and other private improvements."

The wharfing privileges along the Chicago river were appropriated by the Town Board of Trustees, under an act passed by the legislature July 11th, 1835, which provided as follows: "Section 6: The Board of Trustees [of the town of

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society
From Catlin's "North American Indians"

COUNCIL BETWEEN INDIANS AND GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONERS

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society
From Catlin's "North American Indians"

INDIAN DANCE

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society
From Catlin's "North American Indians"

INDIANS ON THE MARCH

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society
From Catlin's "North American Indians"

INDIANS IN CAMP

Chicago] shall have power to lease the wharfing privileges of said town, giving to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants, of the lots fronting the river the preference of sub-privileges."

"On November 14th, 1835," says Colbert, "the Board resolved to sell the leases of the wharfing privileges in the town for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years," the Board agreeing to dredge the river to the depth of ten feet at least, within four years from the sale, and the lessees of the privileges being bound to erect a good dock, five feet wide and three feet above the water in front of each lot or wharfing privilege which was to be kept open as a tow or foot path.

These terms having been agreed upon it remained to fix the prices, and accordingly on the 26th of the same month a sale of these "immensely valuable wharfing privileges" was ordered. The minimum prices established, at which owners of lots fronting the river had the privilege of buying, were twenty-five dollars a front foot on South Water street, eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents on North Water street, and eighteen dollars on West Water street. "The men who got rich in buying such property at such prices," says Colbert, "deserve no credit for speculative ability." The Board took secured notes for three and six months for the first payment of one-fourth of the price, and gave three years in which to pay the balance. However, the dockage fronts did not readily find sale, and it was not until after several postponements that the greater portion of them was at length disposed of.

THE LEGISLATURE CALLS A HALT

A few days after the passage of the act creating a new board of Canal Commissioners the legislature apparently awoke to the fact that its former action in empowering the Board of Trustees of the Town of Chicago to dispose of wharfing privileges was inconsistent with the authority that should properly be vested in the Canal Board. The legislature passed an act to amend the section previously quoted. The effect of this amendment quite altered the situation, and naturally gave rise to much litigation. It provided "that so much of the sixth section of the act to which this is an amendment, relating to the powers of the trustees of said town to lease the wharfing privileges shall not be so construed as to empower said trustees to create or make any lease of said privileges for any one term longer than five years: nor shall any lease as aforesaid be so construed as to give any lessee power to erect any building, store house or other buildings than a wharf for loading or unloading goods, wares, merchandise or other articles on said wharfing privileges, and all houses, buildings, stores and out houses heretofore erected upon any ground or land situate, lying and being between the south line of South Water street and the north line of North Water street, in said town as laid out by the commissioners of the Illinois and Michigan canal, shall be deemed nuisances, and may and shall be abated."

The mischief had been done, however, and there could not fail to be a crop of lawsuits to follow the contradictory legislation above quoted. Within a decade most of the property, much of which had already changed hands, was in dispute, either between private parties and the City of Chicago, which had meantime been incorporated, or between the city and the Board of Canal Commissioners. "The authorities," says Andreas, "rightly decided that something must be done, and

done quickly, to settle the validity of titles, as on account of the bitter disputes, some of the property had been abandoned completely, and the benefits were being derived to a great extent by non-owners."

TITLES EVENTUALLY SETTLED

Accordingly an act was passed February 27th, 1847, which was entitled "An act to adjust and settle the title to the wharfing privileges in Chicago." The preamble of this act states the condition of affairs in clear language. "Whereas," it says, "those portions of land, or parts of South Water, North Water, West Water and East Water streets, in the original town of Chicago (on the sides of said streets nearest the river) which lie eighty feet distance from the lines of the lots laid out on the sides of said streets furthest from the river, sometimes known as the 'wharfing privileges,' are now, and have been for a long time past, made the subject of much controversy between different persons and corporations claiming title to the same; and whereas, as they are now situated, neither the city of Chicago, nor any person or any body incorporate, derives any benefit from the same, except the persons who are occupying them, but they are a fruitful source of discord, dissatisfaction and illegal violence; and whereas, it is for the benefit of all parties claiming an interest therein, that the questions arising as to the title to the same shall be settled and determined as speedily as possible; now therefore,

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That the Common Council of the City of Chicago shall have full power and authority to discontinue and vacate any part or portion [of the streets previously named] . . . and to compromise, adjust and determine all conflicting rights or claims arising between the city and any or all persons and corporations who are or may be claimants of such portion of said streets or wharfing privileges."

It was in consequence of the act just quoted, and of an amendment to the same some years later, and the adjustments effected under their authority, that the titles to the "wharfing lots and privileges" were eventually settled, so that owners went on and placed upon them the buildings that we see today along the water fronts of the Chicago river.

FEASIBILITY OF A CANAL

When Joliet, on his world-renowned voyage of discovery in 1673, passed over the Chicago portage from the west to the waters of Lake Michigan, he became impressed with the importance of a waterway to connect the Mississippi and its tributaries with the great lakes. "There would be but one canal to make," said he, "by cutting only one-half a league of prairie to pass from the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan] into St. Louis river," referring to the Desplaines and Illinois rivers. But when La Salle passed that way, in 1682, he took an unfavorable view of Joliet's suggestion. Among the difficulties would be, he said, that there was not water enough either at the entrance to the Chicago river or in the channel of the Desplaines river; that vessels could not resist the spring freshets in the Chicago river, "much heavier than those in the Rhone," and that periods of low water and freezing up in winter would render navigation impossible for the greater part of the time during the re-

mainder of the year. He further said that he would not have mentioned the matter in his letter "if Joliet had not proposed it without regard to difficulties." [3]

This view was confirmed by Father Hennepin in his account of a visit made about the same time to this locality. "The country between the said creek [the Chicago river] and the Divine [Desplaines] river [is not] fit for a canal," he wrote, "for the meadows between them are drowned after any great rain, and so a canal will be immediately filled up with sands. And besides it is impossible to dig up the ground because of the water, that country being nothing but a morass."

For more than a century the struggle for existence smothered all dreams of commercial possibilities. Indian wars, wars between the French and English, and between the English and Americans, prevented consideration of improvements in the waterways. The Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, provided that a tract of land six miles square, "at the mouth of the Chikago river," be ceded to the United States by the Indians, and that the tribes allow "the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water through their country, along the chain of posts . . . from the mouth of the Chikago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi." [4] "This clause," says Brown in his "Drainage Channel and Waterways," "may be considered the first official suggestion of a canal across the Chicago Divide."

During the following years the feasibility of building a canal was frequently mentioned in Congress. The plan was referred to in the issue of the Niles' Register for August 6, 1814, as follows: "By the Illinois river, it is probable that Buffalo, in New York, may be united with New Orleans by inland navigation, through Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and down that river [*sic*] to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of Europe, compared with this water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may easily be made), the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions." We have already referred to the Treaty of 1816, by which the Indians ceded a tract twenty miles in width at the lake, that is, ten miles each way from the mouth of the Chicago river, and extending a distance of some forty miles in a southwesterly direction, thus including what would inevitably be the natural route for a canal.

The Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, made a report to Congress in 1819, in which he mentioned the proposed canal from the Illinois river to Lake Michigan "which the growing population of the state renders very important," and which would be "valuable for military purposes." [5] On March 30th, 1822, Congress passed an act "authorizing the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands to connect the Illinois river with Lake Michigan," at the same time granting a strip containing ninety feet of land on each side of the canal. The state legislature in the following year provided for a board of commissioners to devise a plan and adopt such means as might be required to build a canal between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan. Engineers were employed who examined the route and estimated the cost at seven hundred thousand dollars,—an absurdly low estimate.

[3] Cited by Brown. "Drainage Channel," p. 115.
[4] "Indian Treaties," p. 187.
[5] Moses. "History of Illinois," Vol. I, p. 462.

STATE LEGISLATION

This led to the passage of a law by the General Assembly in 1825, to incorporate the "Illinois and Michigan Canal Association," with a capital of one million dollars.[6] It was soon seen, however, that this being a corporation for pecuniary profit to its prospective stockholders, assistance could not be expected from the general government as was hoped for, and the act was repealed. In 1827 Congress granted to the State of Illinois, "for the purpose of aiding her in opening the canal," the alternate sections of the public lands on each side of the canal for five miles in width along its entire route.[7] A new board of commissioners was provided for by the legislature, and a new survey made which resulted in an estimate of four million dollars as the cost of construction.

This staggered the promoters of the canal, and the project slumbered for some years. In 1833 the legislature abolished the board of commissioners, thus undoing its work for the second time. Finally, in 1835, it was again decided to go ahead with the work, and on January 9th, 1836, the legislature passed an "act for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," and ordered an issue of stock to the value of half a million dollars, for the payment of which the faith of the state was irrevocably pledged. It was also provided in the act that "the commissioners shall select such places on the canal route as may be eligible for town sites, and cause them to be laid off into town lots, including the canal lands in or near Chicago." The revenue from the canal when completed and that from the sale of the lands granted by Congress was also pledged for the payment of the interest on the stock, and for the reimbursement of the principal.[8]

FINANCING THE WORK

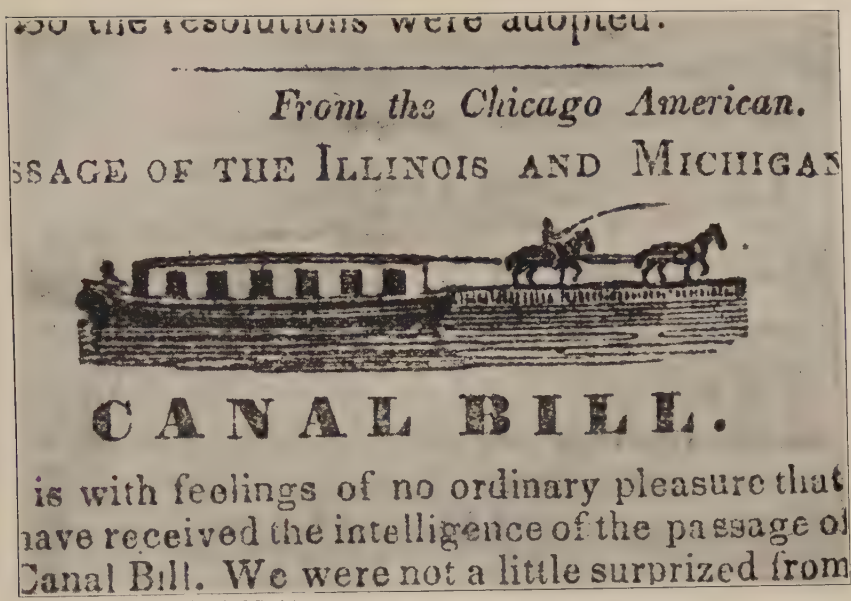
The commissioners appointed were William F. Thornton, Gurdon S. Hubbard, and William B. Archer. They determined, on the advice of the chief engineer, William Gooding, to adopt the plan of a lake-fed canal sixty-feet wide at the water level, thirty-six feet wide at the bottom, and having a minimum depth of six feet of water.[9] Gooding had been formerly an engineer on the Erie Canal, completed in 1825, which had a depth of only four feet, and convinced the commissioners that New York had made a mistake in constructing a canal inadequate to its rapidly growing traffic. The first plan under consideration had provided for a depth of four feet, and the commissioners adopted the plan of a six foot canal, as advised by engineer Gooding,

[6] J. W. Putnam. "Journal of Political Economy," 1909, p. 273.

[7] The act of Congress, passed March 30, 1822, had granted to the state, for the purpose of opening a canal "to connect the Illinois river with Lake Michigan," a strip containing "ninety feet of land on each side of said canal," for the use of the state in building a canal, and "for no other purpose whatever." The grant of "one-half of five sections in width, on each side of said canal," under the act of March 2, 1827, was in addition to the "ninety-foot strip;" but with power under the later act, "to sell and convey the whole, or any part of the said land," for the purposes aforesaid, namely: "for the purpose of aiding the state in opening a canal to unite the waters of Illinois river with those of Lake Michigan." Thus while the "ninety-foot strip" could not be alienated, but must be used for a canal, the alternate sections five miles each side of the canal could be sold to aid the state in building the canal and a title in fee-simple given therefor."—(Laws Relating to Illinois and Michigan Canal, p. 4.)

[8] Brown. "Drainage Channel," p. 158.

[9] Putnam: "Journal of Polit. Econ." 1909, p. 277.



From the Chicago American.

SSAGE OF THE ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN

CANAL BILL.

is with feelings of no ordinary pleasure that
have received the intelligence of the passage of
Canal Bill. We were not a little surprized from

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

CANAL BOAT DRAWN BY HORSES

Cut taken from Chicago Democrat for January 20, 1836

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN CANAL STOCK

"because they were convinced," says Professor Putnam in his "Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," "that the increased utility of the larger canal would more than counterbalance the increased cost of construction."

These two plans were referred to in the discussions regarding the proposed canal, one as the "shallow cut," the other as the "deep cut." It began to be realized by the commissioners that the old estimate of four million dollars as the cost of the proposed canal was entirely too low, but relying on the great and increasing value of the land grants, reinforced by the pledge of the state's credit, they boldly went ahead and let contracts for a portion of the "Summit division." Under the conditions of the act of January 9, 1836, the six per cent canal bonds had become marketable securities, and a loan of half a million dollars was readily negotiated in New York, at a premium of five per cent.[10]

REJOICING AT CHICAGO

There was great rejoicing in Chicago when the news was received that the legislature had passed the law which authorized the beginning of the work on the canal. There was now a good prospect that at last the dirt would begin to fly, and that the hopes cherished through long years of anxious waiting were to become accomplished facts. The population of Chicago at this time was about 3800, and the town was growing fast. The construction of a canal had been the subject of so much discussion during the previous thirteen years, that great numbers of settlers from the East had been attracted to this spot and the neighboring territory; the prevalent belief being that here was to be the gateway of an extensive commerce, and that the canal would be its principal artery.

When the construction of the canal was at length assured, western immigration received a new impetus,[11] every avenue of approach and every means of communication being taxed to its utmost capacity. There were, indeed, other reasons for the great influx of new arrivals in this city and its vicinity, such as the settlement of the Indian troubles, the cheapness and fertility of the lands, and the convenient access by lake to eastern markets now that the Erie Canal was in operation. But the canal at this period was uppermost in the thoughts of the people of northern Illinois, just as a few years later the railroads became the object of their hopes. "The Canal, which had excited public attention for fifteen years," says the *Democrat, "was* to be commenced. . . . The cares, labors, anxieties and disappointments of the past were forgotten in the joyful anticipation of the future."[12] It is to be noted that the initial letter of the word "Canal" was always printed with a capital letter in the newspapers of that time.

MEETINGS OF CITIZENS AT CHICAGO

The act was passed January 9th, 1836, and on the 13th the news reached Chicago. A meeting was held at the Tremont House, with Colonel Richard J. Hamilton in the chair. The object of the meeting was "to take into consideration the propriety of making some public demonstrations of joy on account of the passage

[10] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909. pp. 277, 280.
[11] Brown. "Drainage Channel," p. 151.
[12] The Chicago Democrat Jan. 20, 1836.

of the Canal bill," and it was resolved "that a committee of ten be appointed to make arrangements for carrying into effect the objects of the meeting." The chair appointed to this committee H. Pearsons, J. H. Kinzie, G. W. Snow, J. C. Goodhue, A. Garrett, G. W. Dole, G. Kercheval, G. H. Walker, E. Peck and J. L. Wilson.

It was also resolved that a gun be fired for each of the members of the legislature who had voted for the bill; and that the editors of the two weekly papers, the *Democrat* and the *American,* should be requested to publish the names of the "Ayes" and "Nays," as given on the final passage of the bill; and that the "Ayes" be printed in capital letters, and the "Nays" in small italics.[13] The *American* complied with this request in its issue of the 16th, and this amusing specimen of typography is reproduced herewith for the entertainment of our readers. By this it will be seen that the names of the unfortunate minority were not only printed in small italics, but that even the initial letters of their names appeared in the same ignominious type. The *Democrat,* whose day of issue was on the 20th, did not print the names as requested in the resolutions, evidently regarding it as a needless repetition of what had already been printed in the other paper.

THE DIRT BEGINS TO FLY

The day appointed for the beginning of the work on the canal was the fourth of July, 1836. On that day there was the usual Fourth of July celebration and the occasion was taken advantage of to combine with it the ceremonies of breaking ground on the canal. A procession of leading citizens was formed, and the signal for the start was given by firing three cannon shots from the fort. Some of the people went by boats; others on horseback, in wagons, or afoot, followed the newly opened Archer road to Bridgeport, where the celebration was to be held. After all had assembled the Declaration of Independence was read and suitable addresses delivered. Colonel William B. Archer had the honor of turning the first spadeful of earth.[14]

It is related by Gale, in his "Reminiscences," that some of the irrepressible youngsters in the crowd nearly robbed their elders of the glory of performing the first act in the construction of the canal. Young Fernando Jones and another lad filled the waiting wheelbarrow with "sacred earth," apparently when no one was looking, and it was presently discovered that they had actually begun the work themselves. But the boys, not being on the program of exercises, were quietly ignored, and thus the records fail to recognize their presence.

One of the boats while on its way to the place of meeting, it is also related by Gale, passed a party of Irishmen employed in a brickyard on the east bank of the river at Adams Street, who insisted on being taken aboard. The boat being crowded no stop was made. At this they were highly incensed, and upon the return of the boat they assailed the excursionists with brickbats. But the party afloat, filled with Independence Day enthusiasm, resented the attack; and the boat being stopped some of the offending Irish were gathered in and later placed in the "Watch House."

[13] The Chicago American. Jan. 16, 1836.

[14] Andreas. "Hist. Chicago." Vol. I, p. 168.

PROGRESS OF THE WORK

During the remainder of the year little actual progress was made, as roads had to be built, houses for laborers erected, and machinery procured. Laborers were hard to be found, so that it became necessary to insert advertisements in eastern papers offering wages of from twenty to twenty-six dollars a month for hands. Various acts of the legislature were passed to provide funds as the work made progress, as it was soon found that the original amount of stock was inadequate. In 1837 the great financial panic occurred which embarrassed the work. The State Bank of Illinois suspended specie payments, thus tying up a large amount of canal money which had been realized from the sales of securities, and from sales of land at Chicago and along the line of the canal. Further loans were authorized, but the fact that at about that time the state, in its efforts to finance a vast scheme of internal improvements, had become deeply involved in debt, rendered it increasingly difficult to make further sales of canal securities.

Under an act of the legislature, passed March 2d, 1837, the canal board became elective by the General Assembly, and subject to its control, instead of receiving its appointment from the governor and being subject to his control, as its predecessor had been. A new board was created consisting of W. F. Thornton, Jacob Fry and J. A. McClernand; and Benjamin Wright was appointed special engineer.[15] Wright made a report strongly supporting the plan previously adopted. "The Illinois and Michigan Canal, as now projected and under construction," Wright reports, "may truly be considered as one of the greatest and most important in its consequences of any work of any age or nation. . . . It is the shortest artificial work with the least lockage. The climate, soil, and the capability of productions of the country which will be benefited by the construction of this work, will certainly equal, if they do not exceed any other part of the United States; and when I view it in this light, I think it justly merits to be executed upon the best and most permanent plan, and will justify by its revenue any outlay which may be put upon it in reason." [16]

Thus encouraged the commissioners continued the work with the means at their command. From the proceeds of the earlier sales of bonds the board had, by the end of the year 1837, expended $390,000 in work on canal construction. Meantime Chicago had become incorporated as a city (March 4, 1837), and its population had increased to 4,180. It was now the largest town in the state. [17] There was also a sudden increase of transient population along the route of the canal where work was going on, and great numbers of these "transients" became permanent settlers. The Indians had been removed to their new reservations in 1836, and the people of Chicago regarded matters as greatly improved by their removal.

A traveler passing through Chicago in August, 1838, kept a journal in which he recorded some of his observations. This traveler was Dr. William Blanding of Philadelphia, "a genial, cultured gentleman," and a copy of his journal in manuscript is now in the possession of the Evanston Historical Society, through the courtesy of W. J. C. Kenyon, Esq., of Chicago. "The Illinois Canal," he says, "is a work of no small labor, level as the country is. Twelve miles from Chicago is the deepest cut, which is thirty-two feet in limestone, of a good quality for building and

[15] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909 p. 279

[16] Report of Canal Commissioners, 1838, p. 80.

[17] Moses & Kirkland's "Hist. Chicago," Vol. I, p. 102.

burning. . . . By sinking the canal thus deep the water from the lake is used, and, strange to tell, falls into the Mississippi. . . . But for this rocky barrier, Lake Michigan would soon find its way by the Mississippi to the ocean and rob Niagara of part of its waters."

MAGNITUDE OF THE UNDERTAKING

"It was a Herculean task that the young state had set for itself," writes Professor Putnam, "but, led on by that large optimism which has ever been characteristic of the continually advancing West, the people of Illinois were not dismayed by the magnitude of the undertaking. With prophetic vision they beheld the completed canal bearing on its placid waters the products of the East, the West, the North, and the South; they saw the cities, villages, farms, and factories which would ultimately come into being along its course. . . . For ten years the commercial and industrial importance of the Erie canal had been a familiar story to the people of Illinois, and they confidently expected to see that history repeated in their own state." [18]

Governor Thomas Ford in his inaugural message to the General Assembly, December 8, 1842, said, "if the canal progresses to completion, the lands and lots and water power will be quadrupled in value, and the tolls alone would in a short time pay interest on all the debt contracted for its construction." [19] The committee, to which was referred this part of the Governor's message, approved the suggestions made, and added the following expression: "The completion of the canal will secure to our farmers a rich reward for their honest labors, good prices and a ready sale for their produce, revive business, restore prosperity, and give a new impulse to trade and commerce. Emigration will pour into the state, our vacant lands will be sought after, our wild prairies will be transformed into rich and beautiful farms. Capital will flow into the country, industry will be encouraged, enterprise will be stimulated, and the citizens of Illinois will soon become prosperous and happy." [20]

The financial difficulties increased, however, as the work advanced, and though the commissioners had performed wonders in obtaining a sale for canal securities, it was found by March, 1843, that expenditures could no longer be met and the work on the canal was entirely suspended.[21] More than five millions had been spent and the canal was still far from complete. The extensive schemes of internal improvement entered upon by the state legislature in 1837 had by this time brought the credit of the state to so low an ebb that repudiation was freely discussed as a possibility.[22] While the canal funds were kept separate from the other state securities, and had the canal lands as a basis for their value, yet they suffered from being in bad company. Credit seemed exhausted, and it was predicted that the canal would never be completed. A period of gloom settled over the canal's prospects, the failure of the General Assembly to provide further means for the continuance of the work being interpreted as the abandonment of the canal to its fate.[23]

[18] Putnam. "Economic Hist. Ill. & Mich. Canal," p. 273.
[19] Canal Commissioners' Report for 1900, p. 196.
[20] Cited in Canal Comr's' Report for 1900, p. 199.
[21] Brown. "Drainage Channel," p. 195.
[22] Ford. "Hist. Illinois," p. 381.
[23] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909, p. 287.

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READ! REMEMBER!!

SENATE.—AYES.

BOND, CRAIG, EDWARDS, EWING, FLEHCHER, GATEWOOD, HACKER, HERNDON, MAXWELL, MILLS, MITCHELL, PARISH, RATTAN, STRODE, THOMAS, VANCE, WEATHERFORD, WHITESIDE, WILLIAMS—18.

NAYS.

davidson, lane, mcgahey, noel, servant, snider, williamson.—7.

HOUSE.—AYES.

ABLE, BLACKWELL, BOWYER, BROWN, BUTLER, CARPENTER, of Sangamon, CLOUD, DAWSON, DUBOIS, DUNN, ELLIOTT, FITHIAN, FRAZER, GORDON, GREGORY, HACKLETON, HAMLIN, HAMPTON, HERRELD, HUGHES, HUNT, HENRY, LINCOLN, MANLY, MOORE, MURPHY, OUTHOUSE, OWEN, PAGE ROSS, STUART, SMITH, TROWER, TUNNELL, TURNEY, VANDEVANTER, WOOD, WYATT,—38.

NAYS.

blackford, blockburger, buckmaster, carpenter, clark, craig, cunningham, harris, hunter, nunnally, oliver, porter, thompson, webb, whiteside, wren, and the ☞ speaker.—16.

GEN. EWING has been elected to the Senate of the United States to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of the HON E. K. KANE. He immediately proceeded to Washington.

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By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

PASSAGE IN THE CHICAGO AMERICAN FOR SATURDAY, JANUARY 16, 1836, SHOWING HOW THE VOTE ON THE CANAL QUESTION WAS RECORDED

DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED

But with three-fourths of the work done there began to spring up a new hope that the completion of the canal might be accomplished if another loan could be secured. The state's borrowing power was at an end, but with the substantial security of the unsold canal lands, and the prospect of the tolls to be received after navigation had become possible, it was reasonably hoped that a loan could be made with these guarantees. The commissioners had already resorted to the issuance of "scrip," which the contractors on the work accepted for a time. This scrip was receivable for purchases of canal lands and much of it was bought up by speculators at a discount, but it soon became a drug on the market.

It was thought that three millions of dollars would be required for the remainder of the work, but no way was seen by which so large an amount could be raised. In this extremity the friends of the canal bethought them of the old "shallow cut" plan. It was reluctantly agreed by every one that this was the only alternative. Much of the "Summit level"—that part of the canal from Bridgeport to Lockport —was already excavated in accordance with the "deep cut" plan, but the engineers made an estimate that by the "shallow cut" for the remainder of the work the sum of $1,600,000, would be sufficient. It was considered practicable to raise this amount on a pledge of the canal lands and revenues. After protracted negotiations the necessary funds became assured. One of the conditions which was made by the subscribers to the new loan, the amount of which was to be $1,600,000, was that a board of three trustees be created, two of whom were to be chosen by the subscribers to the new loan, and one by the governor. This arrangement was authorized by the General Assembly and to this board of trustees all the property of the canal was turned over, to be held and managed for the benefit of creditors, under such restrictions as would safeguard the interests of the state.[24] This board consisted of Captain W. H. Swift, of Washington, and David Leavitt, of New York, chosen by the creditors, and General Jacob Fry as the state member. In effect this was a "trust" in the old meaning of that much abused term, and it was continued until the work was completed and every dollar of liabilities paid off, as will be shown in a later portion of this account.

THE WORK RESUMED UNDER A TRUSTEESHIP

In June, 1845, these trustees assumed the trust and began preparations for resuming the work on the canal. The first installment of the new loan was called for to be paid in the following September. It was provided in the act authorizing these new arrangements that the former contractors should have priority of right in securing the contracts on their old sections, and in August those sections not pre-empted by the former contractors were let to the lowest responsible bidders.[25] "These contracts evidenced the change in the economic condition of the region since 1836," says Professor Putnam. High prices had prevailed in that year, a condition which "was magnified in the region of the canal with its suddenly acquired population and its undeveloped resources, and by the necessity of importing all needed supplies. In 1845 the country was slowly recovering from a period of industrial

[24] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909, p. 289.
[25] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909, p. 292

depression. Prices were relatively low. Food supplies were particularly cheap in the region of the canal, where they were now produced in abundance. As a consequence, although the new estimates were far below the earlier ones, the trustees experienced no difficulty in finding contractors who would undertake the work at less than the estimated cost of completing it." As an instance of the great decline in the prices of food, the wages of laborers, and the value of animals, during the period from the beginning of work on the canal to the time when these contracts were let, the following table of comparisons is printed in the "Report of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," for 1844:[26]

Wages, Animals, Foodstuffs.	Cost in 1836	Cost in 1843
Labor of man per month (average)	$ 40.00	$16.00
Horses, each	100.00	60.00
Oxen, per yoke	80.00	45.00
Beef, per hundred weight	6.00	3.00
Pork, per barrel	22.00	8.00
Flour, per barrel	11.00	3.50

An interesting statement on the subject of prices prevailing in the years mentioned in the above table is found in the recollections of John McCowan, who came West with the family of his father, Peter McCowan, in the spring of 1835. The family settled near the present village of Channahon on the line of the canal, then in Cook County, but afterwards included within the limits of Will County when that county was organized in 1836. When they first came into the country, said Mr. McCowan in an interview with the writer in 1902, the people used corn meal and potatoes as their principal food, and they also had a plentiful supply of prairie chickens and other game. Domestic fowls were scarce at first, but soon began to multiply rapidly, and, by 1843, "they had eggs to throw away," for they could scarcely get two cents a dozen for them until work was resumed on the canal, when, owing to the presence of a large number of men on that work, prices recovered to ten and twelve cents a dozen. . . . Eggs were cooked for every meal," said Mr. McCowan, "until I was so tired of them I wouldn't touch eggs for years afterwards." In the same account it is related that the elder McCowan, in 1835, bought a yoke of oxen for forty-eight dollars from a man who came from the southern part of the state, with a wagon load of apples drawn by two yoke of oxen. After selling the apples and one yoke of oxen, he returned with the remaining pair. The next year the same man appeared again with apples and oxen for sale, finding that he could get better prices for his produce and animals in the newer settlements of the northern counties, than in the market towns of his own neighborhood.

By the act of the legislature before referred to it was required that the canal be completed within three years after it should be turned over to the trustees. In spite of delays caused by floods and by an unusual amount of sickness among the laborers, the work was completed in the allotted time, and was opened for navigation in April, 1848.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CANAL IN 1843

The expenditures on the canal before it was taken over by the trustees amounted to a little more than five million dollars. An inventory of its assets included the

[26] Cited by Putnam, Ibid., p. 292.

value of the canal itself, which was considered worth five millions of dollars, that is, the cost of its construction up to the time when work upon it ceased; also 230,476 acres of land worth ten dollars an acre, and 3491 lots in the cities and towns of Chicago, Lockport, Ottawa and La Salle, valued at $1,900,000. The total valuation thus arrived at, amounting to $9,204,670, was accepted by the creditors as reasonable and safe. In addition to this it was estimated that the rentals from water power privileges would aggregate from $75,000 to $100,000 a year. The estimates made for the tolls to be paid by shippers were vague, but it was anticipated that they would be large, more than $100,000 a year at least. In fact the average receipts for tolls for thirty years after the canal was in operation were about $178,000 per annum, after which period there was a steady decline.[27]

COMPLETION OF THE CANAL

On the 10th of April, 1848, all was ready for the passage of boats through the "Summit Level," and on that day the "General Fry" arrived at Chicago from Lockport, passing down the river amid the cheers of the inhabitants. The delegation from Lockport on board the boat was welcomed by Mayor Woodworth, and an eloquent speech was made by Charles Walker. Later in the month boats were started simultaneously from La Salle and Chicago, meeting at Lockport, where an enthusiastic reception awaited them. The La Salle boat, the "General Thornton," proceeded to Chicago, where it arrived on the 23d,[28] "laden with sugar and other goods from New Orleans en route to Buffalo."[29] We can imagine the enthusiasm of the people when they witnessed the fulfillment of their long cherished hopes, and the promise thus given that Chicago hereafter was to be the chief point of transhipment for goods and merchandise, on the route between far distant regions of the country.

THE ERIE CANAL OF NEW YORK

The demonstrations of popular enthusiasm over the culmination of the great work were comparable to the joyful demonstrations of the people of New York State, when the Erie Canal was completed in 1825; a description of which reminds us of the "pageants" of our own day. The following account of the picturesque proceedings is condensed from an article in the Publications of the Illinois Historical Society, by Dr. Bernard Stuve, and will be found interesting in this connection.[30]

A fleet of canal boats was made up at Buffalo, having New York City for its destination. One of the boats was loaded with a family of Indians from the western part of the state, a live buffalo from the plains, a raccoon, and some prairie dogs, typical of the former western products; while the other boats were loaded with wheat, oats and corn to show what the Great West was capable of producing. Others still were thronged with invited guests, including Governor De Witt Clinton as the chief figure. All the boats were gaily decorated with flags, and drawn by fine gray horses. A cask of Lake Erie water was also put aboard.

The fleet started on its way amidst the firing of cannon, music of the band, and

[27] Putnam. "Jour. Polit. Econ." 1909, p. 353.
[28] Fergus' Hist. Series, No. 25, p. 20.
[29] Andreas: "Hist. Chicago." Vol. I, p. 171.
[30] Illinois Historical Library Publication, No. 7, p. 115.

the cheers of the people gathered to see the procession move. Cannon had been placed within hearing distance of one with another along the route clear to New York City, and their reports informed the people from time to time of the progress of the fleet.

On reaching the Hudson, the fleet was met by a convoy of steamers and the boats were towed down the river, the banks of which, at many points, were crowded with people who cheered them as they passed. At New York the whole city, apparently, turned out to welcome the first boats through the canal. The fleet passed on to Sandy Hook at the entrance to New York bay, where, after a speech by Governor Clinton, and with music and cannon firing, the cask of Lake Erie water was emptied into the Atlantic, thus signalizing the union of the waters of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. On the return of the fleet to the city, the streets were illuminated, followed by a succession of banquets, balls, and meetings.

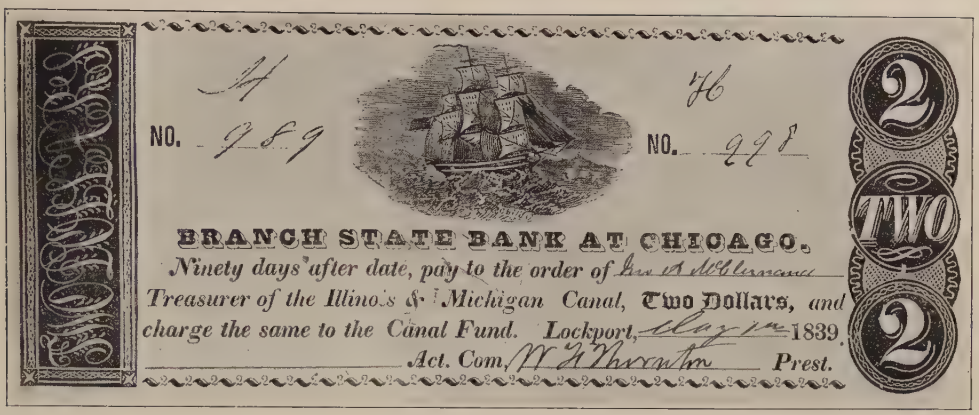
M'COWAN'S NARRATIVE

We have already referred to the recollections of John McCowan, whose father settled near Channahon, on the route of the canal, in the year 1835. From this account, as well as from the many oral traditions common in that neighborhood, we may get an idea of the fervent longing possessed by those people whose farms adjoined the canal, to see the boats actually passing before their eyes, when the work should at last be completed. During the twelve years that the canal was passing through its construction period they watched its progress with intense interest; and when the channel was flooded, and the boats began moving on their courses within its banks, they felt that their hopes and dreams were at last realized in the splendid achievement.

In his narrative McCowan says, "the canal was completed in 1847, but boats did not begin to run until 1848. Mother never saw the boats run, as she died January 25, 1848," that is, three months before they began. This was pathetic indeed, as no doubt she, like all the people, had looked forward with eager anticipation to the happy day when she could see the boats passing; and it shows, too, what a strong hold the canal had upon the mind and imagination, that McCowan should speak of his mother's death in such a connection. Old Captain Willard, one of the early settlers, and once an owner of sloops on the Hudson, saw three or four of the boats pass before his death, which occurred in April, 1848. "He saw them from his bed as he sat up," says the account; the last earthly interest he had being to witness with his own eyes those harbingers of a new era.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CANAL

The canal thus completed was ninety-seven and a quarter miles long from Bridgeport, at the head of the canal on the South Branch of the Chicago River, to La Salle. At the latter point canal boats could pass down the Illinois River to the Mississippi. The canal had been completed on the "shallow-cut" plan, that is with a minimum depth of four feet, though in later years, as we shall see, it was deepened to six feet. Owing to the adoption of the "shallow-cut" plan, when work on the canal was resumed in 1845, it had been found that the gravity flow from Lake Michigan was not sufficient to keep the water in the canal at its proper stage. Pump-


NO. 989
NO. 998
BRANCH STATE BANK AT CHICAGO.
Ninety days after date, pay to the order of
Treasurer of the Illinois & Michigan Canal, Two Dollars, and
charge the same to the Canal Fund. Lockport,
1839.
Act. Com.
Prest.
TWO

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

CANAL "SCRIP" ISSUED BY COMMISSIONERS AND ACCEPTED BY CONTRACTORS AS PAYMENT

ing works were therefore installed at Bridgeport during the last year of the work, and their service proved to be satisfactory for the purpose. The canal has seventeen locks to overcome the difference in level between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River at La Salle. This difference amounts to one hundred and forty-five feet. The locks on the completed canal were 110x18 feet, and provided for the passage of boats, with a carrying capacity of about one hundred and fifty tons. The state has never attempted to transport passengers or freight on the canal. Having furnished the route, it has left the work of transportation to individuals and corporations.

REVIEW OF THE WORK

Nearly twelve years had elapsed since the work on the canal was in process of construction, from July 4, 1836, when ground was first broken at Bridgeport, to April 23, 1848, when the first trip of the "General Thornton" over the entire length of the canal was completed, a period as long as will be required for building the great interoceanic canal at Panama, since the United States assumed control of that work. "Chicago and the State of Illinois owe much to it," says Brown, "for it was the corner stone of their prosperity. . . . Chicago really owes its existence to the canal. . . . Its advantageous location was not fully realized until the canal was completed." [31]

It will be remembered that when the work of construction was resumed in 1845 on the "shallow-cut" plan, the sum of $1,600,000, was borrowed on the security of the canal lands and the canal itself, which was far advanced towards completion; and that a trust was formed under the control of three trustees, two of whom were appointed by the subscribers to the loan, and one by the state. When the canal was completed it was found that the cost of the work since its resumption was well inside the estimate, and the trustees had a balance remaining of over $170,000. In other words, since the assumption of their responsibilities, the trustees had spent only $1,430,000, of the amount raised on the loan of $1,600,000. The amount that had been spent on the work when it passed into the hands of the trustees was $5,039,248. Add to this the amount expended by the trustees and the total cost of construction is thus seen to have been $6,469,248.[32]

In a general review of the economic history of the canal, Professor Putnam writes concerning the conduct of affairs up to the time of the suspension of work, in 1843, as follows: "The financial management of the canal has generally been honest and reasonably efficient; but it has not always been above criticism from the standpoint of policy adopted or methods used. During the period of construction, the ever-present financial problem led to the trial of unsound financial expedients. . . . The responsibility for these expedients rests partly with the board and partly with the General Assembly. The issuance of canal scrip is a case in point. As is usual in such cases, the scrip was over-issued and consequently suffered a heavy depreciation, casting an undue burden upon the men least able to bear it, namely, the laborers. The contractors were paid in scrip, but they were able to pass it on to the laborers in payment of wages. The laborers either used it in making purchases of necessaries of life, the price of which was raised to cover

[31] Brown. "Drainage Channel and Waterway," p. 201.
[32] Putnam. "Ecomic Hist. Ill. and Mich. Canal," p. 293.

the depreciation of the scrip, or sold to speculators for cash at a discount. In either case, the laborer bore the chief part of the burden of depreciation.

"The General Assembly which authorized such a course was not blameless, but the administration of the act lay with the commissioners. The act was rather permissive than mandatory, and the amount of the issue was entirely within their control. It may be urged, however, in extenuation of the policy, that no other means was available at the time for continuing the work on the canal; and that a suspension of operations would have been much more disastrous to the contractors, and certainly to all the laborers, who could not readily find work elsewhere, than the depreciation of the scrip proved to be. Be that as it may, the inevitable result of the policy adopted was the practical reduction of the wages of the laborers and the development of a class of land speculators at the expense of the laboring men, who were forced by the necessities of life to cash their scrip for whatever it would bring. Men with ready money were enabled to purchase scrip at a heavy discount, and use it in payment for canal lots or lands at face value."[33]

The very excellent treatise of Professor J. W. Putnam, published in the "Journal of Political Economy" (University of Chicago Press), for the months of May, June and July, 1909, under the title of "An Economic History of Illinois and Michigan Canal," contains a very complete account of the canal from its inception, and throughout its entire history down to the present time. Another volume of great value on this subject is that of Mr. G. P. Brown, published in 1894, under the title of "The Drainage Channel and Waterway," which gives a history of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, down to the date of the publication of his book. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to these sources in the preparation of this chapter, as well as to the regular publications of the Canal Commissioners.

[33] Putnam. "Economic Hist. Ill. and Mich. Canal," p. 341.

CHAPTER XII

GROWTH OF CHICAGO DURING THE THIRTIES

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A TOWN—LIMITS OF THE TOWN EXTENDED—FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT—LAST YEAR OF TOWN GOVERNMENT—CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A CITY—PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER—FIRST CITY ELECTION AND CENSUS—CHART OF EVENTS—THE TWO INCORPORATIONS—PURPOSES OF A CITY CHARTER—EARLY SYSTEM OF SURVEYS—TOWNSHIP SYSTEM OF SURVEYS—TOWNSHIPS AND SECTIONS—FIRST PLAT OF CHICAGO—INTERESTING FEATURES OF THE PLAT—SALES OF LOTS IN THE NEW SUBDIVISION—CONDITIONS AT TIME OF SALE—CHART OF LOTS—VALUES OF PROPERTY—EARLY STREET NAMES—CONTEMPORARY EVENTS—CANAL COMMISSIONERS AND CANAL TRUSTEES—WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW—SUFFERINGS IN THE WINTER SEASON—TRAGEDIES OF THE COLD—WINTER ADVENTURES—HOFFMAN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO—WINTER SPORTS IN CHICAGO—A WOLF HUNT—A WOLF DRIVE—INCREASED COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE THIRTIES—BEGINNING OF THE SPECULATIVE MANIA—CAUSES OF ADVANCE IN VALUES—CONDITIONS IN 1836—SPECULATION FEVER—GROWTH OF THE CITY CHECKED—WILD CAT CURRENCY—VARIOUS SCHEMES OF INFLATION—CAUSES OF THE PANIC—THE PANIC IN CHICAGO—EXTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CITY—LAKE HOUSE AND TREMONT HOUSE—FIRES—STAGE ROADS TO THE EAST—TAVERNS ON THE ROAD—STAGE ROADS TO THE NORTH—STAGE ROADS TO THE WEST—SOCIETY OF THE EARLY DAYS.

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A TOWN

ON AUGUST 12, 1833, the Town of Chicago was incorporated, that being the date of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees. This board consisted of Thomas J. V. Owen, president, George W. Dole, Mâdore B. Beaubien, John Miller, and E. S. Kimberley. Isaac Harmon was appointed clerk of the board. The first boundaries of the town were those of the Canal Commissioners' first subdivision, as shown on "Thompson's Plat," namely, Kinzie, Desplaines, Madison and State streets, embracing an area of about three-eighths of a square mile.[1]

The incorporation of the Town of Chicago was made possible by an act of the legislature, passed February 12th, 1831, by the provisions of which citizens of any community of over one hundred and fifty inhabitants were authorized to incorporate as a town, with limits not to exceed one square mile in extent.

Soon after its incorporation, that is, on November 6th, 1833, the limits of the new town were extended so as to embrace an area of seven-eighths of a square mile, thus keeping safely within the limits specified in the general act. These new and

[1] Canal Commissioners' Report for 1900, p. 252.

enlarged boundaries were in general as follows: The boundary on the north was Ohio street, that on the west was Jefferson street, that on the south Jackson street, and that on the east State street as far as the river, and thence north along the lake shore. This irregular eastern boundary was made necessary to avoid including the military reservation within which the fort was situated. It will be seen that although the boundaries were thus extended on three sides, the western boundary was placed at Jefferson street, thus cutting off the six blocks numbered 10, 11, 25, 26, 47 and 48, lying west of Jefferson street. This was rendered necessary in order to keep within the "one square mile" limit of the act, while adding rapidly growing districts to its area in other directions. The curtailed portion, however, was again placed within the limits of the town, as we shall see, in the next extension of its area.

LIMITS OF THE TOWN AGAIN EXTENDED

Even at that early period Chicago began to show a wonderful expansion in population and trade, and before the end of another year its population was estimated at about two thousand, a newspaper had been established, lake commerce was becoming important, and building operations were very active. This phenomenal rate of increase, and the prospects for a continuation of its growth, made felt the need of extending the powers of the trustees. In order to increase the area of the town a special act of the legislature was passed February 11, 1835, and under its provisions another extension of the area of the town was made. The enlarged boundaries were as follows: the boundary on the north was Chicago avenue; that on the west Halsted street; that on the south Twelfth street, and that on the east the shore of the lake, excepting the military reservation, thus enclosing an area of about two and two-fifths square miles within its limits.

The number of trustees was increased to nine, with enlarged functions and powers. The new board prohibited gaming houses, and the sale of liquors on Sundays, provided for public cemeteries, made police and fire regulations, and adopted an official seal. As the town consisted for the most part of flimsy frame structures, the care of the trustees was especially directed against the danger from fire. No person was allowed to endanger the public safety by passing a "stove pipe through the roof, partition or side of any building," unless guarded by an iron shield. All persons were forbidden to carry open coals through the streets except in a covered fire-proof vessel.[2] In the year 1836 was erected a one-story and basement brick building for a courthouse on the public square. This building was classic in its style of architecture, the pediment being supported by four Doric columns, and the portico approached by a flight of steps the full width of the building. This handsome structure fronted east on the northeast corner of the public square. The county offices were in the basement, while the courtroom, which was above, was one large apartment, capable of seating two hundred persons.[3]

FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT

It should be remembered, however, that the County Commissioners of Cook County were also exercising their functions within the usual limitations of county

[2] Grosser.

[3] Andreas: I, 176.

government. The scope of authority exercised by the two forms of government, one within the other, are set forth by Greene in his work "Government of Illinois," as follows: The county board is primarily a legislative body acting under the laws of the state, on the broad general principle of American politics, that "the people of any particular district or community ought, so far as possible, to manage its own affairs." The county board has the right to lay a limited amount of taxes, it must maintain a system of county courts, and its officers must execute the orders of the said courts. It must keep a record of deeds to lands; and, where such duties are not delegated to boards of town trustees, must provide the machinery for elections, keep the peace, maintain schools and charities, survey and maintain highways and bridges, and, in general, look after all local affairs.

The board of trustees of a town is permitted by law to assume many of the lesser responsibilities which would otherwise be exercised by the county board. It assumes charge of the streets and bridges within the limits of the town, enforces authority through justices of the peace and constables, lays taxes for local purposes, and acts as agent of the state and county in the assessment and collection of taxes.[4]

LAST YEAR OF TOWN GOVERNMENT

The last board of trustees of the Town of Chicago was elected on June 6, 1836. The members of the board were Eli B. Williams, president, Samuel G. Trowbridge, Peter Bolles, Peter L. Updike, Augustine D. Taylor, William B. Ogden, Asahel Pierce, Thomas Wright, and John Jackson. The belief in the future of the town was now so strong that an insistent demand arose for a city charter. The work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal having been fairly begun in 1836, the Indians having been finally removed to their new reservations, large numbers of immigrants continually arriving, and real estate advancing at a rapid rate, it was an appropriate time, it seemed, for the Town of Chicago to take a step forward in its civic development, and assume the powers and responsibilities of a full-fledged city.

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A CITY

Following the incorporation of the Town of Chicago on August 12th, 1833, the next important event in the civic life of the place was its incorporation as a city. This bears the date of March 4th, 1837.

In the previous November the President of the Board of Trustees of the Town of Chicago had invited the inhabitants to select three persons from each of the three districts into which the town was divided, to meet the Board and "consult upon the expediency of applying to the Legislature for a city charter." A meeting was accordingly held and a committee of five was appointed to prepare the draft of a city charter and report at a subsequent meeting. The members of this committee were Ebenezer Peck, John D. Caton, Theophilus W. Smith, Peter Bolles, and William B. Ogden.

On the 9th of December, 1836, the committee presented their draft of a city charter, which was voted on by the people at a public meeting, held in the Saloon Building. Four-fifths of those present favored the charter and it was approved.

[4] Greene: "Government of Illinois," p. 95.

The mention of the Saloon Building, famous in the early history of Chicago, requires a brief description, as the hall contained within it was considered at that period the finest and most commodious hall "west of Buffalo." Its name was chosen as being the equivalent, in English, of the similar French word, *salon,* indicating a spacious and grand hall. It was much used as a place for popular assemblages and public entertainments, and had but recently been built. It stood at the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets.

The charter having been approved by the people it was sent to the Legislature, and was passed by that body on March 4, 1837, which is the date chosen by the historians on which the municipality began its corporate existence. The election to choose officers was not held, however, until the following May.

The elective officers under the new charter were a mayor, board of aldermen, one clerk, one treasurer and six assessors. The corporate limits of the city were defined to include the district of country, in the County of Cook, in the State of Illinois, with boundaries as follows: The boundary on the north was North avenue; on the west, Wood street; on the south, Twenty-second street; and on the east, the lake, excepting the military reservation where the fort stood. The city was divided into six wards, each of which was empowered to elect two aldermen.

"Under the city charter," says President E. J. James, in his work on the "Charters of Chicago," "all corporate power was vested in the council consisting of the mayor and aldermen. The mayor was, however, little more than a figurehead. He was presiding officer of the council, but had no veto, and not even a vote unless there was a tie. Nearly all the officials of the city were appointed by the council and made subject to its immediate direction. The council not only organized the various city departments under its ordinances, but it governed the city through these departments as its own immediate agents."

FIRST CITY ELECTION AND CENSUS

An election was held on the second of May, 1837, to choose the officers provided for in the charter. At this election William B. Ogden was chosen the first mayor of Chicago; Isaac N. Arnold, clerk; and Hiram Pearsons, treasurer. Soon after, a census of the city was taken, on July 1, 1837, which gave a total of 4,170 souls, as follows: Men, 2,570; women, 1,600. In this total is included seventy-seven colored people of both sexes. The census also showed that there were three hundred and ninety-eight dwellings, four warehouses, twenty-nine dry-goods stores, five hardware stores, three drug stores, nineteen grocery and provision stores, ten taverns, twenty-six "groceries" (liquor shops), seventeen lawyers' offices, and five churches.

THE TWO INCORPORATIONS

It must be remembered that there were two incorporations, that of the Town of Chicago in 1833, and that of the City of Chicago in 1837. Briefly, rehearsed, for the benefit of the casual reader, it will be seen from the foregoing pages that the first plat, that is, "Thompson's Plat," was made and "published" on August 4, 1830.[5] This did not, however, give any legal status to the place, although this

[5] Andreas: I, 174.

MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF PRINCIPAL MERIDIANS AND BASE LINES NEAREST CHICAGO

date is regarded as that of the "founding of Chicago." [6] The place still continued to be a voting precinct of Peoria County, and so remained until the organization of Cook County on January 15, 1831, when it became the county seat of the new county, but still without any town or village organization.

The "Town of Chicago" was incorporated August 12th, 1833, a little over three years after the time when Thompson's Plat was made, under a general act of the legislature which had been passed on February 12, 1831, enabling communities of over one hundred and fifty inhabitants to incorporate as towns, the limits of which were not to exceed one square mile.[7] The area comprised within the limits of the town at the time it was incorporated was about three-eighths of a square mile, though in 1835, by special act of the legislature, the area was increased to about two and two-fifths square miles.

The "City of Chicago" was incorporated March 4th, 1837, under a special charter passed by the legislature on that date, and entered upon its existence as a city, with an area of about ten square miles comprised within its limits.

CHART OF EVENTS

The following chart presents a view of the more important events occurring between the periods of making the first plat and the incorporation of the City of Chicago.

YEAR	GOVERNMENT	SUBDIVISION AND LIMITS	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
1830	Chicago, Precinct of Peoria County, since January 13th, 1825.	Plat of Chicago made by Canal Commissioners (Thompson's Plat), August 4th, 1830.	Sale of Lots, September 27th, 1830.
1831	Chicago, County Seat of Cook County, January 15th, 1831.	No Change	Cook Country Organized, January 15th, 1831. Chicago Post Office Established, March 31st, 1831.
1832	Continuation as above.	No Change	Black Hawk War Ended, August 3d, 1832.
1833	Town of Chicago Incorporated, August 12th, 1833.	Area of Town when Incorporated, $\frac{3}{8}$ths of a square mile. Area enlarged to $\frac{7}{5}$ths of a square mile, Nov. 6th, 1833.	Harbor Works Begun, July 1st, 1833. Indian Treaty, September 26th, 1833.
1835	Continuation as above.	Area of Town again enlarged to $2\frac{2}{5}$ square miles, February 11th, 1835.	Speculative Mania. Indian Removal.
1836	Continuation as above.	No Change	Illinois and Michigan Canal Commenced, July 4th, 1836.
1837	City of Chicago Incorporated, March 4th, 1837.	Limits: North Ave., Wood St., Twenty-second St., and lake (excepting Military Reservation). Area, a little more than ten square miles.	Population, 4170.

[6] James: "Charters of Chicago," 18.

[7] Andreas: I, 174.

PURPOSES OF A CITY CHARTER

"Wherever there is a considerable gathering of people," says Greene, "the simple machinery of town and county government needs to be supplemented by that of the village or city. These municipal governments, unlike the towns, are intended largely to serve the special local needs of the community for which they were organized. When a city becomes large enough to include one or more townships, a large part of the purely local town business is transferred to the city, and the town becomes more than ever a mere agency of the county government." [8]

In outlining the general purposes for which a city government is instituted, Greene says: "In the first place, the city council is responsible for good order. It therefore organizes the police and makes such other rules as are necessary to suppress disturbance. It also provides places of detention for petty offenders. In the second place, it has charge of the safety and health of the people. Under this head come provisions for the fire department and health regulations of various kinds. In the third place, the council makes provision for the proper care of streets, and regulates the use of them. . . . In the fourth place, the city regulates various kinds of business within its limits by requiring licenses from those engaged in them, as in the case of hackmen, peddlers, and liquor dealers.

"The proper management of all this business requires the spending of money. The council has therefore the right to lay taxes and to borrow money. These financial powers are, however, carefully limited and guarded by the constitution and laws of the state." Further details of the method of organizing a city, and its powers and duties after organization, may be found in chapter twenty-four of Hurd's "Revised Statutes."

EARLY SYSTEM OF SURVEYS

The old colonial system of surveys was crude and unsatisfactory as compared with the simplicity and precision of the system now in use. Lands, by the old system, were described by the rather cumbrous method of "metes and bounds;" and much difficulty and confusion between adjoining property owners, in deciding what were the actual boundaries and location of their lands even after surveys had been made, often resulted. People accustomed to the straight section lines used in our western country, look with curiosity at the irregular and apparently unaccountable shapes of tracts covered by surveys in the east.

The system of surveys, now in use throughout the west generally, was devised by Thomas Hutchins, the first surveyor-general of the United States, and it has been called "the simplest of all known modes of survey." This system, known as the "township system of surveys," was authorized by an Act of Congress in 1796, which is still in force, and which provides that all public lands shall be divided into townships six miles square, "as near as may be."

TOWNSHIP SYSTEM OF SURVEYS

As a starting point in the township system of surveys, some prominent geographical position is taken, as for instance the mouth of a river; and through this is drawn a meridian line, running, of course, north and south. This line is known

[8] Greene: "Government of Illinois," p. 101.

as the principal meridian, and through this line, at some point selected, another line is run at right angles to it. This is called the base line, and commencing at the intersection of these two lines the surveyor measures off distances of six miles on both. The result is squares of land containing thirty six square miles, or sections, in each square of land thus laid out; and these squares are called townships. Of course, by reason of the converging of meridian lines a readjustment must be made at certain intervals, which an inspection of any township map of the state will readily show.

In Illinois, the Third Principal Meridian runs true north from the mouth of the Ohio River, thus nearly bisecting the state. The base line begins at the Third Principal Meridian near Centralia, Illinois, and is continued eastward through the state. "All the lands of Illinois north and east of the Illinois River . . . are surveyed from the Third Principal Meridian. Lands of Illinois west of the Illinois River are surveyed from the Fourth Principal Meridian. The two surveys are usually planned to meet at some natural division, as the Illinois River, which divides the two surveys between the Fourth and the Third Principal Meridian." [9]

In numbering the sections of a township, the first number is given to the section at the northeast corner of the township, proceeding thence along the northern tier of sections, doubling back on the next tier south, and so on to the last one, that is, number thirty-six, situated in the southeast corner. Section Number Sixteen in every township is always reserved by law for the support of public schools, though in many townships the trustees have sold part or all of the land at low prices, and thus lost the advantage of the subsequent increase in values.

THE FIRST PLAT OF CHICAGO

The first survey and plat of the town of Chicago was made by James Thompson, in 1830. He was employed by the commissioners of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to survey and plat Section 9, Township 39, Range 14 east of the Third Principal Meridian, that being one of the sections which was granted to the state by the general government to aid in the construction of the canal. The entire section is bounded on the south by Madison street, on the west by Halsted street, on the north by Chicago avenue, and on the east by State street. Only part of this section, however, was platted, the map made by Thompson including the land no farther west than Desplaines street, nor farther north than Kinzie street, the other boundaries being those of the section as above described. It thus comprised about three-eighths of a square mile,[10] or two hundred and forty acres, including the river surface, within that area.

This first plat of Chicago provided for a public levee along the banks of the river, upon the plan of our western river towns. It was found expedient in later years, however, to abandon this plan and the ground was eventually sold and built upon. We may note that at the present time there is an awakening desire that these river banks shall be restored to the public, and made into broad places which will "combine business uses with drives and promenades for traffic, and for the pleasure of the people." This is one of the suggestions contained in the Chicago

[9] Gibson: "History of United States," p. 271.
[10] Andreas: I, 174.

Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago." And this result must come to the Chicago River, says the writer, "when the city comes to give attention to other needs in addition to those of commerce and manufactures."

Thompson's plat bears the date of August 4, 1830, which may be taken as the date of the founding of Chicago, though it was not regularly incorporated into a village or town until three years later. It will be observed that no land east of State street was included in the first plat, as the government reservation, on which was situated Fort Dearborn and its surrounding grounds, covered a large portion of it. Just south of Section 9 was Section 16, known as the School Section. The School Section was not subdivided until some years later.

SALE OF LOTS IN THE NEW SUBDIVISION

It was decided by the Canal Commissioners to sell part of the land, which had been subdivided, at public auction. The sale occurred September 27, 1830, James Kinzie being the auctioneer. All the regularly shaped blocks on that part of the tract which was on the South Side were divided into eight lots in each block. Block Number One, bounded by North State street, Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, and North Water street (using the names by which they are known at the present time), was sold to Alexander Wolcott, who was at that time the United States Indian Agent, for six hundred and eighty-five dollars; and also eighty acres of the tract just north of it to the same purchaser for one dollar and sixty-two and one-half cents an acre.[11]

At that time no postoffice had yet been established at Chicago, the County of Cook had not yet been organized, and the population was less than two hundred outside of the garrison at the fort. An estimate of the population may be formed from the poll lists at an election held a short time previously to this sale. For July 24th a special election had been ordered by the commissioners of Peoria county, within which the "Chicago precinct" was then situated, for the purpose of electing a justice of the peace and a constable. The election was held at the house of James Kinzie, a son of the first settler, John Kinzie, who died in 1828. There were fifty-six votes cast, the names of the voters appearing in the records of Peoria county. These names were printed in the Fergus Historical Series, and in the list appear many of the well known names of that early period, such as James Kinzie, the Beaubiens, Wolcott, Laframboise, Galloway, Clybourn, Ouilmette, Scott, Bailey, Hunter, McKee, Heacock, and others. (Fergus No. 7, p. 54.)

The following list of sales is only a partial one, having been gathered from the lists printed by Bross and Andreas in their histories of Chicago; but the list serves to give a fair idea of values at the first sale of lots in Chicago. It will be seen that the partial list of sales given below is for fifty-nine lots only out of one hundred and twenty-seven which were sold by the Canal Commissioners.

The partial List of Sales of Lots in the "Original Town," included within Section 9, Township 39, Range 14, East of the Third Principal Meridian, on September 30, 1830, was as follows:

[11] Andreas: I, 115.

SALES OF LOTS ON SOUTH SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERED, INCLUSIVELY, 16 TO 21; 30 TO 43; 52 TO 58; COMPRISING 197 LOTS

Block No. 16, Lot 1—Purchaser, Charles Dunn; boundaries of block, S. Water, Dearborn, Lake, State; price, $75.

Block No. 16, Lot 4—Purchaser, O. Newberry; boundaries of block, S. Water, Dearborn, Lake, State; price, $78.

Block No. 17, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, J. B. Beaubien; boundaries of block, S. Water, Clark, Lake, Dearborn; price per lot, $50; total, $100.

Block No. 17, Lot 4—Purchaser, O. Newberry; boundaries of block, S. Water, Clark, Lake, Dearborn; price, $100.

Block No. 18, Lot 1—Purchaser, Jonathan H. Pugh; boundaries of block, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $24.

Block No. 18, Lot 2—Purchaser, Edmund Roberts; boundaries of block, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $45.

Block No. 18, Lot 4—Purchaser, P. F. W. Peck; boundaries of block, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $78.

Block No. 19, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, G. S. Hubbard; boundaries of block, S. Water, Wells, Lake, La Salle; price per lot, $37.50; total, $75.

Block No. 20, Lot 1—Purchaser, Thos. Hartzell; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $50.

Block No. 20, Lot 3—Purchaser, Jesse O. Browne; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $50.

Block No. 20, Lot 7—Purchaser, Paul Kingston; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $27.

Block No. 31, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, C. A. Finley; boundaries of block, Lake, Market, Randolph, Franklin; price per lot, $50.50; total, $101.

Block No. 34, Lots 4 and 5—Purchaser, W. A. Bell; boundaries of block, Lake, La Salle, Randolph, Clark; price per lot, $24; total, $48.

Block No. 36, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Geo. Miller; boundaries of block, Lake, Dearborn, Randolph, State; price per lot, $31.50; total, $63.

Block No. 38, Lot 4—Purchaser, C. Rawley; boundaries of block, Randolph, Clark, Washington, Dearborn; price, $53.

Block No. 43, Lots 7 and 8—Purchaser, Stephen Mack; boundaries of block, Randolph, E. Water, Washington, Market; price per lot, $26.50; total, $53.

Block No. 56, Lot 1—Purchaser, John Noble; boundaries of block, Washington, La Salle, Madison, Clark; price, $60.

Block No. 56, Lot 2—Purchaser, O. Goss; boundaries of block, Washington, La Salle, Madison, Clark; price, $70.

Total Sales on South Side, $1,150.

The lots in the rectangular blocks on the South Side have 80 feet frontage, with a depth of 150 feet.

SALES OF LOTS ON WEST SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERED, INCLUSIVELY, 8 TO 13; 22 TO 29; 44 TO 51; COMPRISING 197 LOTS

Block No. 8, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Edward Keyes; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price per lot, $23.50; total, $47.

Block No. 8, Lot 7—Purchaser, C. Hallenbeck; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price, $11.

Block No. 8, Lot 11—Purchaser, James Kinzie; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price, $34.

Block No. 9, Lot 5—Purchaser, T. J. V. Owen; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Jefferson, Carroll, Clinton; price, $39.

Block No. 10, Lot 4—Purchaser, James Walker; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Desplaines, Carroll, Jefferson; price, $20.

Block No. 12, Lots 5 to 8—Purchaser, James Kinzie; boundaries of block, Carroll, Jefferson, Fulton, Clinton; average price per lot, $19; total $76.

Block No. 28, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Wm. Jewett; boundaries of block, Lake, Clinton, Randolph, Canal; price per lot, $10.50; total, $21.

Block No. 29, Lot 4—Purchaser, Edmund Roberts; boundaries of block, Lake, Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price, $100.

Block No. 29, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Wm. Belcher; boundaries of block, Lake, Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price per lot, $54.50; total, $109.

Block No. 29, Lot 7—Purchaser, Thos. Hartzell; boundaries of block, Lake, Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price, $35.

Block No. 44, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, L. Bourassa; boundaries of block, Randolph, Canal, Washington, W. Water; price per lot, $57; total, $114.

Block No. 44, Lot 9—Purchaser, J. Woolsey, Jr.; boundaries of block, Randolph, Canal, Washington, W. Water; price, $50.

Block No. 49, Lot 7—Purchaser, David McKee; boundaries of block, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clinton; price, $130.

Total Sales on West Side, $786.

The lots in the rectangular blocks on the West Side have generally from 75 to 80 feet frontage, with a depth of 150 feet.

SALES OF LOTS ON NORTH SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERED, INCLUSIVELY, 1 TO 7; 14 AND 15; COMPRISING 65 LOTS

Block No. 1, Lots 1 to 8—Purchaser, Alexander Wolcott; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Dearborn, Carroll, State; average price per lot, $85.62½; total, $685.

Block No. 2, Lot 2—Purchaser, John H. Kinzie; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clark, Carroll, Dearborn; price, $37.

Block No. 14, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, J. Wellmaker; boundaries of block, Carroll, N. Water (two sides), Market; price per lot, $27; total, $54.

Block No. 14, Lots 3, 4, 7 and 8—Purchaser, Samuel Miller; boundaries of block, Carroll, N. Water (two sides), Market; average price per lot, $27.50; total, $110.

Total Sales on North Side, $886.

The lots in most of the blocks on the North Side have all 80 feet frontage, with irregular depths of from 124 to 250 feet, the lots fronting on Kinzie street, in Block One, having the greatest depth.

Names of streets are given as found on Thompson's Plat.

VALUES OF PROPERTY

The prices realized at this sale of lots and lands in the Canal Section was but a slight indication of the values soon to be placed upon Chicago property. The

sale took place, as before mentioned, on the 27th of September, 1830; and out of a total of four hundred and fifty-nine lots included in the plat of the "Original Town," only one hundred and twenty-seven were sold. Nearly all of the lots on the South Side had a frontage of eighty feet each, running back one hundred and eighty feet to an alley. Lots on the West and North Sides had varying dimensions, most of the blocks being divided into eight or ten lots each, the course of the river, however, causing some irregularities. As will be seen from an inspection of the sales, one lot on the West Side brought the highest price at the sale, this being lot seven in block forty-nine, fronting east on Clinton street, near Madison. This lot sold for one hundred and thirty dollars. The highest price paid for a single lot on the South Side was one hundred dollars, this lot being number four in block seventeen, bounded by South Water, Clark, Lake and Dearborn streets, at present bearing the numbers from 137 to 143 South Water street. Other lots on the South Side ranged from the above price down to twenty-four dollars, the latter being lot number one in block eighteen, bounded by South Water, La Salle, Lake and Clark streets. The highest price for lots on the North Side was that paid by Alexander Wolcott in block number one. Wolcott bought the entire block of eight lots for six hundred and eighty-five dollars, an average of about eighty-five dollars for each. This block is bounded by Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, North Water street, and North State street, using the names by which they are at present known.

It will also be seen that the partial list of sales shown above amounted to $2,822.00, or an average, for the fifty-nine lots, of about $48.00 per lot. It will be remembered that Section Nine extended as far north as the line of what was later called Chicago avenue, although the subdivided portion, as shown in Thompson's plat, extended no farther north than Kinzie street. From that portion of Section Nine, not included in the subdivision, were sold at about the same time several tracts containing in all some four hundred acres, the remainder of the section in fact, which brought prices ranging from one dollar and a quarter to five dollars and ninety cents per acre, the average price being three dollars and thirty cents per acre.[12]

EARLY STREET NAMES

The tract subdivided by Thompson, as before mentioned, comprised an area of about three-eighths of Section Number Nine. Thompson's map shows the names of the streets nearly as we know them now, except that the present North Water street bears the name of Carroll street. The name of North Water street was applied only to the river front of blocks fourteen and fifteen. The present Fifth avenue bears the name of Wells street. Besides those streets named after the presidents, and those deriving their names from natural features, there was Dearborn street named after General Henry Dearborn, in honor of whom Fort Dearborn also had been named; Clark street, after George Rogers Clark, the conqueror of the Illinois Country; La Salle street, after the great explorer; Wells street, after Captain William Wells, who lost his life at the Chicago Massacre; Franklin street, after Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher and statesman; Clinton street, after De Witt Clinton, the famous New York governor; Randolph street, after John Randolph, of Roanoke, a prominent statesman of that period; Carroll

[12] Bross: "History of Chicago," p. 38.

street, after Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; Fulton street, after the inventor of the steamboat; and Kinzie street, after John Kinzie, Chicago's first settler. Canal street, no doubt, was a name suggested by the Illinois and Michigan canal, then being surveyed; and Desplaines street was named from the river running its course a few miles westward. The names of State and Market streets were doubtless chosen from the general stock of names in use by cities in other parts of the country.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

When Cook County was organized January 15, 1831, Chicago was designated as the county seat. On February 12, 1831, the legislature passed a general law for the incorporation of towns, and under this law the town of Chicago was incorporated, two and a half years later, on August 12, 1833, thus entering upon its official existence as a town. It should be mentioned here that the word "town" at that time was used in nearly the same sense as the word "village" is used today,[13] though not exclusively so. The word "town" was also often used in the same sense as the word "township." The Canal Commissioners granted twenty-four lots to the newly formed County of Cook on June 16, 1831, sixteen of which were sold soon after; and eight lots, comprising block thirty-nine, in the "Original Town," were retained. On this block now stands the County Court House and City Hall.

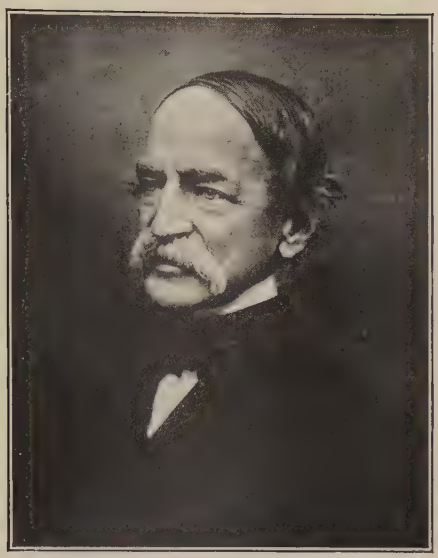
CANAL COMMISSIONERS AND CANAL TRUSTEES

Throughout this work it will be observed that in some places the expression "Canal Commissioners" is used, and in others "Canal Trustees." The reason for this is fully set forth in the chapter on the Illinois and Michigan canal. A brief mention here of the changes requiring the use of these different terms will doubtless be of assistance to the reader. In the early history of the canal its management was placed under a Board of Commissioners. When the canal was partly constructed its financial affairs were reorganized and its management was placed under a Board of Trustees. This was in June, 1845.[14] The final report of the trustees was made April 30, 1871, after which it again came under the management of a Board of Commissioners, and has so continued until the present time.

WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW

The winter of 1830-31 was known as the "Winter of the Deep Snow." In a package of sheets containing memoranda of weather observations, now in possession of the Chicago Historical Society, this winter is thus described, with an added note which says that the snow was four feet deep on the level, and for three weeks the thermometer stood at fifteen degrees below zero. It is stated in Snyder's "Illinois History" that the winter was the severest that had then been experienced by the settlers of Illinois, and that it is memorable in the annals of the state, as the "winter of the deep snow."

[13] E. B. Greene: "Government of Illinois," p. 41.
[14] Putnam: "Economical History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," p. 346.



ISAAC N. ARNOLD
First Clerk of Chicago

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society
From a water color by C. E. Petford

THE FIRST COURTHOUSE—BUILT IN 1835

During the preceding fall the weather had been unusually mild until Christmas Eve of the year 1830, when snow began falling and continued to fall at intervals for nine weeks, attaining a uniform depth of three feet and four inches. It was drifted in many places to a much greater depth, burying beneath it log cabins and the buildings of the settlers. Deer, wild turkeys, and flocks of prairie chickens invaded the corn fields, and other game like quails and rabbits perished in large numbers from cold and starvation. The deep snow and protracted cold caused much suffering and privation among many of the settlers, who were poorly prepared for such severe weather.

SUFFERINGS IN THE WINTER SEASON

The scantiness of shelter in the early times made very keen the suffering among the inhabitants whenever an unusually cold season occurred. Days and weeks of extreme cold may be experienced in these later days with but passing comment, and with comparatively little inconvenience; but there was scarcely a winter in the early days, that a great number of settlers arriving during the preceding months had been able to provide themselves with adequate protection against the inclemencies of the weather.

When in 1818, the father of Abraham Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana, he built a "half-faced camp" of unhewn logs, enclosed on three sides, the open front protected only by skins. Such a rude shelter was sometimes called a "pole-shed," described by Dennis Hanks, a cousin of Lincoln, as "just a shack of poles, roofed over, but left open on one side, no floor, no fireplace, not much better than a tree." In his recollections of Lincoln, old Dennis Hanks said, in recalling the events of his boyhood, "We wasn't much better off than Injuns, except that we took an interest in religion and politics." It may well be imagined what hardships were endured in the winter season under such conditions.

Death by freezing was a common occurrence, and a tragedy of this kind is recorded in the Chicago *Democrat,* in its issue dated January 28, 1834. The news item is as follows: "Mrs. Smith, wife of a Mr. Smith residing at Blue Island, who left this place on the second of January, which was the coldest day we have experienced this winter, for her home, when within a mile and a half of her dwelling, sank benumbed and exhausted, to rise no more. When found, she was dreadfully mangled and torn to pieces by wolves. She has left a husband and five children to mourn her untimely end." A few days later a party in pursuit of wolves encountered a couple of officers from the fort, who were just returning from a mission of charity in visiting the half-starved orphans of this poor woman who had been frozen to death on the prairie. "One by one," writes Hoffman, in his book, "A Winter in the West," "our whole party collected around to make inquiries about the poor children."

One of the chief causes of freezing to death was the prevalence of whisky drinking, which was the reigning vice of the time. Whisky was on sale at the cabins and houses of many of the early settlers, and often very little or nothing else in the way of provisions or supplies could be obtained at these so called "groceries." Thus in the winter season many men of drinking habits would walk long distances to visit such places scattered along the country roads near Chicago. The result was that many persons came to their deaths by exposure to the cold while in an

intoxicated condition. It was related by Mr. Benjamin F. Hill, an early settler of Gross Point, a dozen miles north of Chicago, that he recalled twenty-seven deaths from freezing during the early years of his residence there in the "thirties" and "forties." These mostly occurred among the transient residents,—discharged soldiers, lake sailors out of employment between seasons, and hired men. "Freezing to death," said Mr. Hill, "was more common than any other form of fatality."

WINTER ADVENTURES

On one of his journeys to Chicago from the south, Gurdon S. Hubbard had a thrilling adventure during the winter season of 1825. In the spring of that year, he started on horseback from his trading post on the Iroquois River, accompanied by two Indians. All the streams had overflowed as a consequence of a recent period of warm weather but the day after starting it turned very cold. They encountered a small stream on the prairie upon which a new covering of ice had formed during the previous night leaving running water between two ice surfaces. "The upper ice was not strong enough for a man to walk on," relates Hubbard, "but the Indians laid down and slid themselves across with little difficulty. I rode my horse to the stream, and reaching forward with my tomahawk broke the ice ahead of me, he walking on the under ice until he reached the middle of the stream, when his hind feet broke through, the girth gave away, and the saddle slipped off behind carrying me with it. I fell into the water and was carried by the current rapidly down the stream between the upper and lower coverings of ice.

"I made two attempts to gain my feet, but the current was so swift and the space so narrow I could not break through the ice. I had about given up all hope, when my hand struck a willow bush near the bank and thus arrested my rapid progress. At the same time I stood up and bumping the ice with my head broke through. The Indians were much astonished to see me come up through the ice, and gave utterance to their surprise by a peculiar exclamation. I recovered my horse and saddle and returned to my trading house, with no worse result than wet clothing and a slightly bruised head."

HOFFMAN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO

It is always interesting to read the accounts of transient visitors when written with intelligence and sympathy. Early in the year 1834, such a visitor, a man of superior education and literary accomplishments, spent a fortnight in Chicago, and we owe to him a most entertaining narrative of events and descriptions of scenes during his brief sojourn. This man was Charles Fenno Hoffman, who, after making a tour through the western country, published a book entitled, "A Winter in the West." Of this work an eminent critic has said, that "it will continue to be admired so long as graphic delineations of nature, spirited sketches of men and manners, and richness and purity of style, are appreciated." [15]

Mr. Hoffman arrived in Chicago on an extremely cold morning in winter by way of the lake shore from La Porte, Indiana, thus called, he says, because "it forms a door opening upon an arm of the Grand Prairie which runs through the

[15] Allibone: "Dictionary of Authors," p. 858.

states of Indiana and Illinois." On this journey, made part of the way in a conveyance and the latter part on horseback, he and some fellow travelers found an excellent road on the frozen sand close to the water's edge for the last twenty-five miles of their journey. "We galloped at full speed," writes Hoffman, "every man choosing his own route along the beach, our horses' hoofs ringing the while as if it were a pavement of flint beneath them. The rough ice piled up on the coast prevented us from watering our beasts; and we did not draw a rein till the rushing current of the Calaminc [Calumet], which debouches into Lake Michigan some ten miles from Chicago, stayed our course. A cabin on the bank gave us a moment's opportunity to warm; and then, being ferried over the wintry stream, we started with fresh vigor, and crossing about a mile of prairie in the neighborhood of Chicago, reached here in time for an early dinner." Hoffman's narrative is in the form of letters, and the one quoted from above is dated at Chicago, January 1, 1834, that being the day following his arrival. He writes, "Our horses this morning seemed none the worse for this furious riding; their escape from ill consequences being readily attributable to the excellence of the road, and the extreme coldness of the weather while traveling it. For my own part, I never felt better than after this violent burst of exercise."

WINTER SPORTS IN CHICAGO

During Hoffman's visit to Chicago he witnessed a horse race on the frozen surface of the Chicago River. In his book he refers to the attentions he received from the officers of the garrison during his stay of two weeks in Chicago, and acknowledges his indebtedness to them in many passages of the book referred to. He says that he spent many agreeable hours with them and the ladies of their families, and describes one occasion when several officers stopped at the door of his tavern "with a train of carioles, in one of which I was offered a seat, to witness a pacing match on the ice. There were several ladies with the gentlemen in attendance already on the river, all muffled up, after the Canadian fashion, in fur robes, whose gay trimmings presented a rich as well as most comfortable appearance.

"The horses from which the most sport was expected, were a black pony bred in the country, and a tall roan nag from the lower Mississippi. They paced at the rate of a mile in something less than three minutes. I rode behind the winning horse in one heat, and the velocity with which he made our cariole fly over the smooth ice was almost startling. The Southern horse won the race; but I was told that in nine cases out of ten, the nags from this part of the country could not stand against a French pony."

A WOLF HUNT

While the pacing match above described was going on the people in attendance were surprised to notice that a wolf, roused probably by the sound of sleigh-bells, had made his appearance on the river bank, calmly surveying the sport. The presence of this uninvited guest suggested to the gentlemen that a wolf-hunt on horseback be undertaken in the morning, and accordingly the proper arrangements were made.

"It was a fine bracing morning," continues Hoffman, "with the sun shining

cheerily through the still cold atmosphere far over the snow covered prairie, when the party assembled in front of my lodgings, to the number of ten horsemen, all well mounted and eager for the sport. The hunt was divided into two squads, one of which was to follow the windings of the river on the ice, and the other to make a circuit on the prairie. A pack of dogs, consisting of a greyhound or two for running the game, with several of a heavier and fiercer breed for pulling it down, accompanied each party.

"I was attached to that which took the river; and it was a beautiful sight, as our friends trotted off in the prairie, to see their different colored capotes and gaily equipped horses contrasted with the bright carpet of spotless white over which they rode, while the sound of their voices was soon lost to our ears, as we descended to the channel of the river, and their lessening figures were hid from our view by the low brush which in some places skirted its banks. The brisk trot in which we now broke, brought us rapidly to the place of meeting, where, to the disappointment of each party, it was found that neither had started any game.

"We now spread ourselves into a broad line, about gunshot apart from each other, and began thus advancing into the prairie. We had not swept it thus more than a mile, when a shout on the extreme left, with the accelerated pace of the two furthermost riders in that direction, told that they had roused a wolf. 'The devil take the hindermost,' was now the motto of the company, and each one spurred for the spot with all eagerness. Unhappily, however, the land along the bank of the river, on the right, was so broken by ravines, choked up with snow, that it was impossible for us, who were half a mile from the game when started, to come up at all with the two or three horsemen who led the pursuit. Our horses sunk to their cruppers in the deep snow drift. Some were repeatedly thrown; and one or two, breaking their saddle-girths from the desperate struggles their horses made in the snow banks, were compelled to abandon the chase entirely. My stout roan carried me bravely through all; but when I emerged from the last ravine on the open plain, the two horsemen who led the chase, from some inequality in the surface of the prairie, were not visible; while the third, a fleet rider, whose tall figure and Indian head-dress had hitherto guided me, had been just unhorsed, and, abandoning the game afoot, was now wheeling off apparently with some other object in view."

The party, not discouraged by the failure of the first run, gathered for a moment to consider the best course to pursue. It was not yet noon, though they had placed twelve miles of distance between themselves and their starting point at Chicago. Their horses were in good condition, and in the full flush of youthful spirits they at once determined to continue the hunt, and scattered themselves over the prairie with the hope of rousing more game.

"Not ten minutes elapsed," continues the writer, "before a wolf, breaking from the dead weeds which, shooting eight or ten feet above the level of the snow, indicated the banks of a deep ravine, dashed off into the prairie, pursued by a horseman on the right. He made instantly for the deep banks of the river, one of whose windings was within a few hundred yards. He had a bold rider behind him, however, in the gentleman who led the chase, a young educated half-blood of prepossessing manners and well connected in Chicago. [This is a reference to Madore Beaubien, a son of John B. Beaubien, who had then been a resident of Chicago

From "Seven Days in Chicago"

WOLF HUNT IN EARLY DAYS

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

THE FIRE OF 1839

"This view represents the ruins of the fire on Lake street, which occurred in 1839. The picture was drawn by George Davis on the spot. The conflagration commenced on Dearborn street, turning northward to the grocery store known as 'The Eagle' and south on Lake street, consuming the first Tremont House, on the corner of Dearborn and Lake; then continuing west on Lake, consuming every building until it reached the fire-proof store of B. W. Raymond, the first fire-proof building erected in the city. This building was then No. 122 Lake street. The fire was arrested on the west by this building and on the north by the Eagle grog-shop. The site of the fire was at that time in the intense business part of the city. Most of the buildings were then constructed of wood. Among those, as we recollect who were then burnt out were David Hatch, James A. Smith and Joseph Johnston." From the Chicago Telegram, August 10, 1883.

some fifteen years.] The precipitous bank of the stream did not retard this hunter for a moment; but, dashing down to the bed of the river, he was hard upon the wolf before he could ascend the elevation on the opposite side. Four of us only reached the open prairie beyond in time to take part in the chase.

"Nothing could be more beautiful. There was not an obstacle to oppose us in the open plain, and all our dogs having long since given out, nothing remained but to drive the wolf to death on horseback. Away then we went, shouting on his track, the hotly pursued beast gaining on us whenever the crust of a deep snow drift gave him an advantage over the horse; and we in our turn nearly riding over him when we came to ground comparatively bare.

"The sagacious animal became at last aware that his course would soon be up at this rate, and turning rapidly in his tracks as we were scattered over the prairie, he passed through our line, and made at once again for the river. He was cut off and turned in a moment by a horseman on the left, who happened to be a little behind the rest; and now came the keenest part of the sport. The wolf would double every moment upon his tracks, while each horseman in succession would make a dash at and turn him in a different direction. Twice I was near enough to strike him with a horsewhip, and once he was under my horse's feet; while so furiously did each rider push at him, that as we brushed by each other and confronted horse to horse, while riding from different quarters at full speed, it required one somewhat used 'to turn and wind a fiery Pegasus' to maintain his seat at all.

"The rascal, who would now and then look over his shoulder and gnash his teeth, seemed at last as if he was about to succumb; when, after running a few hundred yards in an oblique direction from the river, he suddenly veered his course, at a moment when every one thought his strength was spent, and gaining the bank before he could be turned, he disappeared in an instant. The rider nearest to his heels became entangled in the low boughs of a tree which grew near the spot; while I, who followed next, was thrown out sufficiently to give the wolf time to get out of view by my horse bolting as he reached the sudden edge of the river. The rest of the hunt were consequently at fault when they came up to us; and after trying in vain to track our lost quarry over the smooth ice for half an hour, we were most vexatiously compelled to abandon the pursuit as fruitless, and proceed to join the other squad of our party, who could now be seen at some distance, apparently making for the same point to which our route was leading. A thicket on the bank soon hid them from our view; and we then moved more leisurely along in order to breathe our horses.

"But suddenly the distant cry of hounds gave intimation that new game was afoot; and, on topping a slight elevation, we discerned a party of horsemen far away, with three wolves running apparently about a pistol-shot ahead of them. Our squad was dispersed in an instant. Some struck off at once in the prairie, in a direct line for their object, and were soon brought to in the deep snow banks; others, taking a more circuitous course, proceeded to double the ravines that were filled with the treacherous drift; and some, more fortunate, took to the frozen river, where the clatter of their hoofs on the hard ice seemed to inspirit their horses anew. I chanced to be one of the latter, and was moreover the first to catch sight

again of one of the animals we were pursuing, and find myself nearer to him than any of our party.

"The wolf was of the large gray kind. But one of the hunters had been able to keep up with him; and him I could distinguish far off in the prairie, turning and winding his foaming horse as the wolf would double every moment upon his tracks, while half a dozen dogs, embarrassed in the deep snow, were slowly coming up. I reached the spot just as the wolf first stood at bay. His bristling back, glaring eyes, and ferociously distended jaws might have appalled the dogs for a moment; when an impetuous greyhound, who had been for some time pushing through the snow drifts with unabated industry, having now attained a comparatively clear spot of ground, leaped with such force against the flank of the wolf as to upset him in an instant, while the greyhound shot far ahead of the quarry.

"He recovered himself instantly, but not before a fierce powerful hound, whose thick neck and broad muzzle indicated a cross of the bull-dog blood with that of a nobler strain, had struck him first upon the haunch, and was now trying to grapple him by the throat. Down again he went, rolling over and over in the deep snow, while the clicking of his jaws, as he snapped eagerly at each member of the pack that by turns beset him, was distinctly audible. The powerful dog, already mentioned, secured him at last by fixing his muzzle deeply into the breast of the prostrate animal. This, however, did not prevent the wolf giving some fearful wounds to the other dogs which beset him; and, accordingly, with the permission of the gentleman who had led the chase, I threw myself from my horse, and gave the game the *coup-de-grace* with a dirk-knife which I had about me.

"Two of our party soon after joined us, each with a prairie wolf hanging to his saddle bow; and the others gradually collecting, we returned to Chicago, contented at last with the result of our morning's sport."

It would seem that Hoffman had a prescience that his descriptions would have an interest for posterity, for, while writing for readers of his own time, he seems to have kept in mind the unborn generations who, living on the identical spot of which he is writing, and inhabiting to the number of many hundreds of thousands, the houses and structures erected on those very fields over which he rode, would peruse with absorbing interest the graphic narrative written by him three-quarters of a century ago. We look upon a scene as different from that which Hoffman depicted, as a crowded city thoroughfare is different from the wildness of a Northern Wisconsin forest.

And yet in the circumstantial detail which he gives us it seems as if he intended to leave a description of the locality that the people of later times could trace, and thus contemplate in wonder the contrasts which a little over two generations have brought about. Within five years from the time this writer came to Chicago and witnessed horse racing on the ice, and galloped over vast plains far to the southwest, the scene was changed as if by magic; the city had been formed, the new canal had been commenced, and commerce had taken possession of the river and streets of the rapidly advancing metropolis of the future.

A WOLF DRIVE

In one of his lectures on the early times in Chicago, John Wentworth described a wolf hunt which was quite elaborately planned. The object was to form a line

of mounted men far to the south, and drive as many wolves as could be "scared up" towards the ice on the lake, as near the mouth of the river as possible. There was to be no shooting until the wolves had got out upon the ice, and then no person was to fire unless his aim was entirely over ice and only to the eastward.

"Two parties started early in the morning," Wentworth relates, "one following the lake shore south, and the other the river, to meet at a common center not far from Blue Island. Then they were to spread themselves out, cover as much territory as possible, and drive the wolves before them." About four o'clock in the afternoon, the wolves began to make their appearance in the outskirts of the town, trying to escape from the advancing line of horsemen, and terrified at the outcries,

"That thickened as the chase drew nigh."

The people turned out in numbers, keeping along the margin of the river, so as to head the wolves towards the lake shore and out upon the ice. Soon the horsemen came into view and the sport became fast and furious. "The number of wolves," said Wentworth, "was about the same as that of Samson's foxes," and that, it will be remembered, was three hundred. The men were so eager to follow that their horses' hoofs broke the ice near the shore, and, the wind being rather brisk, the ice became loosened and drifted towards the northeast bearing the hunted beasts upon its surface.

Men, women and children lined the bank of the lake, expecting to see the ice break in pieces and the wolves swim ashore, but nothing of the kind occurred. The people watched the moving field of ice, and could see the bewildered creatures running from side to side vainly seeking some means of escape; until finally the whole scene faded from view.

"About two weeks afterwards," relates Wentworth, "a letter appeared in a Detroit newspaper containing an account of some farm settlements, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, being attacked by a large body of hungry wolves. They destroyed fowls and cattle, and for several days spread terror through the neighborhood." It was supposed by many that these were the wolves which had gone adrift from Chicago, but men who knew the lake, denied the possibility of their surviving such a perilous voyage, and, indeed there is no doubt the whole pack was drowned.

AMUSEMENTS

"But the amusement, par excellence, in those early days," says Moses, "was horse racing. This was patronized by all classes, and turf meetings brought out the entire population. They were made in a great measure to serve the purpose of the modern county fairs." On these occasions "trading of all kinds was transacted, contracts entered into, debts paid, and questions of the day discussed." Besides the running of horses, foot races among the men, wrestling, jumping and other athletic pastimes, took place, and were generally participated in by the active young men in attendance. (Moses I. 233.)

STIRRING TIMES IN THE '30's

The fall of 1832 was a busy time in the affairs of the little settlement that began to flourish to the westward of the fort, and quite a rivalry sprang up between

this locality and that part of the village situated at the forks of the river. The "Sauganash," with Mark Beaubien as proprietor, was established at the site where the Wigwam was built in later times, on the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets; and across the river on the West Side was the "Wolf tavern" kept by Elijah Wentworth. Communication between the fort and adjoining settlement with that at "the Point" was usually by boat or canoe, as the roads between were heavy and often impassible.

Emigration set in during the fall of 1832 in a constantly increasing tide, emigrants arriving in every sort of conveyance; on horseback, in wagons, by lake vessels, and even on foot. The first point on their journeys westward was Chicago, beyond which the great majority pushed on to the fertile lands to the west. Thus it happened that for the succeeding four years Chicago was continually adding to her permanent residents from such as saw brighter prospects in the growing town than in the allurements of the country beyond. Many new buildings were erected, a ferry was established at Lake street, roads were laid out towards the west and southwest, vessels began arriving in increasing numbers (though not yet able to enter the river), and many possibilities of its commercial importance began to be realized.

INCREASE OF EMIGRATION

The settlement of the Indian troubles caused an increased rush of emigration in 1833. Lines of steamers and sailing vessels were established between Buffalo and Chicago, and "from that year may properly date the commencement of the mighty growth in population and wealth of Illinois," says John T. Kingston in his "Reminiscences," printed in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. "The great rush of emigration, however," says Kingston, "was to Northern Illinois, and no country could present greater inducements to the emigrant, the soil, climate, and other natural advantages were all that could be desired."

The original town of Chicago was laid out and platted by the Canal Commissioners in 1830, on lands donated to the State of Illinois by the general government, in aid of the proposed Illinois and Michigan canal. In the fall of the same year the first sale of lots took place. The few land speculators present supposed the center of business in the future town would be along the river, consequently the proximity of the lots to the stream increased the price bid. Lots on Lake street sold at from twenty to forty dollars; on Randolph street some lots sold as high as eighty dollars, while on State street, Michigan and Wabash avenues, the price was considerably less.[16]

BEGINNING OF THE SPECULATIVE MANIA

For some years after the sales of lots and lands from the Canal Section in 1830 the prices of real estate showed no signs of advance, but by 1834 many of the first purchasers began to realize that there was a large profit in their holdings. Strangers from the East seeking investments in the new and growing town arrived in numbers, and it did not take long under these circumstances to develop a strong speculative fever. "Whatever might be the business of a Chicagoan," says Andreas,

[16] Wisconsin Historical Collection: VII, 333.

Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

"SALOON BUILDING"

"or however profitable, it was not considered a full success except it showed an outside profit on lots bought and sold." Speculators were attracted by the report of quick returns on land transactions. During the summer of 1835, the Government Land Office was opened, and auctions of lands all over the western country were held frequently.

"As the interior became settled the mania for land speculating spread throughout the newly-settled country, and Chicago became the mart where were sold and resold monthly an incredible number of acres of land and land-claims outside the city, purporting to be located in all parts of the Northwest. It embraced farming lands, timber lands, town sites, town lots, water lots, and every variety of land-claim or land title ever known to man. The location of the greater portion of property thus sold was, as a rule, except so far as it appeared in the deed, unknown to the parties to the trade; and, in many cases, after the bubble had burst, the holders of real estate acquired during the excitement, on investigation failed to find the land in existence as described. Town lots were platted, often without any survey, all over Wisconsin and Illinois, wherever it was hoped that a town might eventually spring up, or wherever it was believed that the lots could be floated into the great tide of speculative trade."

"Between 1830 and 1835," says Professor Putnam, "the increasing probability of the early construction of the canal, and the widely disseminated opinion that its completion would greatly increase the value of all the land within a reasonable distance of the route, and develop the proposed cities and villages along its course, led to a steadily increasing demand for farms and town lots along the line of the projected waterway. This movement, slow at first, was accelerated as it became increasingly apparent that the construction would not be long delayed.

"By the beginning of the actual work of construction, in 1836, real estate speculation had become the chief industry of the canal region. Shrewd business men perceived that Chicago would necessarily become the transfer point for all passengers and commerce passing between the Great Lakes and the Canal, and that it was destined to be the emporium of western trade. A realization of these facts made the canal region, and particularly Chicago, a favorite place for the exercise of the speculative mania that swept over the country just prior to the panic of 1837." [17]

CONDITIONS IN 1836

An interesting statement of conditions at Chicago, in 1836, appears in the Chicago *American,* in its weekly issue of December 31st, in that year. The Philadelphia *Commercial Herald* had requested information from postmasters and editors in various parts of the country relative to certain important towns. Accompanying the request was a list of questions which were replied to in full by the editor of the *American.* The growing fame of Chicago had reached the older cities of the East, and it had been included in the list of important towns of which more particular information was desired by the Philadelphia paper mentioned. The answers to some of the questions are given below:

"Question—What are its public buildings, its schools and its manufactories?

"Answer—Its public buildings are one Episcopal church of brick; one brick

[17] Putnam: "Economical History of Illinois and Michigan Canal," p. 414.

banking house, the Chicago Branch of the State Bank at Springfield; one brick Courthouse or Clerk's office; one Jail; and a small Postoffice. There is one Baptist church of brick in the progress of building; one Presbyterian church of stone, about to be put under contract. . . . There are two select schools, and three or four district or common schools, supported out of an ample school fund, granted to the State by the general government.[18] Of manufactories, there is one foundry, a steam grist mill, a steam sawmill, a brewery, and a soap and candle factory.

"Question—When was it settled?

"Answer—The town is very young. It may be said to have been settled in 1832, after the Sac or Black Hawk war. . . . Since the Sac war, Chicago has risen with wonderful rapidity, and the wild Indian trading post is this winter applying for its Mayor and Aldermen.

"Question—What is the country around it?

"Answer—The country around Chicago is principally prairie; the great center prairie of Illinois, stretching west of it through a great portion of the State. . . . The timber in the vicinity is principally oak. There is a small pine grove on the lake, near the little Calumet, about ten miles from Chicago. . . . The country is beautiful, and for fertility and aptness of soil, surpasses anything at the East.

"Question—Where do your merchants purchase their goods, chiefly, and by what route or conveyance do they receive them?

"Answer—The merchants purchase their goods chiefly in New York; the remainder principally comes from Boston and Philadelphia. They come from New York by the Hudson river, the Erie canal, and the lakes."

The speculative madness which took possession of the people of Chicago was described by Joseph N. Balestier, in a lecture before the Chicago Lyceum January 21, 1840, only four years after the events to which he refers. "The year 1836," he said, "is especially memorable in the annals of Chicago. An unregulated spirit of speculation had manifested itself very decidedly throughout the whole country in the year 1835, which, in the succeeding year, attained its acme. . . . The year 1835 found us just awakened to a sense of our own importance. A short time before, the price of the best lots did not exceed two or three hundred dollars, and the rise had been so rapid that property could not, from the nature of things, have acquired an ascertained value. In our case, therefore, the inducements to speculation were particularly strong; and as no fixed value could be assigned to property, so no price could, by any established standard, be deemed extravagant.

"Moreover, nearly all who came to the place expected to amass fortunes by speculating. The wonder then is, not that we speculated so much, but rather that we did not rush more madly into the vortex of ruin. Well indeed would it have been, had our wild speculation been confined to Chicago; here, at least, there was *something* received in exchange for the money of the purchaser. But the few miles that composed Chicago formed but a small item among the subjects of speculation. So utterly reckless had the community grown, that they chased every bubble which floated in the speculative atmosphere, . . . the more absurd the project, the more remote the object, the more madly were they pursued. The prairies of Illinois, the forests of Wisconsin, and the sand-hills of Michigan, presented an

[18] This refers to section sixteen, reserved as a school section, in every township.

almost unbroken chain of supposititious villages and cities. The whole land seemed staked out and peopled on paper." [19]

Men would besiege the land office and buy tracts at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and in a few days the buyers would have them platted into town sites in the most approved rectangular fashion, attractively colored, and exhibiting the public spirit and generosity of the proprietor in providing public squares, church sites, and schoolhouse reservations. "Often was a fictitious streamlet seen to wind its romantic course through the heart of an ideal city, thus creating water lots and water privileges. But where a real stream, however diminutive," continues Balestier, "did find its way to the shores of the lake, no matter what was the character of the surrounding country, some wary operator would ride night and day until the place was secured at the government price. Then the miserable waste of sand and fens, which lay unconscious of its glory on the shore of the lake, was suddenly elevated into a mighty city, with a projected harbor and lighthouse, railroads and canals, and in a short time the circumjacent lands were sold in lots. Not the puniest brook on the shore of Lake Michigan was suffered to remain without a city at its mouth, and whoever will travel around that lake shall find many a mighty mart staked out in spots suitable only for the habitations of wild beasts." [20]

This address of Balestier was printed in the form of a pamphlet immediately after its delivery, and reprinted in later years by the Fergus Printing Company in their series of historical pamphlets. The lecturer was a lawyer, a kinsman of the Kinzie family, who had opened an office in Chicago; but who soon after the delivery of this lecture, though an enthusiastic believer in the destiny of the young city, had returned to his former home in New York City. In later years he wrote that the reason of his return was "not that he loved Chicago less, but his family more," and that his heart "has ever been with the home of his earliest manhood," and that "he has always rejoiced in its immense prosperity and gloried in its marvelous achievements." [21]

The Chicago *Tribune*, in its issue of November 25, 1872, contains a review of the address, as reprinted by the Fergus Company, and says: "Balestier took Chicago as he found it, a neighborhood only recently disturbed and depressed by the heaviest cart-wheels of misfortune in the crash of 1837. He makes a capital and wise review of the great speculative era of 1835, when he was happiest who was able to get deepest in debt; when money was printed like handbills, when paper towns and cities abounded throughout the West, when a future great lake port was confidently located and staked out at the mouth of every creek and streamlet that emptied into Lake Michigan."

CHECKS TO GROWTH

In the year that Chicago was incorporated as a city the total amount of taxes collected was $5,905.15. The panic of that year caused great distress to the people of the newly incorporated city, and seriously checked the growth of the place; and in the following two years there was even a slight diminution in its popula-

[19] Fergus: Historical Series, No. 1, p. 28.
[20] Ibid., p. 28.
[21] Ibid.: p. 5.

tion. The canal improvement, however, sustained and encouraged the hopes of the people, and, had it not been for the disastrous reaction from the exorbitant values of 1835 and 1836, there would have been stability enough, based on the legitimate advantages and prospects of the city, to have withstood, without much injury, the widespread effects of the panic in other parts of the country.

WILD CAT CURRENCY

The money in circulation at that time consisted chiefly of the issues of the western banks of the variety known as "wild cat currency," which were generally at a discount for eastern exchange of from ten to twenty per cent. But little coin was in circulation; occassionally would be seen pieces from the United States or Mexican mints, or a little gold and silver brought by immigrants from foreign parts. "Nearly every man in Chicago doing business," says Wentworth, "was issuing his individual scrip, and the city abounded with little tickets, such as 'Good at our store for ten cents,' 'Good for a loaf of bread,' 'Good for a shave,' 'Good for a drink,' etc. When you went out to trade, the trader would look over your tickets, and select such as he could use." [22] But confidence was soon shaken, some declined to redeem their outstanding tickets, and some absconded. Most of the traders failed, charging the trouble to President Jackson for having issued his famous "specie circular," which it was generally believed had brought on the panic. Wentworth relates that some years after these events he asked an old settler, who was a great growler, what effect time had had upon his views of General Jackson's circular. His reply was that General Jackson had spoiled his being a great man. Said he, "I came to Chicago with nothing, failed for one hundred thousand dollars, and could have failed for a million, if he had let the bubble burst in the natural way." [23]

VARIOUS SCHEMES OF INFLATION

About this time the Michigan legislators conceived a brilliant idea which it was believed would relieve the evils caused by the specie famine; they passed what is known as the "Real Estate Banking Law." Real estate, they contended, was plentiful, and what could be better than land on which to base an issue of currency? Michigan bankers were authorized to make issues based on land mortgages, and the country soon became flooded with this new variety of wild cat currency. This bubble soon burst, however, and the people looked to other schemes of financial relief, which were soon promptly supplied. "Some of the speculators of Illinois," says Wentworth, "thought they would try the Michigan system, with state bonds substituted for lands. . . . Money was borrowed, and state bonds were purchased. The most inaccessible places in our state were sought out for the location of banks, and bills were extensively issued. . . . The consequences of this system were quite as disastrous as those of the real estate system of Michigan.

"Considering its age," continues Wentworth, in his lecture on "Early Chicago," delivered in 1876, "Chicago has been the greatest sufferer of any place in the world from an irredeemable paper money system. Its losses in this respect will

[22] Fergus: No. 7, p. 27.
[23] Ibid., p. 28.

nearly approximate those from the Great Fire. And when you talk to one of the early settlers of Chicago about the advantages accruing from an irredeemable money system, you waste your labor. He has been there!" [24]

CAUSES OF THE PANIC

The causes of the panic of 1837 may be traced, as usual in the case of financial and industrial panics, to a previous period of great prosperity and over-confidence in the future on the part of people engaged in business of all kinds. In 1836, the United States was out of debt, and had a surplus of nearly forty millions of dollars, largely derived from the sales of public lands.[25] These sales had been increasing at a tremendous rate for some years previously, and as payment was accepted by the government in the currency of the time, it began to be feared that the banks, which were the sources of issue of the paper money, would not be able to redeem their bills. The surplus had been largely deposited with the banks throughout the country, and the banks soon came to regard these deposits by the government as sufficiently permanent to make use of the funds in an unwise expansion of loans.

About this time a proposal was made in Congress to distribute the surplus as "loans" among the states, and accordingly a bill was passed on the 23d of June, 1836, to that effect.[26] The spirit of speculation had by this time almost reached its climax, and President Jackson, "in his own inconsiderate and thoroughgoing manner," as Von Holst expresses it, endeavored to check the speculative rage. On his own responsibility, Jackson issued his famous "Specie circular" under date of July 11, 1836, in which he forbade the acceptance by the agents of the United States of anything but gold and silver in payment for public lands. After this circular had been issued it was but a question of time when the bubble would burst. "It was barely deferred," says Larned, "till Jackson went out of office, in the spring of 1837." [27]

THE BURSTING OF THE BUBBLE

Scarcely had Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, taken office before the country found itself in the midst of the worst financial panic it has ever passed through.[28] In the following May the banks began to suspend payments of their obligations in specie. Failures among mercantile houses rapidly followed, and became widespread. Trade relations were almost suspended, bankruptcies came in avalanches, and factories were closed, throwing thousands out of employment.

Thus within two months after Chicago had become an incorporated city, its people found themselves in the midst of the financial storm. The rapid and unprecedented rise in the values of real estate in the form of land tracts, town lots and water privileges had brought about wild speculation, which had been participated in by all classes of the people. "The farmer, the manufacturer and merchant. instead of paying their debts, bought lands. The country merchant bought

[24] Fergus: No. 7, p. 31.
[25] Von Holst: II, 187.
[26] Ibid.: 188.
[27] Larned: Seventy Centuries, II, 411.
[28] J. A. James: "American History," 313.

lands and paid the city merchant, as well for his old debts as for his new purchases in this new currency, upon the strength of valuation, which deceived himself as well as his creditors." [29]

"In Chicago, lots which had sold for a thousand dollars on the fictitious balloon basis," says Moses, "would not bring in specie one hundred. Those whose profits had made them apparently rich, and whose assets, on paper, aggregated many thousands of dollars, suddenly found themselves reduced to poverty. Their depreciated lots and lands were unsalable, and their unpaid obligations stared them in the face. About the only consolation to be found, in the contemplation of their broken fortunes and blasted hopes, lay in the fact that the ruin had been a common one, in which all shared alike." [30]

The people, however, began to take an account of their assets, and the situation was confronted with brave hearts. "The city with its few substantial improvements, was not gone; its site and natural facilities for commercial growth could not be obliterated from the map of the world; its stout-hearted citizens, with their abiding faith in the future and their undaunted courage, remained. Neither had the canal succumbed to the general collapse, the work of construction, though retarded and slow, thanks to the sales of valuable real estate, which could yet find purchasers, being continued for several years." [31]

EXTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CITY

At this time the inhabited portions of the city lay along North and South Water streets, and those parts of La Salle, Clark and Dearborn streets, which intersected them. Buildings on Lake street extended continuously from Dearborn to La Salle streets, those on South Water street a little farther west. The buildings, mostly constructed of wood, were generally one or two stories in height. The Saloon Building, on the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, was built of brick, as were also the Courthouse, which stood on the public square, the State Bank Building, at the southwest corner of South Water and La Salle streets, the City Hotel, on the northwest corner of Clark and Randolph streets, on the present site of the Sherman House, and the Lake House, at the corner of Rush and Michigan streets.

"There were about a dozen hotels," says Moses, "the best patronized of which were the City Hotel, on Clark street, the Tremont, at the corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, and the Lake House, at the intersection of Rush and Michigan streets. The Tremont first stood on the northwest corner of the streets named, but was consumed by fire on October 27, 1839, together with most of the block." [32] It was rebuilt on the southeast corner, diagonally opposite to its former location, and, though having been burned three times afterwards, it continued in the first rank of hotels until quite recent years. It is now the property of the Northwestern University of Evanston, and is known as the Northwestern University Building, having been remodeled to adapt it to the purposes of that institution.

[29] Citation by Von Holst, II, 194.
[30] Moses and Kirkland: "Chicago," I, 104.
[31] Ibid.: 104.
[32] Ibid.: 105.

THE LAKE HOUSE

It was an important event when the Lake House was completed on the North Side on the corner of Rush and Michigan streets. An article is quoted by Hurlbut from the Chicago *Tribune,* without mentioning its date of issue, which is substantially as follows:

The Lake House enterprise was inaugurated in the palmy days of the North Side. It was a great day for the North Side when ground was broken, in 1835, for the beginning of the Lake House, at a convenient distance from the river bank, confronting the neatly kept and brilliantly whitewashed buildings and stockade of Fort Dearborn on the other side of the river. There were associated in this undertaking Gurdon S. Hubbard, John H. Kinzie, Captain David Hunter, and Major James B. Campbell. The plans called for an outlay of ninety thousand dollars. It was built of brick in an exceeding good style for the time.

When the Lake House was erected there was nothing between it and the shore of Lake Michigan, distant only a few hundred feet, excepting the great cotton-wood trees that had sheltered the pioneer Kinzie House. From three sides the Lake House looked out on the blue expanse, north, east and south. It was finished early in the fall of 1836. The opening was a festive event; it took place during the flush times preceding the crash of 1837, money was plenty, and its prospects for success were excellent. It was resorted to by the officers of the garrison, judges on their circuits, canal contractors, lake captains, politicians, speculators and travelers. It was taken in charge after its opening by Jacob Russell, who came from Connecticut. Russell afterwards went across the river and took charge of the City Hotel, and the Lake House then came into the hands of George E. Shelley of Baltimore. Shelley was soon succeeded by Daniel S. Griswold, also a Baltimore man, who remained in charge one year. Then Thomas Dyer bought the whole establishment for ten thousand dollars, and William Rickcords of Buffalo took charge in September, 1844.

"But nothing could save the Lake House," says the writer of the article which we have quoted from above. "It was out of the way, almost inaccessible, and was sure death to a landlord, and grew worse year by year;" [33] and, in 1852, it was said of it that it looked like some old deserted castle. In its time it had been regarded as the "crack hotel" of the West. The building was at last converted into residence apartments, and used as such until it was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871.

Among the celebrities entertained there were Daniel Webster, General Winfield Scott, and Governor Lewis Cass. "It was built at a time when there was sharp rivalry for supremacy," says Frederick F. Cook, in his recent book on Chicago, "Bygone Days," "between the north and south divisions, and its promoters entertained the hope that this piece of enterprise would effectually stop the exodus to the south division."

TREMONT HOUSE

The Tremont House and the lot on which it stood also had a checkered career. A man, who is quoted by Andreas as having spent some time here in the early "thirties" wrote a letter to the Chicago *Times* under date of March 15, 1876, a

[33] Hurlbut: 524.

portion of which is quoted as follows: "The most historic lot in Chicago undoubtedly is the one occupied by the Tremont House [evidently referring to its later location]. It has been in the 'raffle-box,' swapped for ponies, refused for a barrel of whisky, and when an old settler wants to give you an idea of the city when he first planted his feet in the mud here, he will somehow associate the price of the Tremont House lot with it; and any old settler will tell the year of your arrival by giving him the value of the lot at that particular time.

"One old codger will tell you, 'when I came here I could have bought the lot the Tremont House stands on for a cord of wood;' that means 1831. Another puts the value, with the preliminary remark, at 'a pair of boots;' that means 1832. A third fixes the price at 'a barrel of whiskey;' that means 1833. A fourth adds 'a yoke of steers and a barrel of flour;' that means 1834. A fifth talks about 'five hundred dollars;' that means 1835. A year or two afterward it was worth five thousand dollars, and is now [1876] worth five hundred thousand dollars."

THE FIRE OF 1839

The first "great" fire which Chicago suffered occurred on October 27, 1839,[34] starting on Lake street, near Dearborn. The fire was checked by blowing up a building in its course, but not before the Tremont House and seventeen other buildings were destroyed, with a total loss of about $60,000 or $70,000, a large amount in those days. The list of those who were burned out included most of the "merchant princes" of the city. The fire department at that time consisted of a chief, the Chicago Fire Guards Bucket Company, an engine company, and a hook and ladder company. The equipment included two engines, two sixteen-foot ladders, one thousand feet of hose, two fire hooks with chains and ropes, four axes and four hand saws.

The ordinance of November, 1835, establishing the "bucket brigade" directed every occupant of a store or dwelling "to have one good painted leathern fire bucket, with the initials of the owner's name painted thereon." There must be one bucket for each stove or fire place in the building, the buckets to be hung in conspicuous places. A fine was imposed for neglecting to provide the proper number of buckets, as well as for the failure of a bucket owner to go immediately to the fire with his bucket.

Later, in 1857, there were two large fires in Chicago, one happening in March, another in October. The former occurred at the corner of South Water and State streets, burning a five-story brick block and the adjacent buildings. The latter was the most destructive of any fire that had visited the city, starting in South Water street and spreading rapidly in all directions. Not only was the loss of property great, in the destruction of some of the finest business blocks of the city, but twenty-three lives were lost in this fire. By a sad irony of circumstance the engines and hose were in poor condition to cope with fire, having been seriously damaged in a series of contests held a few days before, to test the efficiency of the department.

STAGE ROADS TO THE EAST

"Previous to 1837," says A. D. Field, in his "Recollections," "the stage road from Chicago to Michigan City ran around the head of the lake. All wagons

[34] Andreas: I, 151.

From Blanchard's "The Northwest and Chicago"

WOLF POINT IN 1832

Wolf Tavern is shown on the left. This view represents the point at which the Chicago river divides, forming the north and south branches. Along these banks are now warehouses, grain elevators and docks for freight and passenger boats.

By courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society
From a picture printed in the Chicago directory of 1845

THIS HOTEL WAS BUILT IN 1836 ON THE NORTH SIDE, ON THE CORNER OF RUSH AND MICHIGAN STREETS

It stood until 1871, when it was burned in the Great Fire

ploughed the deep sand along the sandy ridges that skirted the lake. But in 1837 the road was changed, and at the Calumet it swerved off and took a circle over the black oak ridges going eight or ten miles south of the end of the lake. Through all that country the land lay in swales and ridges like waves, the ridges being about four or five rods wide. South of the Calumet River, at what is now Hammond, Indiana, the ridges were covered with huckleberries and wintergreens. Previous to 1837 the Calumet River at Calumet, now South Chicago, was crossed by a rope scow ferry. But in 1837 a floating plank toll-bridge was built at Calumet, and over the Calumet River eight miles on from Calumet, at Hammond, a pile bridge was built in 1837. From this point on, all travel went that way. The only inhabitants, except Indians, along this route were the tavern keepers, but at Calumet (South Chicago) there were only some three families in the years 1837 to 1839.

"Three miles from Chicago was Myrick's tavern; three miles farther was the Half-way House; three miles farther was Nyrum Hurd's tavern; three miles farther was Calumet, where old man Jefferson kept the plank toll bridge and his son Hiram Jefferson and Mr. Garland kept the tavern. Four miles farther, near the present Hegewisch, was Isaac Hale's tavern. This tavern keeper was my step-father. Mr. Hale left the Pinery on the lake, twenty miles from Chicago, in the spring of 1837, and set up tavern keeping in a two-room house with chamber, built of hewed pine logs. Hale's tavern was sixteen miles from Chicago. Four miles farther David Pierce kept a stage tavern. As at present known, Hammond was three miles farther, and Lemuel Mulkins' place was twelve miles beyond. Thus the entire distance from Chicago to Ainsworth was thirty-five miles.

"The stages were open stage wagons drawn by four horses. A four-horse team came from Chicago to Calumet, twelve miles, in the morning, and went back to Chicago in the afternoon. A four-horse team drove to Pierce's eight miles farther, in the forenoon, and returned to Calumet in the afternoon. The stages met at Pierce's. Two four-horse teams ran between Pierce's and Ainsworth. In 1837 the travel and stage business along this route was endless, but in 1838 travel nearly ceased, and the stages were reduced to two-horse hacks. I presume the steamboat lines across the lakes had cut off the stage custom, and the travel by land was thus greatly diminished.

"In those days, 1837 and 1838, wagons and men on horseback frequently passed our doors, having travelled all the way from New York. I know that Reverend Richard A. Blanchard, afterward a prominent Methodist preacher, came that way from the 'Genesee Country' in New York in a 'gig'—a two-wheeled concern."

Many travelers from the East reached the lake shore near the point where the Riviere du Chemin empties into the lake (Michigan City), and continued along the water's edge to Chicago, like the demon horseman in Burger's "Leonore;"

> "Tramp, tramp, across the land they rode,
> Splash, splash, along the sea."

STAGE ROADS TO THE NORTH

"When we lived on the west side in 1836," continues Field, "the Milwaukee stage coach passed our door every day. I remember this, for the leaders were 'John' and 'Nance,' the team my father had driven to a two-horse wagon from

Chautauqua County, New York, to Chicago, in the fall of 1834, the year before he brought his family. Just where the stage road went from our house I do not know, but there was hardly any passage along the lake shore to the north. In after years I was told that the road swung west to Libertyville by Dutchman's Point, where John Plank kept a tavern in the early days.

STAGE ROADS TO THE WEST

"In 1840 and 1843 there were two routes striking west from Chicago to Elgin and other Fox River points. One crossed the Desplaines near Riverside; the other, an earlier road, turned northwest. The first tavern, three or four miles from Chicago, was Lytle's. Then across the Desplaines was young man Hoyt's, or Buckhorn tavern; then old man Hoyt's at Bloomingdale; then Leatherman's about four miles from Elgin."

THE ROUTE FROM THE EAST

The pioneers who found their way to Chicago by way of Detroit in the years from 1832 to 1834, had to go in primitive fashion by mailcoach, by flat boats with Indian guides, by schooner, or whatever conveyance they could get for any part of the way. A volume recently published, entitled "The Story of the Great Lakes," by Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, recalls these early modes of travel in an interesting manner. For the traveler of the early forties, he says "there were three regular and established routes by any one of which he would be reasonably comfortable. One was by steamer through the lakes, but this he more commonly took on his return trip. A second was by railroad to Ypsilanti, thirty-three miles away, [opened in 1842] from which a regular line of stages ran to St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, one hundred and seventy miles across the state, and thence by steamer the remaining sixty miles to Chicago. . . .

"At Chicago the visitor stopped to wonder, as men have stopped to wonder ever since. The splendid location of the town as a commercial thoroughfare between the lakes and the Mississippi had made it an easy victim to the land-boom of 1834 and 1835, and Mr. Buckingham, visiting there in 1840, was told by persons who had been present at the time that building lots on streets only marked out on paper had been sold over and over again in a day, with an advance of price each time until the evening purchaser was likely, at the very least, to pay ten times as much as the morning buyer of the same lot.

"Chicago had, however, been able to survive the succeeding panic in 1837, which swamped for the time being several smaller towns. It was now a prosperous trading center of six thousand people. The town was planned with the symmetry of all these newly built cities, and the streets were of good width with rows of trees separating the plank sidewalks from the main road. None of the streets was as yet paved; and indeed many of them had still the green turf of the prairie grass in the center. So scarce was stone and so high was labor that a small piece of flagstone pavement around the Lake House had cost nine hundred dollars,—an extravagance which no one else had yet committed. On the south side of the river were the stores, many of them built of brick, and the main street was a busy trading mart. There were in the city six churches, four hotels, banks, and insurance offices, and along the water front stretched a growing line of warehouses. The fashionable residen-

tial district was on the north side of the river, where were avenues of large villas surrounded by gardens. Between the two parts ran a ferry boat, drawn across the river by a rope, and passing and repassing every five minutes. This was maintained by subscription among the inhabitants, and no fee was therefore charged for crossing."

MARGARET FULLER IN CHICAGO

Margaret Fuller spent the summer of 1843 on the lakes, and left a charming account of her impressions. Chicago she found rather commercial, she says, "with no provision for the student or the idler," but in other respects she saw the great advantages it possessed in regard to trade. "There can be no two places in the world more completely thoroughfares," she says, "than this place and Buffalo." To quote Professor Channing's summary; "They were to her two correspondent valves that opened and shut all the time, as the life blood rushed from east to west and back again. Yet even in this business place, she saw for the first time in her drives along the lake shore the beautiful prairie flowers of the West. To her the most picturesque sight in all Chicago were the lines of Hoosier wagons, in which the rough farmers who had driven in from the country camped on the edge of the city, living on their own supplies of provisions and seeming as they walked about the town like foreign peasantry put down among the 'active, inventive business people' of Chicago. With the characteristically sharp contrasts of this wonderful new land, the other sight which interested her especially was the arrival of the great lake steamers, magnificent floating palaces of six and eight hundred tons, which 'panted in from their rapid and marvelous journey' of a thousand miles from Buffalo. When she went out to watch the lights of these boats as they came in at night she heard as she walked along on one side the Hoosier dialect, on another, cultivated French, and the very next moment the sounds of German, Dutch, and Irish. Then as now Chicago was a cosmopolitan city."

SOCIETY OF THE EARLY DAYS

"In most new settlements there can always be pointed out some particular class," said John Wentworth, "who give tone to the early society; such as the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, the Knickerbockers of New York, the Huguenots of South Carolina, the Creoles of New Orleans, and, in later days, men identified with manufacturing interests, mining interests, railroad interests, or with seminaries of learning. But here in Chicago, in early times, we had not any one prevailing class or interest; nor was there any sufficient number of people from any particular locality to exercise a controlling influence in moulding public sentiment.

"We had people from almost every clime, and of almost every opinion. We had Jews and Christians, Protestants, Catholics, and infidels; among Protestants there were Calvinists and Armenians. Nearly every language was represented here. Some people had seen much of the world, and some very little. Some were quite learned, and some very ignorant. We had every variety of people, and out of these we had to construct what is called society. The winters were long; no railroads, no telegraphs, no canal, and all we had to rely upon for news were our weekly newspapers. We had no libraries, no lectures, no theatres or other places of amusement."

CHAPTER XIII

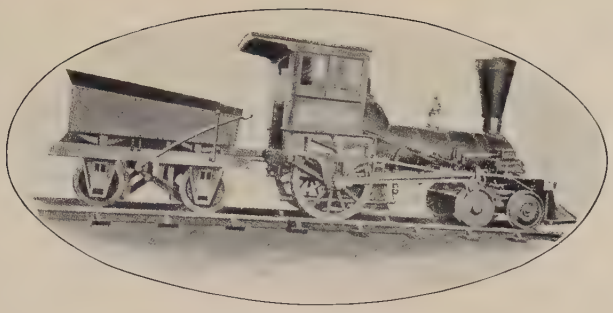
ERA OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

RAILROAD BUILDING—RAPID INCREASE IN POPULATION—PEOPLE ENTHUSIASTIC OVER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—LEGISLATURE OF 1836—THE PERSONNEL OF THE LEGISLATURE—LEGISLATIVE TACTICS—THE "LONG NINE"—AN IMMENSE DEBT INCURRED—THE PANIC OF 1837—THE CHICAGO HARBOR—LIGHTHOUSE AT CHICAGO—THE FORERUNNER OF THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY—THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION RAILROAD—STRAP RAILS USED—THE "PIONEER"—DEPOT ON THE WEST SIDE—IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS—DEPOT ON THE NORTH SIDE—EXTENSIONS TO THE MISSOURI RIVER—THROUGH TRAINS TO MILWAUKEE—SUBURBAN SERVICE—THE GREAT CONSOLIDATION—END OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION—NAME OF CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN ADOPTED—PRIVILEGES OF COMMON AND PREFERRED STOCK—VARIOUS EXTENSIONS—CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENCY—PROGRESS DURING TEN YEARS—FURTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS—LATER IMPROVEMENTS—REVIEW OF FORTY YEARS OF GROWTH—THE NEW TERMINAL—ADMINISTRATION OF THE ROAD.

ERA OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—RAILROADS

THE state of Illinois, in 1837, entered upon an extensive system of internal improvements which resulted in a total failure and left a heavy debt which the people were many years in liquidating. There was an unusual longing of the people for increased facilities of transportation. The eastern states had set the example of extensive improvements in canal and railroad building. The Erie canal had been completed by New York state in 1825, and the people of that state were wrought up to a high pitch of expectation, and all through the sea-board states the spirit of internal improvement became especially active. As early as 1826, Ohio began the construction of a canal to join the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio river. Indiana launched an extensive system of improvements, and our own state had begun the building of the Illinois and Michigan canal.

At this time a few railroads had been built in the eastern states, several lines being in operation. The opening of the first railroad in England had taken place in September, 1825, when George Stephenson ran a train of a dozen or more cars, some loaded with coal, and others with passengers from Stockton to Darlington. Descriptions of this event filled the newspapers of the day. "People in large numbers," says one account, "had gathered for the occasion, and when the train started, many in doubt of its promised speed, tried to keep up with it on foot, gentry on horseback cut across fields to head it off, and a stagecoach on the turnpike, loaded



THE "PIONEER"

The first locomotive to run out of Chicago. The "Pioneer" belonged to the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad and was placed on the road October 24, 1848.

UNION DEPOT

LA SALLE STREET DEPOT

ILLINOIS CENTRAL DEPOT

with passengers, waited for an even start. On the track, in front of the engine, a man was mounted on a fleet charger to keep ahead of it, carrying a flag and decorated with many derisive insignia. Such were some of the manifestations of the doubting Briton. The train started amid cheers from the people. The locomotive soon showed its power under the guiding hand of Stephenson. He shouted to the man with the flag to clear the track, and, opening the throttle valve, the train shot ahead at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, leaving people, horses and stage-coach far behind, and reaching Darlington in safety." [1]

RAILROAD BUILDING

The news of the successful operation of railroads in England was the inspiration of railroad building in this country. The people everywhere saw in the railroad the promise of better conditions in transportation, and became possessed with the desire to see them built throughout the land. Steam navigation on the larger rivers and lakes was already established and steadily increasing. Canals were enormously popular wherever the country was adapted for their construction. But railroads could be built throughout the length and breadth of the land without regard to water courses and lakes, and thus render markets more readily accessible for extensive regions.

By 1830 a railroad had been built between Albany and Schenectady, a distance of thirty-six miles. The news of the success of this enterprise spread throughout the West, and along with the early movements for a canal in Illinois, there sprang up a demand for railroad construction. "Internal Improvements" became the chief issue in the politics of the state. In 1834, Governor Duncan recommended the formation of the State Bank with a capital of $1,500,000, with six branches. This was sanctioned by the legislature. Other banks were started in great numbers all over the country; their issues were current everywhere; indeed it was the only paper money the people had. The government was also distributing its surplus revenue among the states, amounting to many millions, money was plentiful and times were good, and western immigration was greatly stimulated.

RAPID INCREASE IN POPULATION

"The state census of 1835," says Stuvé, "revealed an astounding increase in population during the last five years, it being 157,445 in 1830, and 269,974 in 1835. The increase was mainly in the central and northern parts of the state. This was also largely due to the Black Hawk war, which had advertised these fertile regions all over the country, and as the Indians were now finally expelled therefrom, the settlers felt secure, and the influx of immigrants was redoubled." The fever for public improvements became steadily more pronounced among the people, and was especially stimulated by the governor. He convened the legislature in a special session December 7th, 1835, and in his message he advocated a comprehensive system of internal improvements, concluding with the following inspiring words:

"When we look abroad and see the extensive lines of intercommunication pene-

[1] Illinois Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 116.

trating almost every section of our sister states—when we see the canal boat and locomotive bearing, with seeming triumph, the rich productions of the interior to the rivers, lakes and ocean, almost annihilating burthen and space, what patriotic bosom does not beat high with a laudable ambition to give to Illinois her full share of those advantages which are adorning her sister states, and which a munificent Providence seems to invite by the wonderful adaptation of our country to such improvements." [2]

AMBITION OF THE PEOPLE

The legislature, however, did not rise to the level of the governor's enthusiasm, and failed to respond to most of his recommendations; but the people were fired by his glowing words, and speedily took the matter into their own hands. At the next election internal improvements was again the main issue. Other states had led the way and the people were eager to enter upon vast enterprises, which the press and political orators pointed out as practicable, and the anticipated results they painted in glowing colors. The digging of canals, building of railroads and river improvements were under full headway in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana; and the people had read the vivid accounts of these wonderful operations, and were fired with the determination not to be left behind in the race. "They not only craved relief in their remote situation," says Stuvé, "but were animated by a sentiment of pride and emulation. What others could afford they might. As to the mode and manner of accomplishing the desired object they took little concern. The ways and means were entrusted to their representatives to be chosen. The feasibility, safety, and the details of the scheme, and the plans and methods of procedure, were for them to devise." [3]

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1836

At the election in August, 1836, a majority of the members elected to the General Assembly were committed to a forward policy in the matter of internal improvements. Meetings were held in many counties of the state and delegates named to meet in convention at the state capital simultaneously with the legislature to further the cause of internal improvements. Although this convention was wholly irresponsible it claimed that its membership was "fresh from the people," and one of its committees, called a "lobby committee," was instructed to see that members of the legislature should not shrink in their support of a bill which had been prepared for introduction into that body. Many of the members of the convention were also members of the legislature.

An editorial in the Chicago *American* printed in its issue of December 10th, 1836, showed that its editor fully shared the sentiments of the people in other parts of the state. "It is time," says the editor, "that this state should take a high and commanding position in the general field of internal improvements. Her resources, her great natural advantages, her increasing wealth and population, suggest and require it."

Delegates were sent to the convention to represent the County of Cook. The

[2] Illinois State Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 118.
[3] Illinois State Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 118.

American, in the same issue as the one quoted from above, gives an account of the meeting, and the names of the delegates appointed by the chairman. They were T. W. Smith, W. L. Newberry, Giles Spring, Henry Moore, C. V. Dyer, William B. Egan, R. K. Richards, John Blackstone, J. D. Caton, J. B. Beaubien, Peter Cohen, H. G. Loomis, J. M. Strode, L. T. James, John H. Kinzie, E. D. Taylor, J. N. Balestier, E. W. Casey, and James H. Collins. These men constituted a formidable array of character and talent to take part in the proceedings of the forthcoming assemblage called to promote the cause of internal improvements.

The convention met at Vandalia, then the capital of the state, on December 5th, 1836, on the same day of the meeting of the General Assembly, and continued in session two days. The convention was wildly enthusiastic for railroads at any cost, although the members knew little except hearsay of the amount of money necessary to build them, and were devoid of any practical knowledge of the requirements for their construction or their operation. It finally embodied its sentiments in a memorial which was to accompany the bill already prepared. This memorial demanded the construction of a system of railroads and improvements to river navigation, the estimate cost of which was $7,450,000. The Illinois and Michigan canal was not included in the list of works demanded, as that had been provided for the previous year and work on it had already commenced.

After the bill and memorial had been introduced into the legislature they were referred to a committee on internal improvements, which made a report with a list of additions amounting to $2,800,000 more than the original bill, making a total of $10,250,000. The committee in its report urged that owing to the level surface of the state the cost of railroad building would not exceed $8,000 per mile, that as soon as sections were completed the earnings would pay interest on the cost, that immigration would increase, which would mean increased entries of public lands and increased revenue, that public expectation would be disappointed if some system of improvements was not adopted, and that it was a legislator's duty to calm the apprehensions of the timorous and meet the attacks of the opposition that might arise against measures which would multiply the wealth and population of the state.[4]

THE PERSONNEL OF THE LEGISLATURE

"No previous general assembly of our state, and very few since," says Snyder, "have comprised such an array of brainy, talented men, or as many who subsequently gained such conspicuous eminence in the annals of the state and nation." Among them were Orville H. Browning, who was a friend of Lincoln's, and in later years a United States senator and a member of President Johnson's cabinet; Cyrus Edwards, a younger brother of Ninian Edwards; Edward D. Baker, who afterwards removed to Oregon, and was a United States Senator from that state; later he was a general in the civil war, and was killed in battle; Richard M. Cullom, father of our present Senator Shelby M. Cullom; Stephen A. Douglas, afterwards United States Senator, and candidate for the Presidency in 1860; William L. D. Ewing, who was afterwards United States Senator; Augustus C. French, governor of the state from 1846 to 1852; John J. Hardin, who was colonel of the First Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in the Mexican war, and was killed at the battle of Buena Vista; Abraham Lincoln, then only twenty-eight years old, and just entering upon

[4] Illinois State Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 120.

his wonderful career; Usher F. Linder, afterwards a well-known lawyer of Chicago; John A. McClernand, afterwards general in the civil war; and many others who in later years held exalted positions in the state or nation.[5] The representatives from Cook County in this legislature were Peter Pruyne, in the Senate, and Joseph Walker, Joseph Naper, and A. G. Leary, in the House of Representatives.[6]

But while the people and their representatives had entered deeply into these visionary and doubtful plans of improvement, Governor Duncan had modified his views since the previous year when he sent his message to the legislature recommending these measures. He now thought it wiser for the governing body to confine itself to issuing charters under which independent corporations might undertake the construction of railroads, and not burden the state with a heavy bonded indebtedness. "The gravest menace of the measure," writes Stuvé, "consisted of its being made a state undertaking." The conduct of public affairs at that time was of such a character that the men in the offices were not adapted by training or experience to carrying on enterprises of a practical kind. The public service was mainly filled with politicians, a class to whom the management of state railroads would be unfamiliar, and who in fact were not fitted for such responsibilities. Although Governor Duncan, in his message, extolled the grand system proposed, he now advocated that the state take only a third or a half interest in the works instead of the whole. But the legislature gave no heed to his advice and speedily passed the measure and it was sent to the governor for his approval. The governor returned the bill without his approval, but it was passed by the legislature by a constitutional majority and became a law February 27, 1837.

The legislature then elected a board of Fund Commissioners who were authorized to negotiate the loans for the grand system of internal improvements; and a board of Commissioners of Public Works, composed of one member from each judicial district, few of whom had ever seen a railroad or a canal, to superintend construction of the works proposed.[7] "And as a crowning act of folly," we read in Ford's history of Illinois, "it was provided that the work should commence simultaneously on all the roads at each end, and from the crossings of all the rivers." [8] No surveys had been made or estimates of cost secured, no one knew where the necessary material for their construction could be obtained, or where the money was to come from with which to make the payments.

In this condition of bewildering uncertainty the legislature adjourned on the 6th of March, 1837, at a time when the country was on the eve of the great monetary panic of that year. Commenting on the passage of the law the editor of the *American*, in its issue of April 22d, said: "A ball has been set in motion which, we hope, is destined to roll on till our vast country is crossed in every direction by railroads and canals, and our noble rivers are freed from obstructions to commerce. Then we shall indeed be a great people."

PROVISIONS OF THE LAW

As finally passed the Act authorized the construction of a railroad from Galena to Cairo, usually referred to as the First Illinois Central Railroad, estimated to cost

[5] Snyder: "History of Illinois," p. 214.
[6] Illinois Blue Book, 1907, p. 302.
[7] Snyder: "History of Illinois," p. 222.
[8] Ford: "History of Illinois," p. 184.

CHICAGO RIVER FROM LAKE MICHIGAN

Scene in the '50s

From daguerreotype taken at the time by, P. Von Schneidau

VIEW OF THE DISASTER OCCASIONED BY THE FLOOD IN THE CHICAGO RIVER ON THE 12TH OF MARCH, 1849

From The Book of the Board of Trade, 1910.

FIRST SHIPMENT OF GRAIN FROM CHICAGO'S FIRST DOCK, 1839

$3,500,000; the Northern Cross Railroad, $1,850,000; the Southern Cross Railroad, $1,600,000; five other railroads to be built from one interior point to another, $2,450,000; improvements of various rivers in the central and southern parts of the state, $400,000; Great Western Mail Route, $250,000; and $200,000 to be distributed among those counties through which no improvements were projected. But this appalling total of $10,250,000 was not the limit of expenditures proposed. Other appropriations beside those required for the "Grand System" had been made. The state capital was that year removed from Vandalia to Springfield, and $150,000 for a new State House was provided, and a subscription of $100,000 previously made to the stock of the State Bank, was increased to $3,000,000.[9] We have then a grand total of $13,400,000, as the liability of the state under these several acts of the legislature.

LEGISLATIVE TACTICS

"The means used in the legislature to pass the system," writes Governor Thomas Ford, "deserve some notice for the instruction of posterity. First, a large portion of the people were interested in the success of the canal, which was threatened, if other sections of the state were denied the improvements demanded by them; and thus the friends of the canal were forced to 'log-roll' for that work by supporting others which were to be ruinous to the country. Roads and improvements were proposed everywhere, to enlist [the support of] every section of the state. Three or four efforts were made to pass a smaller system, and when defeated, the bill would be amended by the addition of other roads, until a majority was obtained for it. Those counties which could not thus be accommodated were to share in the fund of two hundred thousand dollars. Three roads were appointed to terminate at Alton, before the Alton interest would agree to the system. The seat of government was to be removed to Springfield. Sangamon county, in which Springfield was situated, was then represented by two senators and seven representatives, called the 'Long Nine,' all whigs but one. Amongst them were some dexterous jugglers and managers in politics, whose whole object was to obtain the seat of government for Springfield. This delegation from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question.

"Most of the other counties were small, having but one representative, and many of them with but one for a whole district; and this gave Sangamon County a decided preponderance in the 'log-rolling' system of those days. It is worthy of examination whether any just and equal legislation can ever be obtained where some of the counties are great and powerful and others feeble. But by such means 'the Long Nine' rolled along like a snow-ball, gathering accessions of strength at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable party for Springfield, which party they managed to take almost as a unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for which the active supporters of that system were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the state about six millions of dollars to remove the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices; and thus, by 'log-rolling' on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three

[9] Illinois State Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 121.

railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties, to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole state bought up and bribed, to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever crippled the energies of a growing country." [10]

THE "LONG NINE"

The two senators and seven representatives from Sangamon County in the legislature, which enacted the Internal Improvement laws, known as the "Long Nine," were so called because they averaged six feet in height, some more and some less, there being precisely fifty-four feet in the sum total of their statures.[11] Abraham Lincoln was one of the representatives. Other members of the delegation were Archer G. Herndon, Job Fletcher, Ninian W. Edwards, William F. Elkins, Daniel Stone, John Dawson, Andrew McCormick, and Robert L. Wilson. "They were astute and influential men," says Snyder, "united in their efforts to secure the removal of the capital to Springfield, the object for which they were elected. They succeeded in having their bill passed, on the 25th of February, 1837, 'log-rolling' with the friends of every other measure presented; or threatening to withhold their support from the same, the canal and other internal improvements especially; and by the practice of all arts of persuasion and coercion known to influence recalcitrant or indifferent members." [12]

There was an excellent reason, however, for the removal of the capital, and whatever the methods of accomplishing it were, the success of the project was much to the advantage of the state as a whole. "The marvelous growth of Chicago," says Snyder, "and rapid settling of the northern counties after the Black Hawk war, began to demand a permanent central location of the seat of government at, or near, the geographical center of the state." Then, again, the State House in Vandalia was in such a dilapidated condition as to be scarcely tenable, and a bill providing for the erection of a new one in place of it could not be passed. This opened the way for the introduction of the bill to remove the capital with an appropriation of $50,000, for a State House, "conditioned on the donation of an equal sum by the citizens of the town in which it was decided the capital would be fixed." [13]

THE IMMENSE DEBT INCURRED

To fully comprehend the stupendous liability which the state had been placed under, a comparison of resources and population will be necessary. The population of Illinois in 1837 may be estimated at 300,000. The census returns for 1900 give the population of the state as 4,821,550; that is about sixteen times greater than in the former period. The assessed wealth of the state in 1837 was about $50,000,000, and it is now, according to the "Blue Book" of Illinois for 1909, $1,263,500,000, that is, about twenty-five times greater.[14] And if we should take the true val-

[10] Ford: "History of Illinois," p. 187.
[11] Davidson & Stuvé: "History of Illinois," p. 917.
[12] Snyder: "History of Illinois," p. 221.
[13] Snyder: "History of Illinois," p. 220.
[14] Illinois Blue Book for 1909, p. 328.

uation of the wealth of the state at the last date mentioned, instead of the valuation as above given, which was reduced to about one-fifth by "equalization," it would be more than a hundred times greater than it was in 1837. If this state were now burdened with a debt in the same proportion as the liabilities incurred in 1837 were to its population then, it would amount to some 215 millions of dollars; or, if in proportion to its taxable wealth, as between that period and the present, it would be over 1,300 millions. We may thus form some idea of the burden the people had assumed in embarking upon the grand projects known as Internal Improvements.

"And when we consider," writes Stuvé, "that money in 1837 was much dearer, or had a greater purchasing capacity, than now; that it required double the labor to earn a dollar it does now; that the products of the field and farm brought scarce half they average now;" [15] we may form some idea of the burden that the people staggered under at that time.

Still the people remained sanguine, and steadily looked forward to great results, their hopes sustained by the assurances of stump orators and press writers. The arguments in favor of the system which had been inaugurated "were of a character most difficult to refute," says Governor Ford, "composed as they were partly of fact, but mostly of prediction. In this way," continues the Governor, in his caustic review of these events, "I have heard it proved to general satisfaction by an ingenious orator that the state could well afford to borrow a hundred million of dollars, and expend it in making internal improvements. The orators in favor of the system all aimed to argue their way logically, and the end has showed that the counsels of a sound judgment, guided by common sense jumping at conclusions, are to be preferred to ingenious speculation. Nothing is more delusive in public affairs than a series of ingenious reasonings." [16]

Compare this criticism of Governor Ford's, written previously to 1850, with a recent review of a book in an English weekly, and we can see how the conclusions of thinking men, separated by more than half a century in their writings, and in a totally different environment, agree in their expressions regarding "logical" conclusions in the conduct of public affairs. The English reviewer, in commenting upon a book recently published, entitled "Britain at Bay," by the well known military writer, Spenser Wilkinson, says: "His logical mind can barely tolerate a system that persistently divides the kingdom into two camps, when both camps in reality belong to the same national army. . . . Of course this is displeasing to logic; but politics are not logic, and the only way to come to a fair decision in a world necessarily conducted by a series of second-best courses is to ask ourselves what the alternative to existing systems would be. This question always resolves one's doubts." [17]

And we have seen, even in recent years, the same "logical" reasoning, as opposed to plain common sense, employed by the advocates of financial and political heresies, persuading large numbers of citizens to support causes whose tendency is toward "the way that madness lies." When public discussions of affairs and measures begin to take the form of arguments built up with premises, and postulates, and "logical conclusions," the truth is quickly lost sight of and error triumphs. "The gods punish the wicked and fools, the fools first."

[15] Illinois State Historical Society Publication, No. 7, p. 121.
[16] Ford: "History of Illinois," p. 185.
[17] "Spectator," issue of January 29, 1910.

THE PANIC OF 1837

In the spring of 1837 a financial and business panic broke out and spread over the country. Many banks suspended and there was widespread business disaster, causing great distress to thousands of people engaged in every branch of trade and industry. But strange as it may seem, notwithstanding the disturbed financial condition of the country, the Fund Commissioners were able to dispose of nearly five million dollars worth of the state securities authorized for the purpose of building railroads under the Internal Improvement act. Such was the credit of the state that the bonds were sold at a premium in New York and other financial centers. With the funds thus provided work was begun at many different points in the state before the end of the year. Money paid out on account of work and materials, and the consequent stimulation to trade and manufactures, made the times good in spite of the troubles elsewhere. "Credit became easy, and with advancing prices a spirit of wild and reckless speculation seized the people," says Stuvé, whose account of this episode in our history is printed in the volume of the Illinois State Historical Library Publication for 1902. "Lands were entered, often with borrowed money, towns laid out, lots sold and houses built largely on promises. Merchants, confident that the era of good times and prosperity had come to stay, bought excessively of goods on time and sold them without stint to the people on time. Extravagance was engendered, false hopes stimulated and debts contracted needlessly." [18]

THE CHICAGO HARBOR

A plan for "improving the mouth of the Chicago river" was submitted to the Canal Commissioners in 1830 by William Howard, the chief engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the route of which was then in the course of being surveyed. It will be remembered that the natural outlet of the river was far south of its present mouth, a peninsula of sand extending from the north bank of the present river's mouth a half mile to the south, where the river water then found an opening into the lake. Engineer Howard's plan was to close the original outlet and cut a channel through the sandy peninsula, so that the river would be forced to flow directly east into the open lake; and trust to the current of the river, with some help from dredging, to keep the channel open and deep enough for navigation. In outlining the course that the river should take across the obstructing sand he proposed to carry two lines of piling or piers parallel with each other two hundred feet apart.

This plan was brought to the attention of Congress, but nothing was done until three years later, lake vessels meantime being obliged to anchor some distance off shore and handle their cargoes by means of lighters. In 1833, an appropriation of $25,000 was made by Congress, and work began. Between four hundred and five hundred feet of the south pier was completed that season; and in the next two years, an additional appropriation having been secured, the north pier was extended beyond the south pier and reached a total length of one thousand, two hundred and sixty feet where a depth of twelve feet of water was found.

The work had now progressed far enough to enter upon the dredging neces-

[18] Illinois State Historical Library Publication, No. 7, p. 123.

sary to clear out the sand and gravel from the newly created channel, and this was partly accomplished when it was discovered that a bar had begun to form off the end of the north pier, and thus threaten the entrance. Having now nearly exhausted the allowances made by the government, the engineer in charge was obliged to devote the remaining funds towards keeping the water at a sufficient depth to admit vessels to the river. The current in the river had up to this time made no great impression upon the sand in the channel.

With further appropriations the piers were extended in the hope of reaching a point in the open waters of the lake beyond the influence of the currents which deposited the sand at the end of the north pier. At the same time the direction of the north pier was changed twenty-five degrees more to the north; but, after having carried it out four hundred and five feet in the new direction, it was found that matters had not been improved. The bar continued to form, and vessels entering the river were obliged to make a long detour to the southward to pass around the constantly encroaching bar. These discouraging conditions continued for some years, as Congress did not seem disposed to add further appropriations.

The claims of the Chicago harbor, however, continued to be pressed upon Congress, until in 1843 the sum of $25,000 was obtained for work on the harbor. With this sum a series of repairs and some new work was effected, the engineer in charge being Captain George B. McClellan, afterwards a major-general and commander-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac. Further appropriations were made, but it began to be realized that the enterprise was too vast to be carried out in an effective manner with the small allowances heretofore received from the government. And as if to still further embarrass the prospects of ever completing the work, appropriations ceased altogether, and it was not until 1852 that the needs of the Chicago harbor were again recognized by Congress.

In the following year work on the harbor dragged slowly on, and by 1854 it had at length become possible for a vessel drawing over nine feet of water to pass directly into the new channel from the open lake.

While he was President, from 1845 to 1849, James K. Polk kept a diary of such events as he deemed worthy of recording. This diary has been recently printed in four volumes by the Chicago Historical Society in whose possession are the original manuscripts. Under date of November 4th, 1847, the president notes in his diary, as follows: "After night Senator Douglas of Illinois called. I had a long conversation with him upon public affairs. He agreed with me in my full policy, except in relation to the River and Harbor improvements. He said, however, that he felt no great interest on the subject, and should oppose my views on that subject only by a silent vote." It will be remembered that President Polk did not actually veto the River and Harbor bill, which Congress soon after passed. He simply held it in his possession unsigned until the expiration of the session, and thus it failed to become a law.

LIGHTHOUSE AT CHICAGO

The first lighthouse, provided by a government appropriation of $5,000, was built in 1831. It was located just west of the fort on the south bank of the river about where Graham & Morton's steamship line now has its dock. It was built of stone

with walls three feet in thickness and reached a height of fifty feet. There soon developed a weakness in the foundations, and before it was fairly completed it collapsed entirely. The contractor said that its fall was owing to quicksand underneath its foundations. The same contractor, however, erected another one in the following year which continued in service for twenty years, when the government erected a new lighthouse on the North Pier.

PREDECESSOR OF THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY

The account of this organization is based on the work entitled "Yesterday and To-day," which is a history of the Chicago & North-Western Railway System, issued in 1905. The preparation of this work, the writer informs us in the preface to his work, involved extensive research among the laws and session journals of the legislatures of many of the northwestern states, covering a period from the year 1836 to the date of the publication of his work.

"In the nearly sixty-nine years," he says, "that have intervened since the first charter was granted by the legislature of Illinois, more than one generation of men have lived and passed away, and with them have gone most of the records of their words and deeds. Documents, that were to them trivial and valueless, but that would have been above price to the compiler of this history, were destroyed, lost or so scattered that much time and minute search has been used in digging out a very small part of them from their almost absolute oblivion. Other documents passed out of existence when the roads they referred to had died, become bankrupt, were sold, consolidated, or otherwise vanished. Then came the great Chicago fire and wiped out a vast majority of the preserved, and till then supposed to be safe, public and private records and documents."

That part of the present Chicago & North-Western Railway running directly west from Chicago, and commonly called the Galena Division, is to the present gigantic steam transportation lines radiating from Chicago in all directions, what the Mayflower was to the colonization and settlement of New England.

THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION RAILROAD

On January 10th, 1836, the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad was incorporated by special charter by the legislature of Illinois. It is worthy of notice that the initial name of the corporation was taken from the larger and at that time more important city of Galena. The charter provided for a railroad from Galena and Jo Daviess County to the town of Chicago, and fixed the capital stock at one hundred thousand dollars. It also provided that "if at any time, after the passage of this act, it shall be deemed advisable by the directors of the said corporation to make and construct a good and permanent turnpike road upon any portion of the route of the railroad, then said directors are hereby authorized and empowered to construct a turnpike, and erect as many toll gates as should be deemed necessary thereon." The financial panic of 1837 prevented anything being accomplished.

The charter was kept alive, Judge Theophilus W. Smith being president from July 3rd, 1836, to November 29th, 1837, and Elijah K. Hubbard from November,

By courtesy of Chicago Historical Society

THE FIRST DEPOT OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION RAILROAD COMPANY (NOW CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY)

This depot stood at the southwest corner of North Canal and West Kinzie streets. It was built in 1848 and was Chicago's first railroad depot. In 1881 the depot was removed.

By courtesy of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway

PASSENGER TERMINAL OF THE CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY, COMPLETED IN 1911

1837, to February 17th, 1846, when William B. Ogden was made president. Ogden put new life into the project, and stock books for subscriptions to the capital stock of the company were opened on August 10th, 1847, at Chicago, and at various points along the line of the projected road.

STRAP RAILS USED

The real survey for the railroad was begun in September, 1847, and construction work began. The road was completed by December 15th, 1848, to a point near the Des Plaines River, ten miles west of Chicago. This portion of the road and the line to Elgin was laid with what was known as a strap rail. This rail was an iron plate, two and a half inches wide by three-fourths or seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, laid on an oak ribbon, which in turn, was laid flatwise on longitudinal timbers six inches square, firmly secured to cross ties by spikes. A better form of rail was already coming into use called the "edge-rail," one of the earlier forms in the development of the T-rail; but the new company was not able to stand the greater cost of these. On that point the president, in his report regarding the plans of construction, said that owing to the condition of the money market the company was prevented "from getting iron and engines east or to purchase edge-rail for their road, and that hence it has been decided that strap rail (flat or plate rail) would have to be used."

THE "PIONEER"

The first locomotive to run out of Chicago was called the "Pioneer," and was placed on the road October 24th, 1848. It was built by the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia, and weighed ten tons. The next year saw the motive power of the road increased by the addition of the engine "Chicago" (July, 1849), and by the "Elgin" in November of the same year, each weighing twenty-four tons. This practice of naming the engines was continued until 1872 or 1873, when the custom was abandoned and numbers only were used. January 22d, 1850, the road was completed and opened to Elgin, Illinois, forty-two and a half miles from Chicago.

DEPOT ON THE WEST SIDE

The first railroad depot in Chicago was built by the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, in the fall of 1848. It was a one-story frame building located on the now vacant triangular piece of ground south of Kinzie street, and west of Canal street, which is at present passed daily by hundreds of trains. Of the thousands of passengers on these trains how few stop to realize what wonderful changes have taken place in the sixty-two years which have elapsed since the erection of Chicago's first railroad station. In 1849, this building was enlarged and a portion of it was set aside for freight purposes, while the original east end of the building was still used for passengers. A second story was added to the structure and that was surmounted with a sort of observatory. West of the depot was practically an open prairie, and from the observatory Mr. John B. Turner, the president of the road, who succeeded William B. Ogden in 1851, often watched for the coming of the trains with the aid of a long old-fashioned marine telescope, and thus could

announce the approach of a train while it was as far away as Austin, six miles distant. This old building was standing in 1881, and the Galena Division suburban trains stopped there to load and unload passengers. The Young Men's Christian Association had a branch reading room upstairs, prior to its removal, which occurred in 1881.

The following is a copy of an early time-table of the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, which appeared in the Chicago *Daily Democrat* of January 1st, 1851:

WINTER ARRANGEMENT

Office Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company.
Chicago, October 21st, 1850.

On and after Tuesday, October 22d, 1850, Passenger Trains will run as follows:

Leave Chicago for Elgin, St. Charles and Aurora at 8:00 A. M. and 3:00 P. M.

Leave Elgin, St. Charles and Aurora for Chicago at 3:00 P. M. daily. (Sundays excepted.)

Stages will connect daily at Aurora for Peru, Peoria, Springfield, and St. Louis.

JOHN B. TURNER,
Acting Director.

During the fiscal year ending June 4th, 1851, Block Number One of the "original town" of Chicago was bought for depot purposes for $60,513, and a drawbridge over the North Branch of the Chicago river was arranged for. The boundaries of this block, using the street names as at present known, were, Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, North Water and North State streets.

By December, 1851, the road was opened to Belvidere, Illinois, seventy-eight miles from Chicago; to Rockford in August, 1852; to Freeport, 1853; and to Beloit, Wisconsin, in the same year. The line from Turner, or what is now West Chicago, to Dixon, Illinois, was opened in December, 1854; to Sterling, in July, 1855; to Morrison, in September; and to Fulton in December of the same year.

IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS

In May, 1852, Mr. Turner, then president, proposed to the stockholders that he should be permitted to substitute T-rails for the strap-rails that were in use between Chicago and Elgin. The needed authority was granted, and in due course of time the strap-rails disappeared from the road. In 1855 a telegraph line was built along the right of way between Chicago and Freeport, and the trains operated by it. In 1862 the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska Railroad, and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, were leased by the Galena & Chicago Union, and their operation began on August 1st of that year. The construction of a bridge over the east channel of the Mississippi river to an island between the present cities of Fulton, Illinois, and Clinton, Iowa, was completed in 1860, and in 1865 the west end of the bridge was completed to the Iowa side; in the interval cars were ferried over on boats.

DEPOT ON THE NORTH SIDE

The second passenger depot in Chicago was erected in 1852 and 1853. It was built of brick and was two stories in height. It was situated on the southwest corner of Kinzie and Wells streets, with the passenger entrance on Wells street. This depot was destroyed in the great fire of 1871. The burnt building was replaced by a wooden building facing south with an entrance from Wells street.

In 1854 the Illinois & Wisconsin Railroad, which is now the Wisconsin Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, was constructed as far as what is known as Deer Grove, which is twenty-eight miles northwest of Chicago in Cook County, and the operation of trains was begun October 1st, 1854. The service consisted of one passenger train in each direction daily, the depot being located on West Kinzie street, and north of the old Galena & Chicago Union Depot on the West Side. The next year, 1855, the name of this road was changed to the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad.

EXTENSIONS TO MISSOURI RIVER AND MINNESOTA

The Iowa Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway running directly west from Clinton was constructed by the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska Railroad. Track laying started at Clinton, Iowa, in 1856, and was completed to Cedar Rapids in 1859. The Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad was organized for the purpose of securing a land grant, and construction was begun in 1861, when the forty-one miles from Cedar Rapids to Chelsea, Iowa, was completed, and an extension was completed as far west as Nevada, Iowa, in 1864. In July of that year Congress made an additional grant of land to the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, and authorized it to construct a line to Council Bluffs which was completed in 1867, when one passenger train each way daily covered the distance of four hundred and eighty-nine miles between Chicago and Council Bluffs in twenty-eight hours, and supplied ample accommodation for the travel of that time. This was the first railroad connection with the Union Pacific Railroad.

In 1854, that part of the present Chicago & North-Western Railway, extending from Minnesota Junction, Wisconsin, to Fond du Lac, was built by the Rock River Valley Union Railroad. The next year, 1855, the Illinois & Wisconsin Railroad and the Rock River Valley Union Railroad were consolidated under the corporate name of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad, but the gap between Cary, Illinois, and Minnesota Junction was not completed until 1859. The financial panic of 1857 stopped further extension and the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad became bankrupt.

THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY

During 1859 the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin authorized the reorganization of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad, and a new company was formed called the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, which secured all the rights and privileges of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac. This, then, was the first corporate existence of the road which is the subject of this account. By 1862 the line was completed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, two hundred and forty-two miles from Chicago, via Janesville. The road at this time owned thirty-three en-

gines and six hundred and seventy-four cars. In 1864 the line running west from Kenosha, Wisconsin, to Rockford, Illinois, was purchased by the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company.

HISTORY OF THE LINE TO MILWAUKEE

That portion of the present Milwaukee Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, in Illinois, was built by the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad, and trains commenced running as far as Waukegan, December 19th, 1854. A time table published in the Chicago *Daily Journal* of Saturday, February 10th, 1855, shows one passenger train in each direction between Chicago and Waukegan, and time consumed two hours.

The road south from Milwaukee to the State Line was a part of the Green Bay, Milwaukee & Chicago Railroad, chartered by the Wisconsin legislature March 13th, 1851. The name of this road was changed, on March 6th, 1857, to the Milwaukee & Chicago Railroad, and, on June 5th, 1863, it was consolidated with the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad. The Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad in turn was leased to the Chicago & North-Western Railway May 2d, 1866. It was finally consolidated with the latter road on June 7th, 1883.

We have seen that the newly built Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad ran its first train, after its completion, from Chicago to Waukegan, December 19th, 1854. Soon afterwards through trains to Milwaukee commenced running, as will appear from a notice published in the *Daily Democratic Press* of Chicago, under date of June 9th, 1855, as follows:

"Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad Opened to Milwaukee.

"Two trains daily each way leaving Chicago Station on West Side at 9 A. M. and 4 P. M."

SUBURBAN SERVICE

A local train service, for the convenience of residents on the North Shore, was inaugurated on this line on November 13th, 1856, when the first train made its initial trip from Chicago to Waukegan. The trains in this service did not run through to Milwaukee, but ended the run at Waukegan.

The present Chicago & North-Western Railway system is in general the result of a great number of mergers and consolidations. The oldest corporation among its various components was the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad. This name disappeared at the time of the "Great Consolidation" in 1864, and was replaced by that of the Chicago & North-Western, though the name of the latter had been in use only from June 6th, 1859, as previously stated. The details of the consolidation referred to are given on a succeeding page. During that year the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin had authorized the organization of a company under this name, and its first official act was the purchase of the bankrupt Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad Company for $10,849,938. William B. Ogden was the leading spirit in the affairs of the North-Western at this period, as he had been in those of the Galena & Chicago Union, and became the first president of the newly formed company.

The Galena & Chicago Union in the course of its career had absorbed a num-

ber of lines as we have seen, as had also the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac. The latter company with all its components had passed into the hands of the North-Western in 1859, and these two great corporations became rivals in the territory west and north from Chicago. It was therefore a wise policy on the part of the managers of these two companies to work for a consolidation. Ogden had been at the head of affairs in the older organization, and now having become the leader in the newer one, possessed the necessary weight and influence to bring about this most desirable result.

THE END OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION

"We have now reached a point," says the author of "Yesterday and To-Day," "where we have to part company with the 'Pioneer Line.' In the future it has not only to share the fortunes of another corporation, but is to exist, be maintained and operated under another corporation's legal title. We have, in the preceding pages, seen it grow from a mere name on paper until at last it became a fact, and soon the leading railroad of the west. It was *the* leader in nearly everything that belonged to railroad operation. In financial standing and credit it was without a peer.

"It had the best, largest, and most modern locomotive engines. Its cars were inferior to those of no other road. It built the first and had the best passenger depot in Chicago, and better facilities for handling freight than any other road there. It had built and adopted the first railroad mail-car that was placed in service. It also had the first contract for the use of Pullman sleeping cars that was made by the Pullman Company. Its friends were legion and all of them saw with regret the extinction of its name." [19]

THE GREAT CONSOLIDATION

It was on June 3d, 1864, that the Galena & Chicago Union, and the Chicago & North-Western, became united in one great corporation under the name of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company. "The union of the Galena corporation with that of the North-Western was much more than a seven-days' wonder. It was talked about from the Atlantic to the slopes of the Missouri river, and opinions were as varied about it as were the people that gave them. It is believed that this was the first really important railroad consolidation that had taken place in the United States."

Upon the completion of the consolidation the directors of the new company issued an explanatory circular from which the following is quoted:

"Among the reasons which influenced those who, on account of their large interests in these roads, have given more particular attention to the subject and advised this course are the following: Much of the territory traversed by these roads was so situated as to induce injurious competition between them. The union of both gives greater strength and power, favoring more advantageous and extended connections, and better relations with other railroads built and to be built; and will aid to prevent the construction of such roads as would only serve to create

[19] "Yesterday and To-day," p. 32.

injurious competition, without any adequate increase of the aggregate earnings of the roads competing.

"Decided economy, material reduction of expenses, and increased and more profitable service of engines and cars will also be the result of cooperation in the place of competition, and of one management for both roads. The basis and terms of this consolidation are substantially as follows: For each share of Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company's stock the holder will receive one share of the preferred stock and one share of the common stock of the consolidated Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, and three dollars in money.

PRIVILEGES OF PREFERRED AND COMMON STOCK

"The preferred stock of this company to be issued in exchange for the stock of the Galena company is entitled to preferences to the aggregate extent of ten per cent in the dividends which may be declared in any one year, out of the net earnings in such year, in the manner following, to-wit: First to a preference of seven per cent; and after, dividends of seven per cent on the common stock; then secondly, to a further preference of three per cent; after, a further dividend of three per cent on the common stock; both classes of stock shall be entitled to equal rates per share in any further dividends.

ADOPTION OF THE NEW NAME

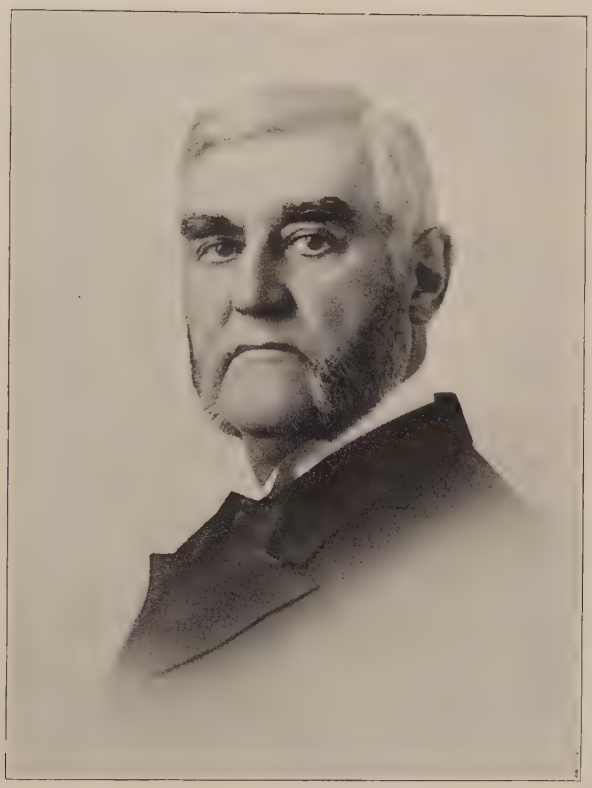
"The principal reason for dropping the pioneer name of Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company in the consolidation," continues the circular above referred to, "will be apparent when it is observed that no portion of either of the consolidated roads touched Galena; and to retain the name of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company involved no change of books or blanks, and is sufficiently comprehensive to include the large territory now penetrated by the united roads." [20]

Thus the Galena & Chicago Union, with its main line between Chicago and Freeport, and its leased lines into Wisconsin, Iowa and points further distant, having a total mileage of five hundred and forty-five miles, were joined to the Chicago & North-Western, with its main line between Chicago and Green Bay and its leased lines in connection therewith, having a total mileage of three hundred and fifteen miles; making a grand total of eight hundred and sixty miles after the Great Consolidation of 1864 had taken place. The following is a list of the officers of the Chicago & North-Western Railway after the consolidation: W. B. Ogden, President; Perry H. Smith, Vice President; Jas. R. Young, Secretary; J. B. Redfield, Assistant Secretary; Geo. P. Lee, Treasurer; G. L. Dunlap, Superintendent; J. H. Howe, General Solicitor; C. B. Talcott, Chief Engineer; C. S. Tappan, General Freight Agent; B. F. Patrick, General Passenger Agent.

VARIOUS EXTENSIONS

The Winona & St. Peter Railroad, which began construction of a railroad west of Winona in 1864, built as far as Rochester, Minnesota, that year received a valuable grant of land from the State of Minnesota. On October 31st, 1867, this corporation passed into the control of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company,

[20] "Yesterday and To-day," p. 33.



MARVIN HUGHITT

President of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway
since 1887

and the same year the line was extended to Waseca, Minnesota, one hundred and five miles west of the Mississippi river in Minnesota.

CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENCY

William B. Ogden, the first Mayor of Chicago in 1837, who had been president of the Chicago & North-Western Railway and some of its predecessors from 1859, was on June 4th, 1868, succeeded by Henry Keep, who held the office until his death, which occurred in July, 1869. Alexander Mitchell was elected president, September 1st, 1869, and he held that office until June 3rd, 1870. He was followed by John F. Tracy, who held the office from June 3rd, 1870, until June 19th, 1873, when Albert Keep was elected president.

In the report for the ninth fiscal year ending May 31, 1868, the president reports the purchase from D. N. Barney and his associates of all their interests in the Winona & St. Peter Railroad and the La Crosse, Trempeleau & Prescott Railroad. These roads were operated separately by the Chicago & North-Western Railway, from the date of their purchase in 1868 until the completion of the Baraboo Air Line Railroad from Madison, Wisconsin, to Winona Junction, a distance of one hundred and twenty-nine miles, in 1873, thus making a continuous line from Chicago to Watertown, South Dakota.

In the tenth fiscal year ending May 31, 1869, the equipment of the Chicago & North-Western Railway consisted of two hundred and fifty-five locomotives, one hundred and fifty-five passenger coaches, and five thousand, four hundred and fifty-eight cars of all kinds. The earnings from all sources were in round numbers, $13,941,000.

During the fiscal year ending May 31, 1871, the line running from Geneva to St. Charles, Illinois, a distance of two and one-half miles, was completed. During this same period the purchase by the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company of the Iowa Midland Railroad, extending from Lyons, Iowa, seventy-five miles west to Anamosa, was effected. The line from Richmond, Illinois, to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, was completed in the fall of 1871.

The year ending May 31st, 1872, witnessed the completion of the line to Marinette, Wisconsin, on the Menominee river. Operation of this part of the line commenced in February, 1872. On March 31st, 1872, John C. Gault resigned as general superintendent, and was succeeded by Mr. Marvin Hughitt. The year 1872 witnessed the building of the line from Geneva, Illinois, south to Batavia, a distance of three and one-fifth miles.

THE MAYFAIR "CUT OFF"

During the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1873, the Mayfair "cut off" was completed which connects the Wisconsin Division and the Galena Division, starting at a point between Mayfair and Irving Park in the twenty-seventh ward, and connecting with the Galena Division five miles west of the Chicago station. This saved the hauling to the Chicago yards of all live-stock destined for the Union Stock Yards, and all freight going east and south.

The general office at 323 West Kinzie street (as at present numbered) was com-

pleted and first occupied December 1st, 1873. Trains commenced running regularly between Fort Howard, Wisconsin and Escanaba, Michigan, during December, 1872; the completion of this line secured to the Railway Company a land grant of a little more than one million acres, most of it well timbered, which in later years furnished a large tonnage for transportation. Two hundred and forty acres, five miles from Wells street depot was purchased for the erection of new shops for the Company.

The Baraboo Air Line Railroad, or the Madison extension, was completed to Winona Junction, and opened for business September 14th, 1873, thus completing the line through to Winona, Minnesota. The North-Western Union, extending from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac, a distance of nearly sixty-three miles, was completed on September 7, 1873. This year witnessed the "Granger Legislation" in the various states, and the financial panic of 1873.

ASTOUNDING PROGRESS IN TEN YEARS

At the close of the fiscal year, May 31st, 1874, the total mileage of the Chicago & North-Western Railway and proprietary roads was nineteen hundred and fifty-two miles, and the gross earnings $15,631,000, being an increase in ten years of nearly eleven hundred miles, that is, since the great consolidation of 1864. The next few years show a steady increase in mileage as well as tonnage.

On May 23rd, 1881, trains commenced running into the new passenger station located at the corner of Wells and Kinzie streets. This station when completed was considered the largest and finest passenger station in Chicago, and allowed all the passengers from the three divisions of the road to arrive at and depart from the same station.

PURCHASE OF THE CHICAGO, ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS & OMAHA RAILWAY

In November, 1882, the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company purchased a majority of the capital stock of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railway, which consisted of eleven hundred and forty-seven miles of first class railroad and equipment, extending in a northwesterly direction from Elroy, Wisconsin, to St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, Minnesota, and to Superior, Wisconsin, on Lake Superior; and extending from Minneapolis southwest to Omaha, Nebraska, besides many important branch lines.

During the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1882, the construction of a second track from Clybourn Junction to Montrose (now Mayfair), and from Clybourn Junction to Evanston, was begun. The year closing May 31st, 1884, saw the work on the second track on the Wisconsin Division continued towards Des Plaines, Illinois.

In July, 1884, the Chicago & North-Western assumed control of the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad, which owned one hundred and seven miles extending from Missouri Valley to Sioux City, Iowa, and from California Junction to Fremont, Nebraska, also the control of the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad, which consisted of three hundred and eleven miles of railroad running west from Fremont, Nebraska, including branches. The gross earnings of the Chicago & North-Western Railway for the year ending May 31, 1884, amounted to $25,000,000, and the total miles operated three thousand, seven hundred and sixty-three, being an increase of

nearly $10,000,000, in earnings, and an increase of nearly one hundred per cent in miles operated over that for the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1874.

OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ROAD

During the year ending May 31st, 1885, the grade crossing at Chicago avenue and Halsted street was eliminated by the erection of viaducts. January 1st, 1887, the general offices of the Company were moved from Kinzie street to a remodelled building on the northwest corner of Lake street and Fifth avenue. On June 2nd of the same year Mr. Marvin Hughitt was elected president of the Company. During the year ending May 31st, 1887, a new iron double-track draw bridge was built over the north branch of the Chicago river near Deering station, replacing a single track wooden one. The construction of a connecting link between the Wisconsin Division at Mayfair and the Milwaukee Division at North Evanston, now Central street, Evanston, was commenced during 1889. During the year ending May 31st, 1890, the present commodious passenger station at Milwaukee was completed. The year ending May 31st, 1891, saw the completion of the second track between Chicago and the Mississippi river. On September 1st, 1893, the Chicago & North-Western Railway absorbed by purchase the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railway, consisting of seven hundred and fifty-seven miles of well constructed and equipped railway, extending in a northerly direction from Milwaukee, through Wisconsin and into the upper peninsula of Michigan. The report of the year ending May 31st, 1894, showed a total mileage of five thousand and thirty miles, gross earnings of $31,986,000, and the number of engines one thousand and ten. These figures do not include mileage and earnings of lines west of the Missouri river.

Track elevation was begun in Chicago May, 1895, on the Galena Division, which was one of the greatest and most expensive improvements ever begun, both for the Railway Company and for the public. During the year ending May 31st, 1898, a new riveted-steel, lattice-truss, double-track, center-pier swing bridge, two hundred feet in length, operated by electricity, was erected over the North Branch of the Chicago river at the Wells street terminal, replacing a double-track steel truss bridge one hundred and seventy feet in length. During the year ending May 31st, 1900, the present commodious brick and stone passenger station was completed at Clybourn Junction, Chicago. On December 12th, 1900, the directors inaugurated a pension system which retired all employes who had reached the age of seventy years, and who had been employed in the service at least twenty years or more, on a pension. This became effective January 1st, 1901. In the report for the year ending May 31st, 1902, the president reports the completion of the double track of the main line from Chicago to Council Bluffs Transfer, Iowa, on the Missouri river, a distance of four hundred and ninety miles, being the first road out of Chicago to complete this important improvement.

LATER IMPROVEMENTS

On December 4th, 1902, the Annex to the Wells street passenger station was opened for the accommodation of suburban traffic. During the year ending June 30, 1904, the construction of third and fourth tracks between Chicago and Milwaukee was commenced at a point on the Mayfair-Evanston "cut off," north of the crossing

of the North Branch of the Chicago river. These tracks are now used by through passenger and freight trains. In June, 1905, the general offices of the Company were moved into a splendid office building on the northeast corner of Jackson boulevard and Franklin street. This is the finest building in Chicago devoted entirely to the general office use of a railway company.

REVIEW OF FORTY YEARS

Forty years had now elapsed since the great consolidation of the Galena & Chicago Union and the Chicagó & North-Western Railway, in 1864. The eight hundred and sixty miles had increased to seven thousand, four hundred and eleven miles operated during the year ending June 30, 1904; and the total gross earnings to $53,334,000. The total number of engines were now thirteen hundred and seven, and the total number of cars fifty-two thousand, eight hundred and seven.

THE GREAT NEW TERMINAL

In the annual report for the year ending June 30th, 1907, mention is made of the new passenger terminal which has lately been completed on the West Side between Lake street on the north, and Madison street on the south, occupying three blocks between Canal street on the east and Clinton street on the west. This station, now completed, is the most imposing and commodious railway station in Chicago, and is used exclusively by the Chicago & North-Western Railway. Trains enter the station on elevation, and the train shed contains sixteen tracks. The cost of the new right of way, land for the station, and the station itself approximated twenty millions of dollars.

A new double track, single-leaf, bascule bridge was completed over the North Branch of the Chicago river at Kinzie street in September, 1909; and was opened for use of trains Monday morning, on the 21st of that month. This is the longest single-leaf, double track, bascule bridge in America.

The year ending June 30th, 1909, witnessed the completion of the new double track bridge across the Mississippi river between East Clinton, Illinois, and Clinton, Iowa, a distance between abutments on the Illinois and Iowa sides of four thousand eight hundred and twelve feet.

The total number of locomotive engines owned by the Company is 1520, and the total number of cars of all descriptions is 65,971. Of the latter number 1078 are passenger cars, including parlor and dining cars, 63,828 freight cars, and 1065 caboose and baggage cars.

As stated above, the engines in use on the Chicago & North-Western Railway and its predecessors bore names just as vessels do. In the book "Yesterday and To-day," the names of sixty-one of the engines are given, among which are "Pioneer," "Shawbeney," "Waubansee," "Winnebago," "Wabashaw," "Black Hawk," "Saugauash," "Pecatonica," and others having historical significance. We have already referred to the old chief Shabbona, whose name appears spelled in different ways—"Shawbeney," "Shaubena," or "Shabbona," and who was a familiar sight to early residents of Chicago, proudly standing by the engine which bore his name as it stood in the depot, pointing it out to people while they were passing and occasionally exclaiming, "Shabbona—*me!*"

By courtesy of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway

MAIN WAITING ROOM OF THE PASSENGER TERMINAL OF THE CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY

By courtesy of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway

STREET LEVEL LOBBY OF PASSENGER TERMINAL OF THE CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY

A summary of the leading facts in regard to the Chicago & North-Western Railway as shown by the annual report issued on June 30th, 1910, was as follows:

The total number of miles of railroad owned by the Chicago & North-Western Railway on June 30th, 1910, was 7,506.47. In addition to this mileage there are 122.92 miles of railroad operated under leases and trackage rights. The above mileage is located as follows:

In Illinois	685.02 miles
In Wisconsin	1968.73 "
In Michigan	519.88 "
In Iowa	1579.71 "
In Minnesota	650.30 "
In South Dakota	978.96 "
In North Dakota	14.28 "
In Nebraska	1102.05 "
In Wyoming	130.46 "
Total	7629.39 "

A summary of the mileage of all tracks owned by the Company, including sidings, second, third and fourth tracks, shows a total of 11,593.66 miles.

PRESIDENTS OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION

The names of the presidents of the old Galena & Chicago Union, and the dates of their elections, are as follows: Theophilus W. Smith, elected July 3, 1836; Elijah K. Hubbard, elected November 29, 1837; William B. Ogden, elected February 17, 1846; J. Young Scammon (*pro tem*), elected June 2, 1848; John B. Turner, elected June 5, 1851; Walter L. Newberry, elected June 1, 1859; William H. Brown, elected June 4, 1862; John B. Turner, elected June 1, 1864.

This road was consolidated with the Chicago & North-Western Railway on June 3d, 1864, under the corporate name of the latter.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN

The names of the presidents of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, and the dates of their elections, are as follows: William B. Ogden, elected June 7, 1859; Henry Keep, elected June 4, 1868, (Henry Keep died in July, 1869); Alexander Mitchell, elected September 1, 1869; John F. Tracy, elected June 3, 1870; Albert Keep, elected June 19, 1873; Marvin Hughitt, elected June 2, 1887.

In the early days of railroading it was not customary for the employes of the railroad to wear uniforms as is now the universal practice. Every one, conductor, brakeman and others at the stations, wore such clothes as pleased them best. If we should suddenly return to conditions in this respect as they existed in the sixties and seventies the sight of "plain clothes" men on duty would astonish the beholders. It is related that on the eastern roads it was not uncommon to see the conductors in a silk hat and a frock coat going through the train taking fares or collecting tickets, and at the stations giving the signals for starting with a red silk handkerchief. Indeed, the conductor of a train was the personage who, in the eyes of the public,

represented the glory and dignity of the entire railroad system, and to whom due homage was rendered by the travelers and residents along the line. Trains were known to the regular patrons of the railroad by the name of the conductor, and commuters especially exchanged greetings with the conductor and his associates in the most intimate terms of neighborly regard.

CHICAGO AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY—THE NEW TERMINAL STATION

The new building for the terminal station of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, completed in the spring of 1911, is situated on West Madison street, between Canal and Clinton streets, facing to the south. It is a four story structure of the early Renaissance style of architecture, with an elevated Doric portico at the entrance, supported on a colonnade of six granite columns. Each of these columns is seven feet in diameter at the base and sixty-one feet high. Immediately back of this colonnade, entered by three great arches, is a vaulted vestibule, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, twenty-two feet deep, and forty feet high. At the end of this vestibule are broad granite stairways to the main waiting room on the track level floor. Similar vestibules of simpler architectural treatment give entrance from Canal and Clinton streets. These vestibules lead directly to a large public space, two hundred feet by ninety-two feet, around which are arranged in a convenient manner the ticket office, baggage room, lunch room, news stand, telegraph offices, parcel check room, etc. From the center of this public space the public stairway leads to the concourse of the main waiting room on the track floor.

The large waiting room, which is the main architectural feature of the station, is treated as a Roman atrium with a barrel vault roof. The pilasters and entire order up to the spring of the vault are a dull finished, light pink, Tennessee marble. The columns standing free are of Greek Cippolino marble, whose dark green hue harmonizes perfectly with the greenish bronze of the metal work framing the glass between the pilasters. The vault is of ornamental tile construction with richly ornamental ribs of terra cotta, of a color to harmonize with the marble of the walls. This great waiting room is directly lighted with two semi-elliptical windows, sixty feet in diameter, at either end of the vault, and ten semi-circular lunettes piercing the vault five feet on each side. It is also arranged to be lighted artificially by reflected light, the latest method of illumination by electricity. Arranged conveniently around this main waiting room are the dining room, women's room, smoking room, barber shop, etc.

The exterior walls of the building are of gray Maine granite, and are continuous with the enclosing walls of the train shed, which are of mottled gray brick with granite trimmings. The roofs consist of narrow longitudinal sheds instead of one great arch roof covering a large space, as is usually found in constructions of this kind. The train shed walls rise to a height slightly greater than the roof of the train shed, which gives the entire station the external appearance of one mammoth building. In beauty, dignity and grandeur, this building surpasses all other structures of its kind in the city.

COST OF THE TERMINAL STATION, APPROACHES, ETC.

The total cost of the terminal station and approaches will approximate twenty-three million, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This is divided into the

following items as estimated by the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company in a pamphlet issued in June, 1910.

Real Estate and Legal Expenses	$11,560,000.00
Station Building and Train Shed	6,380,000.00
Power Station, Building and Equipment	810,000.00
Elevated approaches	5,000,000.00
Total	$23,750,000.00

The work of construction on the station building was begun in November, 1908. Work began on erecting the steel structure of the station February, 1909.

Ninety-three of the caissons for the foundations under the station building, and those under the chimney of the power station extend to rock, approximately one hundred and twenty feet below street level. All the other caissons are founded upon "hard pan," approximately eighty-five feet below the street level. There were used in the concrete work two hundred and sixty-five thousand cubic yards of cement; and of structural steel in the station and street viaducts, thirty-seven thousand tons. The various tracks approaching the station make a total length of eighteen miles.

AREAS AND DIMENSIONS OF THE TERMINAL STATION

The area of the station building proper is three hundred and twenty by two hundred and eighteen feet; that of the train shed roof two hundred and sixty-five thousand, eight hundred square feet; the area of the right of way connected with the terminal station is thirty-seven acres, of which the buildings of the station cover twenty acres of surface. There are eight passenger platforms, each sixteen feet and nine inches in width. These platforms aggregate a total length of seven thousand, one hundred and sixty feet.

The station is equipped with a power plant provided with turbine engines, and with interlocking signals of the latest design. A total of seven hundred and eighty horse power in motors for various service throughout the terminal station power plant was installed.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

PROVISIONS OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787—GOVERNMENT'S DUTY TO PROVIDE EDUCATION—SCHOOL SECTION IN EVERY TOWNSHIP—SOURCES OF INCOME FOR SCHOOLS—FIRST SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO—JOHN WATKINS AS TEACHER—SCHOOL OPENED NEAR FORT DEARBORN—PRIMITIVE ACCOMMODATIONS—ELISA CHAPPEL FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER—SPROAT'S SCHOOL FOR BOYS—SALE OF SCHOOL LANDS—SCHOOL DISTRICTS FORMED—BOARD OF INSPECTORS ELECTED—IMPROVEMENTS IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT SUGGESTED—ORDER AND SYSTEM INTRODUCED—RULES ADOPTED—SCHOOL TAX LEVIED—INSTRUCTION IN VOCAL MUSIC—FRANK LUMBARD FIRST TEACHER OF VOCAL MUSIC—FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDING—"MILTIMORE'S FOLLY"—ADDITIONAL BUILDINGS NEEDED—THE SCAMMON SCHOOL—THE JONES SCHOOL—PROGRESS MADE IN TEN YEARS—MISS CATHARINE BEECHER'S WORK—WOMEN TEACHERS BROUGHT FROM THE EAST—HARDSHIPS OF TEACHERS IN COUNTRY DISTRICTS—MISS BURNS' EXPERIENCE—MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH HIGH SCHOOLS—OFFICE OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT CREATED—JOHN C. DORE FIRST SUPERINTENDENT—WILLIAM H. WELLS SECOND SUPERINTENDENT—HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING ERECTED—OVERCROWDED CONDITION OF SCHOOLS—GEORGE HOWLAND BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT.

PROVISIONS OF THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

IN ORDER to appreciate thoroughly the sentiment of the American people on the subject of education in general, its importance in preparing future generations properly to perform their part in upholding the government which had been established by the founders of the republic, we must begin with the Ordinance of 1787. This ordinance embodied a declaration on the subject which has never been lost sight of, and which has vitally influenced the form of government of every territory and state which has been formed since its passage.

The Northwest Territory was organized under the so-called Ordinance of 1787, passed by Congress on the 13th of July of the year given in the title of the Ordinance, and while yet sitting under the Articles of Confederation. The constitution of the United States was not adopted until the 17th of September following. This famous Ordinance has been called the "American Magna Charta," because it engrafted upon the organic law of all the states thereafter admitted to the Union the principles of human freedom, equal rights and privileges of education.

The leading feature of the Ordinance was the provision against the introduction of slavery into the Northwest Territory. Other provisions were: religious freedom, inviolability of contracts, prevention of primogeniture, good faith towards the

By courtesy of the Board of Education

THE TEACHERS' COLLEGE
Sixty-eighth Street and Stewart Avenue

Indians, and the provision that the states which might be formed from the territory should forever remain a part of the Union. One sentence of the Ordinance (in Article the Third) was as follows: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." From the spirit and letter of this provision arose the educational institutions of our state.

Of the Ordinance of 1787 Daniel Webster said, "It need hardly be said that that paper expresses just sentiments on the great subject of civil and religious liberty. Such sentiments were common, and abound in all our state papers of that day. But this Ordinance did that which was not common, and which is not even now universal: that is, it set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of government itself to support schools and advance the means of education, on the plain reason that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government, and to the happiness of mankind."

On February 3, 1809, the territory of Illinois was organized. Nine years later the popular demand became insistent for a state organization; and Congress, on the 18th of April, 1818, passed an act authorizing the inhabitants of the territory of Illinois to form for themselves a constitution and state government. This was called the Enabling Act, and contained certain propositions for the consideration of a convention, to be called by the people of Illinois territory for the purpose of accepting or rejecting them; and in case of acceptance the propositions offered "shall be obligatory upon the United States and the said state." [1]

SCHOOL SECTION IN EVERY TOWNSHIP

In harmony with that clause in the Ordinance of 1787 which provided that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," the first proposition of the Enabling Act was as follows: "The section numbered sixteen in every township, and, when such section has been sold or otherwise disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and as contiguous as may be, shall be granted to the state, for the use of the inhabitants of such township, for the use of schools." This, however, was not the first mention of "section sixteen." In 1785 an ordinance was passed by the continental congress providing for the present system of land surveys, in the Northwest Territory, by townships six miles square. Provision was made in this ordinance that section sixteen in each township should be set apart for the maintenance of public schools in that township. This is the first official step in the history of the Northwest towards building up the school system which we now have.

The convention provided for in the Enabling Act met at Kaskaskia, the seat of government since the territorial organization, and on the 26th of August, 1818, adopted an ordinance which accepted the propositions offered by Congress, and made them a part of the constitution of the new state. What were the important consequences of the adoption of the "first proposition" above mentioned, and how in some cases its beneficent purpose was defeated will be shown later.

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR SCHOOLS

Besides the amount derived from the taxes, which is the main source of maintenance of the schools of the state, there are now in Illinois several funds for the sup-

[1] Revised Statutes, '85, p. 26.

port of schools, some to be devoted to the common schools, others to those for higher education. The permanent township fund secured by the use of section sixteen, already mentioned, is the largest. Only the income from it may be used, and the amount of this income depends on the wisdom of the disposal of those lands by the trustees in charge of them. Another large fund in Illinois is the state school fund, which was provided for in the Enabling Act of 1818. It consists of three per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of all public lands in the state, one-sixth of this amount to be given to a college, or university, the rest to the common schools. This fund was increased in 1837 by adding a part of the money that came to the state under the congressional act of 1836 distributing among the states the surplus revenue. This the state borrows, paying six per cent interest, which is distributed to the several counties, thence through the township treasurers to the school boards to contribute to the support of the local schools. There are also three state funds for the maintenance of higher education, all received from the federal government. The interest from two of these is given to the two older normal schools; the interest from the other is devoted to the University of Illinois.[2]

In spite of the generous gifts of Congress for public education, free schools were not provided for by the state for many years, there being a strong objection on the part of many citizens to a tax for the purpose, which was necessary to supplement the funds established by the government. Illinois' first law providing for the establishing and partial maintenance of public schools, which was passed in 1825, was not acted upon, and became a dead letter. It was after 1830 that a common school system was established in Illinois, and provision for it made. Before that time the instruction was fragmentary, the teachers, in general, an adventurous, illiterate class of men, starting schools here and there as a means of livelihood, the remuneration being in cash or in produce, or in weekly board.

FIRST SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, as elsewhere in Illinois, public schools were of slow growth. This lack of sympathy with the cause of education is usually true of new communities, whose first and absorbing interest is to gain the necessities of life, while the more remote though important need for that which will make good citizens is lost sight of for the time being. Meanwhile the children of those families who first settled in Chicago were receiving instruction, partial and private; with these early beginnings we find the first attempts at teaching in Chicago. An account of the first step taken in education here is given in the Fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools of Chicago for the year 1857, written by William H. Wells, at that time superintendent of schools.

"The first regular tuition given in Chicago was in the winter of 1810-11, by Robert A. Forsyth, late paymaster in the United States Army, and the first pupil was our present respected citizen, John H. Kinzie, Esq. The teacher was about thirteen years of age, and the pupil six. The principal aid employed in the course of private lessons was a spelling book that had been brought from Detroit to Chicago in a chest of tea.

"The first school taught in Chicago was opened in the fall of 1816, by William

[2] E. B. Greene: Government of Illinois, pp. 106 et seq.

L. Cox, a discharged soldier, in a log building belonging to John Kinzie, Esq. The house had been occupied as a bakery, and stood in the back part of Mr. Kinzie's garden, near the present crossing of Pine and Michigan streets. The children composing this school were John H. Kinzie, with two of his sisters and one brother, and three or four children from the Fort."

The next school of which there is a record was one opened in 1820 inside Fort Dearborn, taught by a sergeant. Nine years later a small family school was started for the children of J. B. Beaubien, the agent of the American Fur Company, and of Mark Beaubien. Charles H. Beaubien, the son of the agent, was the teacher of this small group.

The first school which in personnel, if not in its source of maintenance, resembled the public school, was one opened in June, 1830, by Stephen Forbes, on the west bank of the Chicago river, then flowing south at that point, which is now the crossing of Randolph street and Michigan avenue. To understand this it must be remembered that the river did not flow into the lake in the direct course it now does, but flowed southward from the main stream about on the line of the present Michigan avenue, as far as Madison street where it opened into the lake. The teacher was employed by Mr. Beaubien and by Lieutenant David Hunter, who later, in 1836, became a citizen of Chicago, and was afterwards a major-general in the Civil War. In Mr. Wells' report we read, "Mr. Forbes' school numbered about twenty-five pupils, of ages from four to twenty, and embraced the children of those belonging to the Fort, and of Mr. J. B. Beaubien, and a few others. It was taught in a large, low, gloomy log building, which had five rooms. The walls of the school room were afterwards enlivened by a tapestry of white cotton sheeting. The house belonged to Mr. Beaubien, and had been previously occupied by the Sutler of the Fort." Mr. Forbes was assisted in teaching by his wife, and they lived in the same building with the school. After teaching a year he was succeeded by Mr. Foot, later becoming county sheriff.

In 1831, when Cook county was organized, Colonel Richard J. Hamilton became commissioner of school lands for the county, and for ten years had charge of school funds. (The school funds were not drawn on until two years later.) In the spring of 1832 he and Colonel Owen engaged Mr. John Watkins as teacher. The following is a part of a letter written by Mr. Watkins to the Calumet Club from Joliet, Illinois, June 22, 1879:

"I arrived in Chicago in May, 1832, and have always had the reputation of being its first school teacher. I never heard my claim disputed. I commenced teaching in the fall after the Black Hawk War, 1832. My first school-house was situated on the North Side, about half way between the lake and the forks of the river, then known as Wolf Point. The building belonged to Col. Richard J. Hamilton, was erected for a horse stable, and had been used as such. It was twelve feet square. My benches and desks were made of old store-boxes. The school was started by private subscription. Thirty scholars were subscribed for, but many subscribed who had no children. So it was a sort of free school, there not being thirty children in town. During my first quarter I had but twelve scholars, only four of them white: the others were quarter, half, and three-quarter Indians. After the first quarter I moved my school into a double log-house on the West Side.

It was owned by Rev. Jesse Walker, a Methodist minister, and was located near the bank of the river, where the North and South branches meet. He resided in one end of the building, and I taught in the other. On Sundays, Father Walker preached in the room where I taught.

"In the winter of 1832-3 Billy Caldwell, a half-breed chief of the Pottawattomie Indians, better known as 'Sauganash,' offered to pay the tuition and buy the books for all Indian children who would attend school, if they would dress like the Americans, and he would also pay for their clothes. But not a single one would accept the proposition, conditioned on the change of apparel.

"When I first went to Chicago, there was but one frame building there, and it was a store owned by Robert A. Kinzie. The rest of the houses were made of logs. There were no bridges; the river was crossed by canoes.

"I will now give you the names of some of my scholars:—Thomas, William and George Owen; Richard Hamilton; Alexander, Philip and Henry Beaubien; and Isaac N. Harmon, now a merchant in Chicago."

Mr. Watkins was still teaching on the North Side in 1835, when his school had become a public school.

PRIMITIVE SCHOOL ACCOMMODATIONS

In 1833 two schools were started: One was an infant school for town and fort children, with sessions held in a little log house outside the military reservation, kept by Miss Elisa Chappel, who had come from the East. "Many of the scholars furnished seats for themselves, but those who were unable to do so, had primitive seats supplied them. None of the seats had backs, and there were no desks, but there was a table on which the elder pupils did their writing. In one end of the room was a small raised platform, upon which stood a table for the teacher. The apparatus used in teaching consisted of a numeral frame, a map of the United States and of the world, a globe, scriptural texts and hymns, and illustrations of geometry and astronomy." In January, 1834, Miss Chappel moved her school into the First Presbyterian church building, where her pupils soon afterward gave an exhibition of their work which pleased alike their teacher and parents. Among the children who came to her were a family of four little ones who every day paddled their canoe across the river in the morning and home again in the afternoon.[3]

For the partial maintenance of her school an appropriation was made, by the commissioners, from the public school fund. Such an appropriation was possible, because it was provided that a teacher of a private school could receive aid from the income of school funds by keeping a record to be certified by the proper school officers. The money given was in proportion to the number of pupils, and the amount depended upon the financial management of the school funds. This was a plan excellent as an expedient, because in the early days when neither a public fund nor private provision was in itself enough to carry out a general school plan, the combination of both was effective. A law of 1833, it may be said in passing, required teachers of those schools which were partially maintained by public money to give free instruction to orphans and children of those who could not pay, if

[3] Andreas: I, 206.

A. C. HESING, MARTIN KIMBELL, FRED H. ROLSCHAUSEN, H. W. SCOVILLE, REUBEN TAYLOR, GEORGE DUNLAP, JOHN FORSYTH, W. R. H. GRAY, J. C. BROWN, GEORGE H. ANDERSON, CHESTER L. ROOT, PETER PAGE, C. R. FIELD, WILLIAM JAMES, C. N. HOLDEN, BERNHARD H. BRUNS, ANDREW NELSON, H. N. HEALD, FRED BECKER,* ALBERT W. WEBER, HENRY N. STEVENS, EDWARD PAGE, CHARLES G. SMITH, C. B. SAMMONS

*Fred Becker, only one living (March, 1911).

Group of deputy revenue assessors taken in 1863 in front of Dearborn school, called "Miltimore's Folly." This school stood opposite McVicker's theatre, and was built in 1844 at a cost of $7,000.

request were duly made. By receiving the appropriation from the school fund, Miss Chappel became the first enrolled teacher employed, teaching the first public school in Chicago. Miss Elizabeth Beach and Miss Mary Burrows were her assistants. In order to enlarge her school and widen its field, she offered inducements to families living outside the settlement to send their daughters to her. The school became a boarding school, and some of the young girls attending there were given a normal training, as the demand for teachers was already very great. Thus it is that the first normal training given in Chicago was that offered by Miss Chappel. In 1834 she was succeeded as teacher of this school by Miss Ruth Leavenworth, and the next year she married Reverend Jeremiah Porter.

In the same year, 1833, Grenville T. Sproat, from Boston, opened an English and Classical school for boys on South Water street, near Franklin, in a small building belonging to the First Baptist church society.[4]

Miss Sarah L. Warren, who was afterwards Mrs. Abel E. Carpenter, became an assistant in this school, and in one of her letters has given a hint of what physical hardships were incident to teaching in Chicago at that time. "I boarded at Elder Freeman's. His house must have been situated some four or five blocks southeast of the school, near Mr. Snow's, with scarce a house between. What few buildings there were then, were mostly on Water street. I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon in going to and from school, to see *prairie wolves,* and we could hear them howl any time in the day. We were frequently annoyed by Indians; but the great difficulty we had to encounter was *mud.* No person now can have a just idea of what Chicago mud used to be. Rubbers were of no account. I purchased a pair of gentlemen's brogans, and fastened them tight about the ankle, but would still go over them in mud and water, and was obliged to have a pair of men's boots made." Mr. Sproat's school also became in 1834 a so-called public school, by his application for public funds.

SALE OF SCHOOL LANDS

In 1833 there was a fever of speculation in Illinois. All over the state those having school lands in charge were selling them wherever possible. Section sixteen of the township in which Chicago is situated is that section of land bounded on the north by Madison street, on the south by Twelfth street, by State street on the east, and Halsted street on the west. On October 30 of that year, and for five days following, there was a public sale held at the petition of the voters, who numbered less than one hundred; out of one hundred and forty city blocks of school land, all but four blocks were sold for $38,619.47, and the money placed at ten per cent interest. Those blocks remaining for school use were block 1, bounded by W. Madison, Halsted, Monroe, and South Union street extended, on which were later located the High and Scammon school buildings; blocks 87 and 88, bounded by Fifth avenue and the river and by Harrison and Polk streets; and block 142, situated between Madison, State, Monroe and Dearborn streets, where the Tribune and other buildings now stand. What was the loss to the school fund, caused by this early sale of scores of blocks in the heart of the city as it developed later, can be seen by glancing at the property values of recent years. The citizens of Chicago in 1833

[4] Andreas: I, p. 206.

can hardly be blamed in this; probably no dream had come to any one of them of the future importance of this area of three-eighths of a square mile of low muddy land, with here and there a scattering of little cabins and stores, and with barely population enough to have become incorporated as a town two months before. The people were beginning to realize the necessity of educating their children; the idea of taxation for that purpose was still very unpopular, and here was a means of securing the money, since there was some demand for the land. The interest on the money obtained by its sale constituted the meagre school fund until the time when the four blocks which were reserved could be rented.[5]

In the following year, 1834, Chicago showed its growing interest in school affairs by sending three representatives to an educational convention held at Vandalia, then the capital of the state. This interest was further shown by a petition of residents asking that the township be organized for school purposes. As a result the city was formally divided into school districts as it had not hitherto been, though this division into districts was not made use of immediately, as the little town did not then feel the need of many schools.

Mr. Sproat was succeeded in the management of his school by Dr. Henry Van der Bogart, who was followed by Thomas Wright, and he in turn gave up the school to James McClellan in 1835. During that year Mr. George Davis held a school in Lake street, between Dearborn and Clark streets. It was at first held over a store, and later moved to the Presbyterian church on Clark street.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS FORMED

In 1835 the town was organized into school districts, a division which was of little use for some time, as the voters did not provide for public schools until later. During that year Mr. John S. Wright erected at his own expense and at the request of his mother a building designed especially for school purposes, the first of its kind in Chicago. Hitherto schools had been held in log houses, store buildings, churches or upper chambers. This new school was located on Clark street south of Lake, and was built for Miss Leavenworth's infant school. After she discontinued her teaching in 1836, Miss Frances Langdon Willard, with Miss Louisa Gifford as assistant, opened a school for young ladies. A primary department was added, it was made a public school, and finally was taken by Miss Gifford, who later married Dr. Dyer.

In 1836 Mr. John Brown opened a private school in the North Division, but was ignominiously beaten by a pupil, so that he thankfully sold out his lease to Mr. Edward Murphy, who, being more successful in his management, was made a public school teacher by the school authorities, and given a salary of $800 a year.

At this time there were in Chicago three so-called public schools, and four private schools. In the next year, with the granting of the charter to the city came the promise of a new period in Chicago's school history, when there would be organization, growth and improvement in general methods of teaching.

At the time of the incorporation of the city in 1837, there were in the charter provisions for the public schools: that the common council have the authority over public schools; that the city be divided into school districts; that inspectors be appointed by the council; that there be an election of trustees from school districts; a report be submitted by trustees to inspectors; the commissioners of Cook county

[5] "The Public Schools of Chicago," by Hannah B. Clark, p. 50.

shall submit a report to the common council regarding the school fund; that there shall be an apportionment of the school fund by the inspectors, they to make out schedule for amount due each district; that this report be given to the common council, to be turned over to the commissioners; that any district may vote for a high school and provide for it. From this we see that except for the control of funds the management of the schools was, by the charter, vested in the common council of the city, who appointed inspectors.

BOARD OF INSPECTORS ELECTED

On May 12, 1837, the first board of inspectors was elected by the council, and consisted of Thomas Wright, N. H. Bolles, John Gage, T. R. Hubbard, I. T. Hinton, Francis Payton, G. W. Chadwick, B. Huntoon, R. J. Hamilton and W. H. Brown. The first standing school committee in the council was made up of aldermen Goodhue, Bolles, and Caton. The duties of the trustees of each school district made it their part to employ the teachers, make contracts, repair the school houses, buy the apparatus, etc.; in other words, they were to do the business of the district, while everything in relation to the public instruction was referred to the inspectors. The latter were made auditors of the accounts of the trustees. The inspectors drew orders for money to be spent, which was a convenience of arrangement.

A quarterly report in 1837 showed four hundred pupils enrolled in school in Chicago, for whom there were five teachers. From that time until 1840 records were so irregularly kept, school districts so ill defined, and the general management of the school of the city so lacking in uniformity, that little can be definitely learned of conditions.[6]

In 1838 there was a general feeling throughout the country in favor of education, which in Chicago had expression in a report on common schools, made to the council by a special committee, in which an effort was made to show the conditions in Chicago, to explain the lack of attention given to the cause of education there, and to suggest improvements. As the report is a most intelligent comment upon the progress that had been made and the popular feeling that existed at the time of its writing regarding public education, its contents will be suggested.[7]

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The first evil named is the fact that the number of children attending school was small compared with the number entitled to do so. The census of 1837 showed 838 children between the ages of five and twenty-one. But 300 to 325 attended school at any time during the year, and these only about one-fourth of the year. The evil was increasing, and at intervals many of the schools were closed, sometimes only one being open. In connection with this the question of compulsory education was raised, with the objection that "the spirit of our institutions and the strong current of our prejudices present almost insuperable obstacles to what seems an arbitrary interference with domestic rights and duties." Still, it was advised that the magistrates of the city be intrusted with greater powers concerning the improvement of the schools.

[6] Andreas: I, 209.
[7] Report on Common Schools, 1838.

Another evil tending to discourage attendance at school was the want of suitable buildings and furniture, which had a tendency to foster diseases on account of inadequate heating, lighting and ventilation, and to cause disorder and confusion from overcrowding. It was naively said that there "ought to be provided in each district a building of sufficient dimensions to accommodate forty or fifty scholars comfortably and pleasantly." The committee advised a division of pupils in regard to age and sex, in accord with the views at that time popular in the East.

The third evil mentioned was the want of uniformity in books and methods, a thing distracting to the teacher. It was pointed out that with existing laws, the whole system depended on the whim of those to whom its interests were indifferent, and that education should be made permanent and continuous and be put out of the reach of contingency. Recommendations were made that the laws regulating the school fund be organized; that the funds be safely invested, instead of being distributed in precarious loans; that salaries to teachers be made ample enough to secure good instructors. It was insisted that education should be a matter of common, not individual, interest. The general feeling that lasted for many years in Chicago, and which retarded the development of a free school system, was expressed by a voter in that city as late as 1868, when he said, "Why should I be taxed to educate another man's children more than to clothe them? It is as just for me to clothe them as to educate them."

In 1839 the school inspectors resolved to lease for five years blocks 1, 87, 88 and 142, the only land remaining to the schools. They reserved only in block 142 the lot "on which the old District School House is situated," on the southeast corner of Madison and Dearborn streets, the only school building then belonging to the city, which had been put up in 1836 for temporary use until a permanent school house could be built.[8]

The four private schools of that time must here be mentioned: the school conducted by Rev. I. T. Hinton, where a polite and instructive course of study was offered to young ladies; Miss Carr's school, also for young ladies, and the schools of Miss Prayton and Miss Dodge.

ORDER AND SYSTEM INTRODUCED

The charter of 1837 had provided for a reorganization of the school system, and in 1840 an immense improvement was effected. In this year written records of school inspectors commenced; school affairs began to be more regularly attended to, and buildings or rooms were put in order for immediate occupancy. Soon there was uniformity in the text books used in the different schools, when the inspectors adopted Worcester's Primer, Parley's First, Second and Third books of History, and an Elementary Speller. The buildings used were the old District School House mentioned before, a building on the north side of Randolph street, near Franklin street, in District 2, which was that part of the South Division between Clark street and the South Branch of the river; one on the north side of West Monroe street, near Canal street, in District 3, which was that division west of the river; on the North Side, District 4, was a building at the corner of Cass and Kinzie streets. At this time William H. Brown was made school agent, and the charge of the school fund was transferred from the commissioner of school lands for Cook county to Mr. Brown,

[8] Andreas: I, 210.

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PHYSIOGRAPHY LABORATORY—MARSHALL HIGH SCHOOL

who held his position for thirteen years, receiving no pay during ten years of that time.

RULES ADOPTED

In November, 1840, it was recommended by the inspectors that "in view of the necessities of the children, the trustees of each district be directed to procure immediately rooms in which to hold schools, and take all necessary steps to put the schools in operation, also that a tax of one mill be levied for the support of schools." A more lively interest was aroused in behalf of the public schools, and by 1841 the following regulations providing for greater order in the school system were adopted:

"The school year commences on the first Monday in January, and is divided into four quarters of twelve weeks each.

"At the end of each quarter, there is a vacation of one week.

"Schools will be kept on each day of the week except Sunday, beginning in the morning at 9 o'clock, and ending at 12 M; and in the afternoon, beginning at half past 1 o'clock, and ending at half past 4. Saturday afternoon is an exception from this regulation, it being a holiday.

"It is expected there will be a recess of a few minutes each half-day, or some other equivalent allowed by the teacher.

"The first exercise of the morning will be the reading of the Scriptures—the teacher will commence by reading one verse, and then each scholar in school who can read sufficiently well will read a verse, until all have read. No explanations of the meaning of the Scriptures must be given; but the teacher will require the whole school to pay implicit and exclusive attention to the reading until it is finished.

"The teachers will require cleanliness in the person of the scholars. This regulation must be rigidly enforced. Those scholars must be sent home who manifest a disregard of it.

"The following text-books have been adopted, and will hereafter be used: Pictorial Spelling Book, Worcester's Primer, Worcester's Second, Third and Fourth Books for Reading and Spelling, Worcester's Elementary Dictionary, Frost's Elements of English Grammar, Parker's Progressive Exercises in Composition, Greenleaf's National Arithmetic, Child's Arithmetic, Woodbridge's School Geography and Atlas, Parley's Geography, Parley's First, Second and Third Books of History, and Bailey's Algebra.

"No books except those prescribed by the Inspectors will be permitted to be used in the schools after the books prescribed can be obtained. Until that time the books which the scholars now have can be used, but no new books are to be purchased except such as are approved by the Inspectors.

"At the end of each month the teachers of the respective schools will make schedules of the names of all the scholars in attendance on each day and half day, the number engaged in the different studies, and the average in attendance each week and each month, together with a statement of the largest and smallest number in attendance at any one day during the month."

Further idea of the extent of the schools of that time may be gained from a report of the school inspectors in June, 1841, stating that for the four months ending in March there had been spent for teachers, $563.32; $520.94 for fuel, rent of school

houses, repairs, etc.; that upon the present plan it would be necessary to have $1800 to pay the teachers for one year; there must be a tax of one-tenth of one per cent on all taxable property in the city. There were in the county in 1840, 4693 white persons under twenty years of age; in the city, 2109; the county was receiving $700 from the School, College and Seminary fund, $300 of which the city was entitled to. The tax just referred to of one mill on all taxable property in the city was the first one imposed in Chicago for school purposes, as hitherto the people had voted against the free school system. In this year it was also suggested that a high school be established to meet the needs of those pupils who were old enough to do more advanced work. Lack of the necessary means made it impossible to start such a school at that time, though the suggestion was carried out in later years.

Instruction in vocal music was first given in the public schools in 1841 by Mr. N. Gilbert, and was continued intermittently thenceforth at such times as the common council found it possible to appropriate the money. A few years later the position of teacher of vocal music in the public schools was given to Mr. Frank Lumbard, who, with his brother, is remembered as a singer of war songs during the Civil War. The salary of the first teacher was sixteen dollars a month; in 1864 the annual salary of the music teacher was fourteen hundred dollars; by that time music had become a permanent study and a graded course was arranged, the special teacher to supervise the regular teachers, who gave the class instruction under his general direction.

A German school was begun in 1842 in the North Division of the city, on Green Bay Road, now Rush street, near Chicago avenue, to be maintained in a building bought from the city by Michael Diversey and Peter Gabel.

A NEW PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDING

In 1844 the first step was taken toward erecting a permanent school building in school district 1, to be located on Madison street, on the site of the present Boston Store. By this time the demand of the residents in this district for a new school building had become so strong that it seemed very probable that the necessary taxes could be collected. The only building owned by the city hitherto was the old District School House, built in 1836 for temporary use until such time as funds might be obtained for a permanent building. This old school building was sold for forty dollars. The new building was made of brick, was two stories high, and cost seventy-five hundred dollars. It was supposed by many to be so large as to be far beyond the needs of the city. For this reason, and because Ira Miltimore had done much to secure the building, it was called "Miltimore's Folly." Hon. Augustus Garrett, the mayor, recommended that it be sold or used for an insane asylum. The new building was called School Number 1 until 1858, when the name Dearborn school was given it. Districts 1 and 2 were both accommodated in this building. The principal was Austin D. Sturtevant, a man who was among the best of the public school teachers hitherto employed in the city—an excellent teacher, and one who understood his pupils and commanded their respect. His assistants were Lucia A. Garvin and Martha Durant; during the next two years Margaret A. Clarkson and Anna Day were also employed. At the end of the third year there were 864 pupils, a number which already justified the space in the new school. The Dear-

born school building stood until the summer of 1871, when the lot on which it was located was leased by the Common Council to Rand, McNally and Company, and the building torn down. The school was continued, under the charge of Alice L. Barnard as principal, in Johnson Hall, situated on Wabash avenue near Monroe street, until the Great Fire, when the organization of the Dearborn school ceased to exist.

During 1844 school conventions were held in many towns in Illinois. In October there was a convention in Chicago, at which delegates were chosen to attend a general convention at Springfield. At the meeting in Springfield the plan for holding teachers' institutes was formed.[9] All these meetings were a part of the educational campaign which was at the same time arousing an intelligent interest in the public regarding schools, and broadening and strengthening the work of teachers, who were bound more closely together in their common aims.

In the early years of the school history the principals of schools were men, and the assistants usually women. In 1845 the maximum for the salary of male school teachers was raised from $400 to $500 per annum, and that of female teachers from $200 to $250. Men were paid, in 1851, "according to their success and the number of scholars," according to an ordinance of that year. Primary teachers were paid an annual salary of $150.

NEED OF OTHER SCHOOL BUILDINGS

In the same year (1845) plans were begun to erect a permanent school building in district 4 (North Division), made necessary by the school conditions in the North and West Divisions, described in a report of the committee on schools, regarding the need of new buildings:

"The schools in District No. 4 are held in very inconvenient rooms: one in a building originally designed for mercantile purposes, on the corner of Cass and Kinzie streets, which might comfortably accommodate a school of 50 children, instead of from 100 to 120 scholars—the number usually attending. The story is very low, and the room so illy ventilated that its foul atmosphere is plainly apparent; its dimensions are so contracted that scholars cannot move from their places without disturbing their fellows, and scarcely any space can be found for the formation of classes at their recitations. The same objections apply to the room used in the basement of the Episcopal church, with the further and weighty one that after a period of wet weather the room becomes unhealthy for scholars and teachers from dampness. The number of scholars in this school is 151. The third school in this District is kept in the school house erected in the Dutch Settlement, and is fully as large and airy as the school requires.

"The building occupied for schools in the Third Ward is wholly unfit for the purposes for which it is used—less commodious and convenient, if possible, than those in the Sixth Ward. One of these schools occupies the lower story and the other the attic of a story and a half house with light from the gable ends only, and in the summer, from its proximity to the roof, is uncomfortably warm.

"The furniture of all these rooms, the desks and benches, are as unfit for the

[9] Andreas: I, 212.

purposes of education as the rooms in which they are placed; and the whole contrasted with a building erected and furnished for schools is well calculated to create in the minds of children, a disgust for the school room, and make the acquisition of knowledge an irksome, as well as a difficult task."

NEW BUILDINGS ON NORTH AND WEST SIDES

This report preceded proposals for building the school at the corner of Ohio and North La Salle streets, which succeeded the school started three years before in "the Dutch settlement," a district, so called, north of Chicago avenue and east of North Clark street. The school was built in 1845 at a cost of four thousand dollars. A new and permanent school building for the West Division, costing $6795, followed soon after, located on the south side of Madison street, just east of Halsted, and named the Scammon school, in honor of J. Young Scammon, a member of the first board of school inspectors.

In 1846 an ordinance was passed directing the board of inspectors to have all its proceedings published in whatever city papers would publish them gratis. The same order regulated the duties of trustees and inspectors. The trustees by this new ordinance were given the care of the school property and were responsible for its proper preservation; they were to recommend necessary repairs and purchases of fuel, apparatus, etc. They were not, however, allowed, as hitherto, to contract and pay for the same, or incur any expenses, save for fuel and water. The bills were to be audited by the council and paid from the school tax fund. The inspectors' duties were also limited, so that they could not fix the salaries of teachers, nor cause any expenditures from the school fund, except for salaries of teachers already fixed; all bills were to be referred to the Council. The inspectors could recommend alterations and additions to school property. The powers given the trustees by the charter of 1837 were thus limited by this ordinance to recommendation of financial dealings, whereas before they had the initiative in such matters. In 1857 the charter was amended, abolishing the board of trustees, and increasing the number of inspectors to fifteen. The name of the board of inspectors was then changed to that of board of education. Thus the decentralized system which existed while trustees were elected from districts and divided the management of schools with the inspectors, was abolished, and in its place a centralized system was established.

In 1847 the school fund was increased by $68,000 by what was known as the Wharfing Lot fund, obtained from the city's settlement concerning the wharfing privileges. It was given into the charge of the agent of the school fund, to be loaned out as was the original fund. Further, the lots which were given to the city by the state for school purposes were at this time sold or leased.

TEN YEARS' PROGRESS

A paragraph from the report of the school inspectors for 1849 shows what the improvement in school affairs during the last decade had been: "Since the organization of our Public Schools in the autumn of 1840, there has been a change unparalleled in the school history of any western city. Then a few miserably clad children, unwashed and uncombed, were huddled into small, uncleanly and unven-

By courtesy of the Board of Education

CLASS IN COOKING—NORMAL PRACTICE SCHOOL

tilated apartments, seated upon uncomfortable benches and taught by listless and inefficient tutors, who began their daily avocations with dread, and completed what they considered their unpleasant duties with pleasure. Now the school reports of the Township show the names of nearly 2000 pupils, two-thirds of whom are in daily attendance in spacious, ventilated, well-regulated school rooms, where they are taught by those whose duty is their pleasure. The scholars are neat in person and orderly in behavior, and by the excellent course of moral and mental training which they receive are being prepared to become good citizens, an honor to the City and State."

Plans were made the next year for a building in the southern part of the city, which was soon completed at a cost of $6795, and known as the Jones school, situated at the corner of Wabash avenue and Twelfth street.

The improved general conditions in Chicago were but an expression of the progress in educational matters that was noticeable in many of the settled districts of the country. A digression here may be permitted in order to indicate a movement which had its marked effect on Chicago.

MISS CATHARINE E. BEECHER'S WORK

Owing to the efforts of Miss Catharine E. Beecher, who for many years during the first half of the nineteenth century had devoted her energies to the cause of the higher education of women, a movement was started to organize women of all religious denominations, prepare them as teachers and send them to the destitute sections of the West and South.[10] To this end Miss Beecher organized committees of women in the Eastern cities to cooperate with her in the work "of training woman for her true profession as educator and chief minister of the family state, and to secure to her the honor and pecuniary reward which men gain in their profession." Miss Beecher wrote letters to men of influence to ask their advice regarding this movement, and finally secured the cooperation of ex-Governor Slade of Vermont, who offered to undertake the work of transferring to the West teachers already prepared, and organized at Cleveland the Board of National Popular Education, having for its object the starting and maintaining of schools in settlements in the new country, which without its help would not be provided with teachers.

Miss Beecher, knowing the difficulties to be encountered by pioneer teachers, proposed "that before they were sent out they should meet in some place for a month to hear lectures, and visit classes in some normal school." Of the three hundred young women first recommended to her by ministers in the East to whom she had appealed, a class of thirty or forty was made up, prepared and sent out. In spite of Miss Beecher's plans and efforts to secure proper accommodation for the teachers on their arrival in strange places, provision had not been made by those having this part of the work in charge, and thence arose great hardships to the young women from lack of money, few or no comforts, dangerous risks to health, squalid homes, where they sometimes were forced to live and sleep in the small cabin which housed, besides, a family with not too wholesome habits. There were some communities willing and able to support teachers, which were so divided by

[10] Catharine E. Beecher: "Educational Reminiscences," pp. 100 et seq.

personal or sectarian jealousies that union for a common good was impossible; other places had become so discouraged from their experiences with incompetent teachers making high pretensions that there was an attitude of distrust toward the good teachers who might follow. Though beset with these and numberless other difficulties, the supporters of education continued their efforts, young women volunteering their services, and classes being constantly prepared and sent forth from the East. An extract from a letter to Miss Beecher from one member of her first class is impressive. After writing of the suspicion with which she was at first regarded by the ignorant settlers, their reluctant support of her when she first came, and the godlessness of the place, she continues, "My greatest trials here are the want of religious privileges, the difficulty of sending to the distant postoffice, the entire want of social sympathy, and the manner in which I am obliged to live. I board where there are eight children and the parents, and only two rooms in the house. I must do as the family do about washing, as there is but one basin and no place to go to wash but out the door. I have not enjoyed the luxury of either lamp or candle, their only light being a cup of greese with a rag for a wick. Evening is my only time to write, and this kind of light makes such a disagreeable smoke and smell I cannot bear it, and do without light except the fire. I occupy a room with three of the children and a niece who boards here. The other room serves as a kitchen, parlor, and bedroom for the rest of the family.

"I have read your 'Domestic Economy' through to the family, one chapter a day. They like it, and have adopted some of your suggestions in regard both to *order* and to *health*. They used to drink coffee three times a day. Now they use it only once a day. Their bread used to be heavy and half-baked, but I made yeast by the receipt in your book, and thus made some good bread. They were much pleased with it, and I have made such ever since."

The letter ends with an account of the improved behavior of the children, the satisfaction and confidence felt by the parents, and the expression of a hope that these labors will be blessed with good results, even though pleasure, wealth and fame do not accompany them.

The missionary character of the work must always be remembered. The teachers were gathered from congregations in the East whose pastors had preached of the self sacrifice and devotion necessary in the field that was calling for workers. The meagre salaries that were given, sometimes indeed being altogether unpaid, were no compensation for the loneliness and misery and privation suffered by too many who had gone forth filled with enthusiasm and urged by the demands of their religion. If love of novelty and adventure had prompted any to volunteer to teach in strange regions, there was need for more sturdy qualities than these to endure and cope with the rough conditions.

EXPERIENCES OF MISS HARRIET N. BURNS

A letter written in 1900 to the author by Mrs. H. N. Emerson of New Hampshire, who was formerly Miss Harriet N. Burns, is of local interest. "Dear Sir: I went to Chicago with the first class of teachers sent out by Gov. William Slade of Vermont, in 1847. We went to Boston, thence to Albany, where we stopped in families who volunteered to receive us, and we were given lessons in different

branches by several teachers, Miss Catharine Beecher the principal one (older sister of Harriet B. Stowe); another, Miss Bacon, sister of Dr. Leonard Bacon. Miss Beecher gave instruction in regard to health and climate, how to preserve the former and to resist exposure to the latter. In Albany we stopped about three weeks; then started to Schenectady thence by packet on the Erie canal, to Buffalo. (In Albany I stopped with a Mr. Richard Ainsley, a dealer in looking glasses, etc., who went to Chicago the same summer and opened a store, and came out to see me at Gross Point.)

"From Buffalo we took a steamer, the Hendrick Hudson, and sailed by the straits of Mackinac.

"In Chicago we were received, as in Albany, into families, until schools were found and assigned to us. I with another teacher stopped with a Mr. George Manierre, a young lawyer.

"Those on the committee to assign schools were, as I remember, J. Y. Scammon, Dr. Boone, Mr. Meeker, Dr. Kimberly and the Mr. Manierre named above. When I visited Chicago in '93 I called on his son, who told me he was in the cradle at that time.

"In June I commenced to teach at Gross Point, in a log schoolhouse near the lake shore, so near the names of steamers passing could sometimes be seen. I boarded with Mr. Philo Colvin, who lived in a frame house near by.

"There was no preaching nearer than Chicago, except occasionally by the Methodists, and a class leader named Huntoon, who met at the schoolhouse, and we had a Sunday school, Mrs. James Colvin and myself teaching, Mr. H. acting as superintendent and librarian. Mr. Albert Colvin, son of Mr. James Colvin, is now living [in] Chicago, as I believe. Very truly yours,

"H. N. Emerson."

MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH HIGH SCHOOLS

Better than sending teachers from the East to the South and West, was the movement that was made to establish high schools at central points in the West, having a department for normal training attached. The advantages thus gained were numerous: these schools were so located as to have a sufficiently large population to draw on for attendance; there was small expense to the students, since they need not be wholly cared for at the school, having homes near by; the growing demand for teachers in the immediate vicinity was supplied from these schools; the spirit of education was fostered in the West, and the demand for schools and teachers thereby greatly increased. This movement was avowedly in great part one to raise the standard of women's education, and was an effort toward securing "*permanency* to female institutions in the West, and *thoroughness* to female education there, so that all women as a general rule would be fitted to become teachers, either to their own children or in regular schools."

From these efforts resulted not only wider education for the women of the West, who with proper training were just as well fitted as Eastern women to become good teachers, but there was an advantage in having established normal schools in the West, to which those in the vicinity who were looking for teachers could apply, seeing and talking with the students, and so eliminating many chances of the disappointment that often resulted from engaging a teacher by letter.

While Chicago's educational problems were in many respects different from those just described, still the connection between the development of schools there and that in other places was a close one. There was in Chicago the same opposition to a school system supported by taxation which existed generally throughout the West and South, and the increased interest in education which, aroused by such leaders as Miss Beecher, brought school teachers to many a desolate settlement remote from the town, manifested itself in Chicago in reorganization of the school system, building of schoolhouses to be owned by the city, and a closer attention to school management.

CHANGES IN SCHOOL TERMS

To resume the narrative of the Chicago schools: Upon petition of the teachers in 1850, a change in the school term was made after the passing of the following order: "That the first vacation in the Common Schools in the city shall hereafter commence with the last Saturday in June, and continue till the first Monday in August of each year; that the second vacation be the week of the Christmas Holidays." The school week also was then changed so that school was held for five days, Saturday morning to be used for a Teachers' Institute. Later, in 1856, the summer vacation was lengthened to a period of about six weeks. The Teachers' Institute was ordered by the Council probably as a result of the plans suggested in the first state convention held at Springfield five years before, to serve as a substitute for the normal training which many of the teachers lacked. It has continued, with changes and additions, to the present day.

An ordinance passed in 1851 assured at least one public school in each district; two years later the records show a population in Chicago of 59,130, an enrollment of 3,000 pupils, and a cost of $12,129 for maintaining the schools for the year. This growth in work and responsibility, as well as the increased need of central organization to take the place of local organization, caused the board of school inspectors to consider, in 1853, the expediency of appointing a superintendent of public schools; to this end they drew up a resolution which bore fruit in an ordinance passed later in the same year by the Common Council, creating the office of Superintendent of Schools. The growing prosperity of the city at this time, and the increased population, both a result of the building of railroads and the opening of the Illinois and Michigan canal, created a civic pride that demanded improved institutions, as well as larger factories and stores.

FIRST SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

In the spring of 1854 the board of inspectors elected to the position of superintendent of schools John C. Dore, principal of the Boylston Grammar School of Boston. When the office of Superintendent of Schools was created, the enrollment of pupils was about 3,000, and the number of teachers thirty-five.

Mr. Dore, in his first report, called attention to those conditions in the schools which were unsatisfactory, and which could be improved. He pointed out that there was not a general city school system, the pupils were unclassified, there was no registration of attendance, promotions were not made with reference either

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DISMISSAL AT NOON—JIRKA SCHOOL

to age or examination, the studies of grammar and arithmetic were much neglected, as much time was devoted to going to and from recitations as in actual classwork, and there was little interest shown by the teachers in the Teachers' Institute. Mr. Dore soon remedied these evils, by organizing divisions, examining pupils and assigning them to their proper grades, and insisting on the use of uniform textbooks throughout the schools. He recommended, besides, that a high school be started in the city. There were at this time seven schools, which were so crowded that one thousand children had to be refused seats.

Two years later Mr. Dore resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. William H. Wells, principal of the normal school at Westfield, Massachusetts. Mr. Wells had for twenty years been prominent in educational work in Massachusetts, was full of the spirit of Horace Mann then dominating the schools of that state, and was enthusiastic in carrying out the most progressive plans of education. In his first report on the Chicago schools Superintendent Wells stated that there were at least "three thousand children in our city who are utterly destitute of school instruction or any equivalent for it;" he also called attention to the overcrowding of the buildings. This last named condition made the need of a high school the more urgent.

FIRST HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING

The question of establishing a high school had come up soon after the schools were reorganized in 1840, in order to provide for the more advanced pupils. The inspectors in their annual report for 1843 had suggested it, but the Common Council, pleading insuperable objections, waived the question, until in 1855, after much urging from the board of inspectors, they ordered and provided for the building of a high school in Block 1 (located on West Monroe street near Halsted). In taking this step Chicago was keeping abreast of the progress made in the older communities of the East, as Boston, Philadelphia and New York had but recently established high schools. In October, 1856, the school opened, with C. A. Dupee as principal. The curricula included a classical course of three years, an English course of three years, and a normal course of two years, this last named department being conducted by Ira Moore. The combined classical and English courses could be completed in four years. There were various changes in the schedule before the length of all courses became uniform. There were 158 candidates for admission at the first examination in 1856, 114 of whom were admitted on a percentage of fifty.

By 1869—thirteen years after its opening—the high school building had become so crowded that classes were formed in the several divisions of the city; in these classes the first year work was done, after which the students went to the central building to complete the course. The normal department later occupied a separate building, and Mr. Edward C. Delano was made principal in 1857, a position he held until 1877, when the normal school was discontinued, because more students were being graduated than were then needed as teachers in the schools. It was the plan to suspend the work temporarily in the school, but it was never reorganized.

From 1877 to 1893 there was no school or department for the training of teachers in the city of Chicago. While Mr. George Howland was superintendent of

schools (1881-1890), high school graduates who passed the teachers' examination were assigned to schools as cadets to learn how to teach. When they were considered able to undertake a class, they were given positions as regular teachers. As the number of these inexperienced teachers increased and threatened the welfare of the schools, it was decided to give them some professional training in addition to their cadet practice. A training class for cadets was therefore organized in 1893, and proved to be, practically, a resuming of the work of the Chicago Normal school, which was closed in 1877. The next advance which was made in Chicago in the training of its teachers was the agreement with the county to take over and maintain as a city school the old Cook County Normal school. This agreement was made in 1896, and will be noticed later.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION IN CHICAGO—(CONTINUED)

OVERCROWDED CONDITION OF THE SCHOOLS—GRADED INSTRUCTION INTRODUCED—PROGRESSIVE POLICY OF SUPERINTENDENT WELLS—SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN—JOSIAH L. PICKARD BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT IN 1865—STUDY OF GERMAN DECIDED UPON—EVENING SCHOOLS—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT ABOLISHED—SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF—EFFECTS OF THE GREAT FIRE—CHANGES IN MANNER OF APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE BOARD—DUANE DOTY BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT—MANUAL TRAINING AND DOMESTIC SCIENCE—GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOLS—COMMERCIAL COURSES IN HIGH SCHOOLS—PRESIDENT JAMES' VIEWS—HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETICS—KINDERGARTENS—BENEFITS FROM KINDERGARTEN CLASSES—NATIONAL HOLIDAYS RECOGNIZED BY SCHOOL BOARD—FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF BOARD OF EDUCATION—ALBERT G. LANE BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT IN 1890—MORE SCHOOL BUILDINGS REQUIRED—NORMAL SCHOOL—COLONEL FRANCIS W. PARKER—NORMAL COURSE LENGTHENED—BUILDING FOR NORMAL SCHOOL—LAWSUIT TO PREVENT ERECTION OF BUILDING—MRS. ELLA FLAGG YOUNG BECOMES PRINCIPAL OF NORMAL SCHOOL—NORMAL EXTENSION WORK—WAR ON "FADS"—INSTRUCTION FOR THE BLIND—SUBNORMAL PUPILS.

OVERCROWDING IN THE SCHOOLS

MEANWHILE, during the fifties and sixties, the evil of overcrowded schoolhouses was growing worse each year in spite of the emphasis laid on the correction of it in the superintendent's reports.[1] Some of the grammar school teachers had over one hundred pupils each, and primary teachers often had from two hundred to three hundred little children in a room, wriggling and whispering in unmanageable numbers. The new buildings which were hastily constructed to meet the unusual demand, did not provide a proper amount of air or light or heat for the great number of pupils crowded into them; hence arose the discomfort to the children, which was one of the causes of irregular attendance against which the authorities struggled for years. As the establishment of a high school in 1856 relieved this condition of things but imperceptibly, other schools were built, and in 1858 the minimum school age was raised to six years. Thus the average number of pupils under one teacher was reduced to seventy-seven, and the strain upon the capacity of the schoolhouses relieved for the time being.

At the end of 1857 there were ten public schools in the city and two small

[1] "The Public Schools of Chicago," by Hannah B. Clark, p. 20.

branches of the grammar and primary grades. The school attendance was 8577,[2] the number of teachers fifty-seven, and the amount paid in salaries a little over $28,000.[3]

In the superintendent's report for 1858, Mr. Wells, in reviewing the work that had been done and the deep interest taken by the men of the early school board, said, "When in the far distant future the philosophic historian shall write the history of our city; when the character and acts of successive generations shall be weighed in the scales of impartial judgment; when material wealth shall be regarded in its true light, as the means to an end; when social enjoyment and intellectual cultivation and moral worth shall be rightly estimated as essential elements of prosperity, in every community—then will the wisdom of those who have laid the foundation of our public school system be held in grateful remembrance; then will the names of Scammon and Brown, and Jones, and Miltimore, and Mosely, and Foster, and their coadjutors, be honored as among the truest and most worthy benefactors of Chicago."

The work of the city superintendent increased to such a volume that in 1859 a clerk was employed in his office. Samuel Hull filled this position for one year, when he was succeeded by Shepherd Johnston, who held the position until his death in 1894. Mr. Johnston wrote a careful, accurate sketch of the schools of Chicago, carrying his history to the year 1879. Upon his report later writers on the early schools of Chicago have largely depended, and to him the present writer is indebted for much material about the schools prior to 1879. His historical sketch is itself an expression of his orderly efficient methods of managing the affairs of the office, in which he won the affection and high regard of those associated with him.

The necessity for physical training was pointed out in the board of education in 1859 by its president, Mr. Luther Haven, who urged the importance of a sound mind in a sound body, and called attention to the fragile, unhealthy forms of many of the children in the schools. Mr. Haven urged the city to provide playgrounds and simple gymnastic apparatus for the schools; but land even then was considered too valuable to be used merely for pleasure, and the idea of free-hand gymnastics was slow of development, in spite of its involving no expense, and affording immense gain to the children.

GRADED INSTRUCTION INTRODUCED

A graded course of instruction, prepared by Superintendent Wells, was adopted in 1861 by the board of education. This attempt (the first in Illinois) to establish an extended graded course of instruction was the beginning of the thoroughly graded system upon which our public schools are now based. The grammar school work was divided into five grades, the primary work into five. In his outline of the course of studies, Mr. Wells laid especial emphasis upon lessons in manners and morals, and on natural science. The progressive character of Mr. Wells' work as superintendent, and the vigor of its execution made him one of the most influential figures in the development of the Chicago schools. This organization

[2] Daily News Almanac.
[3] Andreas: I, 216.

By courtesy of the Board of Education

OAKLAND SCHOOL
Fortieth Street, near Cottage Grove Avenue

of the schools was one of his important achievements. Immediately upon its publication it was extensively copied by other cities, with modifications to suit their needs.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN

An interesting though short lived arrangement may here be spoken of. Until 1863 there was no discrimination against colored children in the public schools of the city but the intense partisan feeling of the time resulted in an expression of race prejudice in regulating the attendance at the public schools. The city charter adopted in February, 1863, contained the following provision for the establishment of a separate school for colored children: "It shall be the duty of the Common Council to provide one or more schools for the instruction of negro and mulatto children, to be kept in a separate building to be provided for that purpose, at which colored pupils between the ages of five and twenty-one years, residing in every School District in said city, shall be allowed to attend; and hereafter it shall not be lawful for such pupils to attend any Public School in the City of Chicago at which white children are taught, after a school for the instruction of negro and mulatto children has been provided."

In accordance with this provision the Common Council passed an order establishing a separate school for colored children. Such a school was held in a rented building at the corner of Taylor street and Fourth avenue, and was continued until April, 1865, when the provision for separate schools for colored children was repealed by the city charter of 1865, in consequence of the gradual disappearance of the harsh feeling which had prevailed in the years just preceding this time.

In 1864 Mr. Wells resigned his position as superintendent, to enter business life, after eight years of invaluable service in improving the city schools.[4] During these years he had developed his own system of graded courses, which became a model for educators all over the country; he had delivered lectures explaining his system and had written a book on it; and he was for one year president of the Illinois State Teachers' Association. After his resignation he was still closely connected with the schools, and an energetic worker in their behalf, being on the school board for many years, and writing textbooks which became standard authorities on the subjects of which they treated. He was a member of the Chicago Historical Society, the Public Library board, and was a well known figure in the city until his death on January 21, 1885.

JOSIAH L. PICKARD BECOMES SUPERINTENDENT

Josiah L. Pickard was elected to succeed Mr. Wells. In 1865 two innovations were introduced into the school system by the new superintendent. The study of German in the schools below the high school was decided upon as an experiment by the board, and in the fall a class was formed in the Washington school in the West Division. So large a number of pupils elected the study, that in the next year it was decided to have German classes in one school in each division. Twelve years later the instruction was graded; the study had become

[4] Andreas: I, p. 215.

so popular that it was a part of the course in eighteen of the district schools, a special teacher of German having been engaged since 1874. Another experiment of that year was the public support of a free evening school, started in 1856 as a private undertaking, the board at first only giving the use of the room in which it was taught. Its sessions were held in West Market Hall, on Randolph street, near Desplaines street. Daniel S. Wentworth, principal of Scammon school, volunteered to conduct the evening classes, being mainly assisted by day teachers, who gave their services to the work. The first direct support given evening schools by the Common Council was $5,000 from the general fund, appropriated in 1865. The work has been continued until the present time, with the exception of a short period after the fire, and during the year 1877, when there was no money for the support of evening schools.

About the same time another addition to the list of studies was recommended by the superintendent. This was the teaching of drawing, then considered by many a useless fad. An unsuccessful attempt was made in the Teachers' Institute to secure for teachers some instructions, that they might be able themselves to teach drawing. This failing, in 1870 two drawing teachers were appointed. The Bartholomew Series of drawing books was at first used, and later the Walter Smith system of free-hand drawing.

Between 1860 and 1870 the number of pupils in the schools increased from 14,149 to 38,939, and the number of teachers from 123 to 557. The increase in seating capacity in the schools was not proportionate, and it was estimated that in 1863 there were 2000 children of school age not in attendance; in 1868 there were 12,000. An assistant superintendent was provided for and elected in 1870, owing to the increased burden of management.

The puzzling question of discipline in schools, always a present one with the teachers, was claiming the attention of educators throughout the country at this time. In the advanced schools of the East the doctrine and practice of sparing the rod had been found successful, and had given rise to much argument in other communities regarding the good old fashioned idea of deserved corporal punishment. The board in Chicago, led by its president, held out against the new conception of discipline, but finally, when corporal punishment had been practically abandoned in the schools, the board formally ruled against it.

SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF

A class for the deaf was started in September, 1870, by Mr. D. Greenberger, in rooms furnished by the board of education, but otherwise not supported by the city, the pupils paying tuition. In 1875 the board assumed control of the school, and in 1879 the state legislature made an appropriation for the support of a school for the deaf in the city, which gave the school already started the means to enlarge its work materially.

Other classes for the deaf were started, and knowledge that such public instruction was offered in certain schools became more widely known among parents of deaf children. In 1895 there were four schools in which there were these classes, two on the West Side, one on the North Side, and one on the South Side, with a total enrollment of sixty-five pupils. With so few centers, the difficulty in keep-

ing up the standard of attendance was due to the distance of many pupils from the schools, necessitating carfare and often the company of older persons to and from school; besides, often parents had not heard of these classes, others could not afford the expense and trouble of sending the children to a distant school, and still others sent their children to the Jacksonville school for the deaf, where the students remain away from home nine months of the year. The passing of a bill "authorizing School Districts managed by Boards of Education or Directors to establish and maintain day schools for the deaf, and authorizing payment from the State Common School Funds" resulted in further public action in behalf of deaf children, and in 1896 Miss Mary McCowen, a woman of experience in the education of the deaf, was elected as supervising principal of the Chicago Public Schools for the Deaf. The establishment of new centers has increased to such an extent that at the present time, thanks to the enforcement of the compulsory education law, and the growth of the department, there are in the city more than twenty centers for the instruction of deaf children. In some of these rooms the teaching is by the wholly oral method, by which the children learn to speak and to read the lips of others; in other rooms the combined system of studying both speech and the sign language is used in teaching. Parents may choose to which classes to send their children. The rooms used for this instruction are in the regular school buildings, so that deaf children are associated with other children at recess and before and after school. The partial realization of ideals set by Miss McCowen and indicated in her report for 1897 has meant progress in these schools; in this report she wrote, "With a uniform course of study, and classes carefully graded, for all deaf children of the city, whether taught by the Combined System or the Pure Oral, with small classes near the homes for primary children, larger classes at central points for intermediate children who are able to go greater distances alone, and a central grammar school, or two if necessary, one for each method, our schools for the deaf may, in my opinion, be vastly improved." In some of the larger centers for the deaf the pupils have been graded according to their relative deafness, and according to their advancement in studies have been assigned to their proper classes, and occasionally allowed to participate in the recitation work of hearing children. This is found to be a great benefit and stimulus to them.

Classes for the deaf are necessarily small because of the great amount of time that must be given to each pupil. However, though the expense per capita in this department is therefore great, compensation is evident in the useful, disciplined lives of those who would otherwise be among the dependent members of society. The department is at present in charge of one of the assistant superintendents.

EFFECTS OF THE GREAT FIRE

In 1871 came the Great Fire which, devastating as it was, had the same effect upon the school system as upon the city in general—the marking of a new period in its development. There were sixty public schools in Chicago in 1871, of which fifteen were burned. Of the number destroyed, five buildings were rented by the city for the use of schools, and ten were owned by it, one of these being located in the South Division and nine in the North Division; those left standing in the

North Division were the Newberry and Lincoln schools. Among the schools destroyed were the Jones, Kinzie, Franklin, Ogden, Pearson street primary, Elm street primary, La Salle street primary, and the North Branch primary. Some of the buildings which remained standing were put into immediate use by the Chicago Relief and Aid Society as temporary sleeping places for those made homeless by the fire. This unusual occupancy continued for a week or more, until other shelter could be provided for the sufferers. Within two weeks after the fire the Board of Education reopened these buildings, secured temporary school rooms, and began to engage the former teachers. The number of teachers employed was much greater than the number of available rooms. The teachers were accordingly divided into four classes: (1) those who were burned out and were homeless; (2) those who had parents or younger members of the family dependent on them for support; (3) those who had to depend on their own earnings for a livelihood; (4) those who had friends or relatives who could provide for them for the present. In being assigned to duty they were given employment as nearly as possible in the above order, some remaining without employment for a year; most, however, were working after six months. The rebuilding of the schools which were burned was a work of three years, and the loss suffered from the damage done to the school fund property was felt much longer.

A great loss to the schools was the burning of all the books and papers which were kept in the offices of the board. These included the city and state reports, the manuscript records of the proceedings of the board from its beginning, and the school library. It was estimated that the pecuniary loss to the board of education was about $251,000.[5]

CHANGE IN MANNER OF APPOINTING BOARD MEMBERS

A change was made in 1872 in the manner of choice of members of the board of education. By enactment of the legislature the mayor, with the approval of the council, was to appoint the members, and the board was given the power to buy sites, erect buildings, loan funds, etc., subject to the approval of the council. Although the board was thus given greater power than before, it found it difficult to carry out plans for increasing the school equipment. The question of providing for the rapidly growing enrollment of pupils was now, more than ever before, a serious one. The council had listened to the urgent requests of the school board for more school buildings to such an extent that they were accused of great extravagance. Ten new buildings had been erected within a period of four years, and still, according to the school report of 1875, one-fifth of the 50,000 pupils enrolled were having but half-day sessions, on account of the scarcity of seats. The board had trouble in securing provision from the council for repairing old buildings and providing new ones. The board even accused those members of the council who were on the school committee of neglect of the people's interests and of collusion with property owners in preventing the board from buying lots that were needed. The board did not have the power to condemn property for school purposes, and in the purchase of lots there was always the difficulty of dealing with sellers who showed a disposition to demand an exorbitant price from the

[5] Report of Chicago Relief and Aid Society (1874), p. 13.

By courtesy of the Board of Education

WENDELL PHILLIPS HIGH SCHOOL
Thirty-ninth Street and Prairie Avenue

city. Conditions became worse and worse, and in 1879 only 37.7 per cent of the school population could be accommodated. This extremity, together with the poor sanitary condition of many of the school buildings, was followed by the building of more schools and by improving the lighting and ventilation of the buildings, both old and new. The use of stoves was still prevalent, however, and the lighting of the school rooms was so inadequate that an examination of the eyes of children in the grammar and high school grades of a certain neighborhood showed a steady increase of myopia from lower to upper grades.

For some time before 1875 there had been discussion in the board of education and among the citizens regarding Scriptural reading in the public schools. After being considered in the newspapers, on platforms, and in gatherings of societies, the question was voted on by the board and it was decided to omit the reading of the Bible in the schools. This movement is generally thought to have been started by the Catholics and to have been, in its outcome, a victory for them.

The schools were regraded in 1875, so that the number of elementary grades was reduced to eight, an arrangement which still exists. In 1877 Mr. Pickard was succeeded by Duane Doty as superintendent of schools.

MANUAL TRAINING INTRODUCED

The introduction of manual training into the schools marks the beginning of an epoch in which attention is being paid to making a wider appeal to those not satisfied with the course of studies as it had hitherto been. In 1876 the first step in this direction in Chicago was taken. In the school report for the year ending June, 1910, the present superintendent of schools, in calling attention to the still existing need for more manual training equipment in the schools, says that "it is a quarter of a century since Chicago began to advocate training the hand, and training to a knowledge of the home arts." At the time referred to a year's course of manual training work was included in the curriculum of the North Division High school, and in the next year was lengthened to a two years' course; in 1890 the English High and Manual Training school was organized and offered a three years' course in this work.[6] The movement in this country to introduce manual training into the schools had its origin in the interest aroused at the Paris Exposition of 1867, at which there were exhibits of the technical work of the pupils of European schools, which gave new ideas to the American visitors who were interested in educational methods. It was more than ten years after the Paris Exposition that the experiment of making manual training a part of the school course was tried in the schools of Gloucester, Massachusetts, and Boston, and New Haven. In 1876, when Chicago opened three ungraded schools for truants, "sloyd" was introduced as a course there. In 1885 the Chicago Woman's Club made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to have manual training introduced into the schools. It was in the following year that manual training was finally made one of the courses offered at the North Division High school. The first time it was taught in the grades was when, in 1891, at the expense of Mr. Richard T. Crane, a room was fitted up and a teacher engaged for the Tilden school. In this room instruction in manual training was given to the boys of the eighth grades

[6] Hannah B. Clark: Public Schools of Chicago, p. 27.

of the Tilden and neighboring schools. Another such center was established in the following year at the Jones school by the Chicago *Herald.*

After the beginning thus made through outside assistance, the board gradually undertook the work. Of the progress made since then we may judge by words from the 1910 report of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the superintendent of schools. "In spite of all our warmth of espousal of the cause of manual training and household arts, only three schools in every four in our city are equipped for manual training and only seventy-three out of two hundred and fifty for cooking. When will our works keep step with our belief in training the hand, the eye, the muscles of children, through use of the materials furnished man by Mother Earth, such training coming through a few simple, every-day, industrial arts? Every elementary school should be equipped with a manual training shop, a kitchen, and a sewing room. The work of the teachers in class-rooms and of teachers of industrial arts can never be integrated so long as the pupils are sent away from the building to a distant school to be taught one phase of the integration, while the teachers busy in their separate buildings have no opportunity for conference and, at times, for cooperative work in class instruction. If this work is suited for the children below the seventh grade, as suggested in the report of the superintendent for 1908-9, there is no school so small that it could not occupy the full time of a teacher of manual training and a teacher of household arts in carrying out the hand work in conjunction with the book work."

DOMESTIC SCIENCE INTRODUCED

Instruction in domestic science was first given in the Chicago schools in 1897, when a group of private individuals offered to pay the expenses of teachers and equipment if the board of education would grant them the use of necessary rooms. Cooking and sewing classes were taught in two such rooms during the first year, and the next year the board of education appropriated $25,000 for the maintenance of ten centers for the teaching of sewing and ten for cooking. To these centers pupils were sent from 145 schools. Domestic science courses have recently been introduced into more of the grades and into some of the high schools. In thus wisely providing for training in active hand work as well as in academic studies, the educational system of Chicago is recognizing the necessity for the rounded development of the boys and girls. To quote Dr. Dewey on this subject: "The simple fact in the case is that in the great majority of human beings the distinctive intellectual interest is not dominant. If we were to conceive our educational end and aim in a less exclusive way, if we were to introduce into educational processes the activities which do appeal to those whose dominant interest is *to do* and *to make,* we should find that the hold of the school upon its members would be more vital, more prolonged. . . . The school should not be an institution that is arbitrary and traditional, but must be related to the growing evolution of society. One of the social changes most prominent at the present time is the industrial one. It is absurd to expect that a revolution shall not affect education. Correlated with these industrial changes is the introduction of manual training, shop work, household arts and cooking. The school must not remain apart, isolated from forms of life that are affecting society outside. The impulse to

create, to produce, whether in the form of utility or art, must be recognized. This impulse or tendency is just as real and imperative in the development of the human being as something that appeals simply to our desire to learn, to accumulate information and to get control of the symbols of learning."[7]

GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOLS SINCE 1881

To relieve the crowding in the one high school of the city, so-called "division high schools" were opened in 1881, in which a two years' course of instruction was offered to those not wishing the four years' course. These branches of the high school finally became regular high schools established in different divisions of the city. In 1890 an English High and Manual Training school was organized, where a special three years' course of technical instruction was offered to boys. This was the means of keeping many more boys than formerly in attendance at high school, especially after manual training was introduced, through the generosity of Mr. R. T. Crane, into the seventh and eighth grades, in about 1891. The course at the English High and Manual Training school was lengthened in 1901 to four years, the course being thus put on a par with that of the best secondary technical schools in the country. In 1903 a new building for the English High and Manual Training school was finished and called the Richard T. Crane Manual Training High school; another high school for boys is the Albert G. Lane Technical High school, finished in 1908 and accommodating 1500 high school boys.

A statement of the number graduating from the high schools of Chicago will give some idea of the increase of demand for secondary schools during the past fifteen years. There were 794 graduates in 1895 from the fourteen city high schools; in 1900 there were 1249 who graduated from the fifteen high schools; in 1910 the number of those graduating from the eighteen high schools was 1560. In making a resumé, in 1900, of the high schools of the city, Mr. Nightingale, then assistant superintendent of schools and in charge of the high schools, said in his report: "With an examination standard of 50 per cent, where we now require 75 per cent, about one hundred pupils entered the one high school at its opening October 8, 1856. (There were 2500 in the common schools.) Today [in 1900] there are fifteen high schools with nearly 10,000, and each and every school is a monument to the wisdom, the sagacity, the far-sightedness, the philanthropy and the patriotism of the few citizens who, after thirteen years of agitation, founded the first high school in Chicago in 1856, which was open to both sexes." There has never been a time since then when the overcrowding in the high school department has not been a question of more or less seriousness.

The proportion of girls in attendance at high school has long been much greater than that of boys, a state of affairs which has been a matter of deep concern to those superintending the high schools. Superintendent Lane early recommended greater elasticity in the curriculum and this, secured by degrees, has been the means of keeping many in school, especially boys. It has been recognized that a more effective means of preventing the boys from leaving school early would be the existence of courses of instruction in commercial studies. Such studies would not only attract a great number of students who now find no interest in the scien-

[7] Report of Public Schools, 1901, p. 104.

tific and literary courses at present offered in the high schools; they would also furnish a valuable business training which would produce men well equipped in commercial ability—men who would in time become the better citizens and business men for such training.

COMMERCIAL COURSES IN HIGH SCHOOLS

The commercial schools of this and European countries have been investigated by President Edmund J. James of the University of Illinois, whose writings have been stimulating to other educators who feel the necessity of a public school of commerce. He is quoted in the school report for 1896 as writing: "The systematic and steady development of commercial interests lies in the interest of our business world, in the interest in the community in general, and in the interests of our public system of education. There is at present little opportunity for a youth desiring to enter business life to get any systematic assistance in preparing himself for his future career, if he desires or expects to engage in anything but clerical work. The old system of training young men in the great business houses has almost completely disappeared, even in those places of our country where it may have existed, while it can hardly be said ever to have existed at all in most places in this country. Even in the old countries (England, Germany and France) it has broken down like the apprenticeship system in the trades, and at present the only possible substitute for it seems to be the properly organized commercial school. There is at present a special reason why we in the United States should provide facilities for adequate education along mercantile lines, at least in the narrow sense of the term. We are rapidly nearing the point in our manufacturing industry when we may expect to compete with England, Germany and France in foreign markets. In this field of enterprise England is at a great advantage because of the better training and education of their youth, who enter their business houses in foreign countries. If we wish to find such competition successful, we must be able to find a ready supply of trained men for foreign correspondence and services; men who have had systematic training in foreign languages and in the geography and industries of foreign countries. Such a training it is the business of a commercial high school to give."

In 1900 commercial studies, including commercial geography, commercial law, the science and art of accounting, and stenography and typewriting, were introduced into the course of several high schools; the interest in commercial studies has steadily increased since they became part of the course. Plans for a new building, to be used as a high school of commerce and to be located near the down town district, are now being considered by the board of education.

A further step in expanding the high school course was taken when in 1909 domestic science classes for girls were introduced into several high schools. A supervisor of the department of household arts was elected, to direct the work in all the public schools. Formerly this department, in the grades, had been in charge of the supervisor of manual training.

HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETICS

The regulation by school authorities of interscholastic high school athletics was undertaken about fifteen years ago, when the Cook County High School Athletic

By courtesy of the Board of Education

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE SCHOOL.

league was organized, in which the governing body is a board of control, consisting of one teacher from each high school in the league, elected by those in the school who are interested in athletics. This organization endeavors to safeguard the interests both of the school and the pupil, by demanding of members of the team a certain standard of scholarship, by enforcing medical examination of athletic candidates, by considering the expressed wishes of parents regarding the players' participation in contests, and by providing a faculty representative of each team at all contests.

KINDERGARTENS

Kindergartens were introduced into the Chicago schools through outside effort and pressure, as in the case of manual training. Private kindergartens had existed in the city since the first one was established here in 1867. In 1888 the Froebel association requested the board of education to grant them the use of a room in one of the school buildings. Then the Froebel association and the Free Kindergarten association asked for the use of other rooms in public schools, and when, by 1892, several of these kindergartens had been established and their value proved, the board was asked, and consented, to take charge of them. Many requests were made to establish kindergartens in different parts of the city, but the board has never been able to grant all of them, because, with chronic lack of seating space for children of elementary school age, it has seemed unjust to these latter pupils to provide first for kindergartens.

By 1904 there were 118 schools having kindergarten rooms, with an attendance of about 10,000 children between the ages of four and six. The accommodation of so many pupils compared with room space is the result of the adoption, in 1901-1902, of the two session plan, whereby two sets of kindergarten pupils are taught by the same teacher, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The number of children of kindergarten age in that year was about 70,000, of whom about 50,000, it was estimated, would apply for admission to kindergartens were they given the opportunity. The reason for the insufficient accommodation lay in the fact that to meet the demand in that year, 400 rooms then used for pupils over six years of age would have to be given up. Thus it would have been necessary to build new school buildings to the extent of 400 additional rooms, at an estimated cost of $3,200,000. With this obvious deterrent to remedying the condition, the only expedient plan was to extend the work gradually as the board could find the means to do so, with the policy of locating the new kindergartens in the poorer parts of the city, where educational influences of all kinds are most needed, and where children below six years of age spend the most of their time on the street, in alleys and on dark stairways, uncared for and undisciplined. The influence of the kindergarten children from these districts of the city is noticeable in introducing new elements of refinement and cleanliness into the home and neighborhood. "In some of the poorer districts of the city," we read in the school report for 1901, "the kindergarten has a distinct value in addition to that usually considered. This value lies in its utility in teaching children of foreign parentage the English language. Experience in this city seems to show that the kindergarten, with its freedom of intercourse between teachers and children, is a much more effective agent than the primary school in teaching the English language. Chil-

dren come out of our kindergartens, after a single year's experience, able to speak the language well and get along as well as their neighbors. As we extend the kindergarten privileges in the city, such poorer districts, with their non-English speaking population, should be accommodated first. By means of the kindergarten we shall practically lengthen the instruction of the child in such localities by a full year, as he will then be able to enter the primary school and complete the work with his class; while, without this kindergarten training, or the training in the use of the English language, he is almost invariably compelled to remain two or more years in the first grade. The policy of the Board of Education in giving preference to such localities in establishing new kindergartens is unquestionably the right one." There are now eighty or ninety kindergartens open in the city.

The observation in the schools of a number of national holidays was due to the initiative of outside organizations. The celebration of Decoration day was begun in 1887; the memorial exercises were instituted at the suggestion of the women's branch of the Grand Army of the Republic. At the request of the Trade and Labor Assembly the schools were closed Labor day; and the Union League club directed the observing of Washington's birthday. In 1888 the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America presented the principal schools with flags, and this led to a decision on the part of the board to provide a flag and flagstaff for every school building.

FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF BOARD OF EDUCATION

A woman was first given a place on the board of education in 1889, when the mayor appointed Mrs. Ellen Mitchell, the choice of the Chicago Women's club. This appointment, contrary to the mayor's policy regarding the appointing of board members which had hitherto been taken for granted, had been effected by agitation which took the form of personal interview of committees with the mayor, petitions circulated among business men, and exerting of all possible personal influence to bring about the appointment. It has been in general the policy of the mayor since then to appoint one or more women to the school board, though in certain years there has been no woman on the board.

With the annexation of Hyde Park to the city in 1889 the responsibilities of the board of education were greatly increased. The new districts in its charge included 30,000 children and 700 teachers.

MORE SCHOOL BUILDINGS NECESSARY

At the death of Superintendent Howland in 1890 Mr. Albert G. Lane, former county superintendent of schools, was appointed to take his place. He found two serious evils in the schools: the usual inadequate school room accommodation, and the lack of training for new teachers who were entering the Chicago schools. The overcrowding was so great that over 15,000 children were in half-day divisions, and many pupils were in rented rooms, which were usually unsanitary, not having been built for school purposes. To accommodate the children properly at least twenty new schools should have been built every year instead of the eleven or twelve that were built. Superintendent Lane's recommendations for new buildings were urgent.

NORMAL SCHOOL

The other serious deficiency in the system—the fact that new teachers were without technical training—seemed hard to remedy, for ever since the discontinuing of the Normal school in 1877 there had not been in Chicago the means of preparing those who wished to teach. Accordingly many of the teachers were young girls who, with only a high school education, and no other training, had become grade teachers. By the "cadet system," adopted to improve this condition, a new teacher served for a time as assistant or substitute to an experienced teacher. To offer more adequate training an afternoon class of cadets was organized for six months of study, from which good results were at once perceptible. A final solution of the problem was arrived at when in the winter of 1895-6 the Cook county commissioners offered to make over to the city the Cook County Normal school and all its property if the board would assume the management and maintenance of this institution. After careful consideration the offer was accepted by the board, and the Normal school became part of the school system, known as the Chicago Teachers College.

The Cook County Normal school, founded in 1868, had, for several years before being taken over by the city, been in charge of Colonel Francis W. Parker, whose enthusiastic and progressive work had brought him a national reputation as a man having broad ideas and a stimulating influence on the teachers working with him. At the transfer of the school to city ownership Colonel Parker and his faculty were reelected by the board of education to continue in charge of the Normal school. Admission to the school was limited to those graduates of high schools who reside in Chicago having a required standard of scholarship; also to graduates of Cook County High schools, who are recommended by the county superintendent of schools. Graduates from the Normal school are assigned to cadet (practice teaching) in the schools for a certain time, and if successful in practice, are given regular positions. The Training School for Teachers, established in 1893, was transferred to the Normal school building in Englewood when this latter property became a part of the city school system. In order to furnish material upon which the normal students may exercise their growing pedagogic powers, normal practice schools are maintained in connection with the Normal school, and the pupils of these schools are taught by the normal students, under the supervision of members of the faculty. In 1899 a large building with assembly hall and manual training shop was erected for the Normal Practice school.

The resignation of Colonel Parker in 1899 left the school without a principal for a year, until his place was filled by the election, as his successor, of Dr. Arnold Tompkins, president of Illinois Normal university. Before accepting this position Dr. Tompkins had become well known to the teachers of the country through his eloquence as an orator in the exposition of educational ideals. His task now was to enter the Chicago Normal school as a successor to a well loved educator whose ideals were jealously guarded against any possible changes to be made by a stranger in the school. He had, besides, to meet the difficulties of a surplusage of teachers in the city and of a long waiting list of cadets; of a new program in the school which increased the requirements for graduation, and of financial limitations which forced the board of education to give up the payment of the $200 a year

to cadets while on the waiting list. In spite of all this, Dr. Tompkins undertook the work full of hope, his ambition being to see the Teachers' college thoroughly established, equipped with a good faculty, and prepared to train all classes of teachers needed for the schools of Chicago. In his report for 1904 Dr. Tompkins indicated the purpose of the school: "A strong endeavor has been made on the part of the Normal school to establish itself at the head of the public school system as an institution capable of giving help in every line of school work." His death occurred in 1905, just as he was about to see the realization of these hopes, which were materialized later.

The length of the Normal course was increased in 1899 from one to two years, and in 1901 the first departments for the training of special teachers were opened. Soon after the lengthening of the course to two years the superintendent of schools was recommending its extension to three years to include adequate preparation of the subjects in which a teacher must now be trained. Still greater demands were made on the students when in 1902 the entrance requirements were greatly increased in order to lessen the number of applications. This policy was made necessary by the fact that lack of funds had forced the board of education to reduce expenses, cut down the list of teachers, and decrease salaries. As was foreseen, too soon the long list of unemployed teachers would result in smaller entering classes, the absence from these classes of the more bright and energetic students, and there would be a deficiency both in numbers and standard of excellence of the graduates. This was the dilemma which caused the added requirements both for entrance and graduation.

BUILDING FOR NORMAL SCHOOL

In 1903 work was begun on a new normal school building on the grounds of the former school, to take the place of the outworn and outgrown building which had been erected in Englewood by the county in 1868, a year after the Normal school was established, with D. S. Wentworth as principal. After the work was begun, an injunction suit was brought against the board of education to restrain them from erecting this new Normal school building. The complainants, certain citizens and tax payers of Chicago, maintained that the school tax fund, already inadequate to make proper provision for the seating and teaching of all eligible pupils of Chicago, should not be used for erecting a new Normal school building. The complainants maintained "that the legislature has not, either expressly or by necessary implication, given any power to the Board of Education in cities having a population exceeding 100,000 inhabitants to conduct Normal schools or to erect buildings for such schools, or to apply the school fund or any part thereof in paying the costs of conducting such schools or erecting such buildings." Furthermore it was complained that "the erection of said costly new building is or will be a wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable waste of the property of said public schools and of said public school fund of the said City of Chicago."

The suit was one of great public interest. It was finally decided that the board of education has the right to conduct a Normal school to train teachers for its public schools. The new Normal school building was completed, and opened in 1905.

By courtesy of the Board of Education

KINDERGARTEN—NORMAL PRACTICE SCHOOL

MRS. ELLA FLAGG YOUNG BECOMES PRINCIPAL OF NORMAL SCHOOL

In the summer of 1905 Dr. Tompkins died, and Mrs. Ella Flagg Young was elected to succeed him as principal of the Normal school. For many years Mrs. Young had been a part of the Chicago public school system, and well understood the questions involved in a school whose purpose was the preparation of those who must maintain the high grade of that system. She found the Normal school and its practice schools in excellent condition, and in need of continued strong and progressive surveillance, which she was fully able to undertake.

Among the important problems to be solved was the question of maintaining the balance between the demand of teachers for the Chicago schools and the supply of such teachers. Mrs. Young's simple and logical suggestions concerning the problem, as found in her report for 1905, written when she was principal, shows the forthright method that characterizes her coping with difficulties. She wrote, "the Normal school is a professional school established for the purpose of preparing for the City of Chicago well-trained teachers who, experience has shown, cannot be secured in sufficient numbers unless there be a city training school; the school is not established for the purpose of furnishing specially trained teachers to the State of Illinois or other states; to prepare more teachers than the city needs is to dissipate the appropriation for schools by diverting it from its legitimate purpose and aim; at least 99 per cent of the young men and young women entering the Chicago Normal school are residents of the city and desire to continue as such. If the school were given to overproduction of graduates, many of the most enterprising among these young people would, in preference to taking up their residence as teachers in villages and towns outside, enter other professions or lines of industry in the city—a condition that would lower the percentage of energetic and capable among the students admitted. . . . The solution of the problem of supply and demand lies, I believe, in an advance of the standard for admission of experienced teachers applying for the certificate to teach in Chicago, and also of applicants for admission to the normal school."

NORMAL EXTENSION WORK

An important branch of the normal work done by the Chicago teachers is that studying which is undertaken as so-called normal extension work. Classes were begun in 1902, when the board of education offered to furnish to teachers opportunities of carrying on regular academic and professional work under the direction of instructors, and at times and places convenient for the teachers. A short summer session of the Chicago Normal school was provided, to be free to teachers of the Chicago schools. Many teachers have taken up this work, most of them for self-improvement, and a few for the purpose of preparing themselves for the promotional examinations given, (though there is no formal connection between the extension work and promotional examinations.) Attendance at the classes is entirely voluntary; the work is designed especially to reinspire the old teachers with interest and enthusiasm for their work, and to equip them with the most modern ideas in methods of teaching. The results have been unexpectedly gratifying, and it has even been said by certain principals that the whole spirit of their schools has been changed by the work of the Normal extension classes. It is gen-

erally believed that ordinarily teachers reach the maximum of efficiency within five years after they begin to teach. To prevent deterioration, therefore, there must be persistent study in some academic or professional line of work, and to strengthen the inclination toward such advanced work, the normal extension classes are offered by the school management; the results have been found to justify fully the effort and money expended. As the work developed, it was thought just to the teachers to keep a record of the work done by them in systematic study classes. The extension work was organized with a director, and became a regular part of the Normal school.

ADMISSION TO NORMAL SCHOOL

Any resident of the city who is a graduate of the Chicago high schools or a school of equal grade, may enter the Chicago Normal school on passing the entrance examination, which includes also a physical examination. The physical examination is given to prevent the entrance into the school system of persons physically unfit for doing good service as teachers, because of defects of sight or hearing, or on account of deformities, or having contracted some progressive destructive disease. When the course at the Normal school has been completed and the physical examination has been passed, the graduate is given a certificate to teach in the elementary schools, and is assigned as a cadet. For those who wish to prepare as special teachers of the blind, the sub-normal, or of such special subjects as domestic science, for instance, there are extra courses which can be taken at the Normal school.

Cadet service is made up of two kinds of work: practice teaching, the teaching of classes under the direction of the principal or room teacher; and substituting in place of teachers absent on account of sickness or for other reasons. After four months of teaching the cadet is placed on the list of those eligible for appointment, arranged in the order of merit, according to a mark depending one-half on the scholarship average at the time of graduation from the Normal school, and one-half on the record made while serving as a cadet. The list of eligible teachers is being constantly revised in order to take due account of new applicants and the latest efficiency records obtained by former teachers seeking reappointment.

THE "WAR ON FADS"

Those who were reading the Chicago papers in 1893 will remember the feeling and discussion that were aroused over the "fads," as many called them, which were among the subjects taught in the schools. A motion was made in a meeting of the board to abolish clay modeling. Certain members were kindled by this suggestive proposal, and other motions were made to abolish one and another "fad" until, in the fervor of iconoclasm, even drawing, music, physical culture and German were threatened. The public became more interested and expressive on this subject than ever before on any school question. Petitions were signed, resolutions were adopted by societies, letters were written to the newspapers, and there were even public meetings for its discussion. The final settlement was a compromise, and the courses of study were consequently rearranged. The course adopted conforms in many respects to that one mapped out by Superintendent Wells in 1861. Mr. Wells' educational theories were far in advance of his time, a fact

By courtesy of the Board of Education

SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND—FELSENTHAL SCHOOL

which is evident in comparing the graded course which he arranged with the modern course of study as it stands. One of the good results of the "war on fads" was that it aroused the public interest in school matters, and caused them to make known their opinions.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION FOR THE BLIND

In the 1897 report appears the brief statement: "The need of a suitable institution to instruct the blind children of Chicago, without sending them to the State Institution for the Blind at Jacksonville, has been presented to the Common Council, which set apart $50,000 out of the school tax to be used in purchasing a site and erecting a building. This school should also be sustained and managed by the State." The appropriation was made in 1893, but no plan was considered other than building within the city a school with dormitory adjoining. This was decided to be unwise, because in such a school, blind children are educated as members of a distinct class, apart from the ordinary conditions of community life, and they find it difficult to adjust themselves to these conditions on leaving the school. The plan was finally approved of treating the blind children as the deaf children at the city schools are treated—giving them the opportunities to mingle as much as possible with normal children, through their being taught at centers established in the regular schools. The work was begun in 1900. A supervisor and four teachers were employed and three centers in as many schools were opened. The first year there was a total enrollment of twenty-three children, at a per capita cost to the city of $166.95; in 1910 the total enrollment was forty-four, and the number of teachers employed was four.

The contact of the blind children with seeing children in classroom work has proved of great value and, in general, after the second grade the blind pupils have taken an active part in the work of the school. In the elementary grades these pupils have a special teacher, but in the high school they work in the regular classes, with occasional individual help from the regular and special teachers. Yet even in the elementary grades the blind children are on the first day enrolled and seated in one of the regular school rooms, although they may be obliged at first to spend much time in the room of the special teacher. The duties of the special teacher are many and varied. She must correct the habits of inattention, lack of concentration, and timidity that she finds in many of the pupils who come to her. She must teach them to read and write the Braille system. She must assist them in the preparation of different lessons for recitation in the regular class room, and must see that all written work and examinations given by regular teachers are reproduced in ink and returned to the room teacher for correction.

The power to use the hands skillfully is one of the chief needs of the pupils, and is given by systematic work in construction in the grades of each center, the principal materials used being raffia and beads. In the upper grades the boys have been given the manual training course of the elementary schools, and the girls sewing, knitting, crocheting and embroidery. Instruction in reading and writing of the Braille system is begun at once and continued until the pupil is old enough to use the ordinary typewriter. In the regular class room the blind pupil reads his Braille reader with sufficient speed to follow the children using the ordinary copy, and to take his turn in reading aloud. In his work he is marked

according to the same standard as are the other children. There is now a supervisor of schools for the blind.

The apparatus of the printing department, consisting of a stereotyping machine, a printing press and a map machine, is in one of the schools. It is the purpose of the printing department to keep the pupils supplied with Braille copies of the books used by the seeing children. The entire work of stereotyping the plates and of printing and binding the books used by the blind pupils is done here.

SUB-NORMAL PUPILS

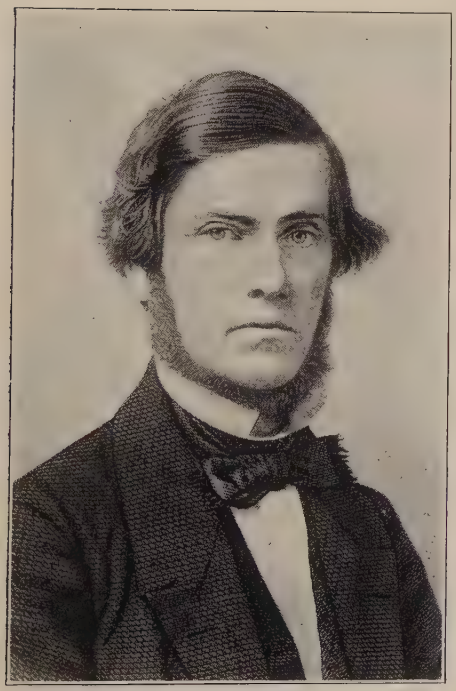
There is now in the school system of Chicago a department for instructing the children who are too far below the average in intelligence to take part with profit in the work of their classes. Before there was provision for them in the schools, or a compulsory education law, there were several hundred school children in the city who were in no school, and were receiving no training or instruction. In several instances parents had had applications on file at the State Asylum for Feeble Minded at Lincoln, Illinois, but could not secure admission for their children because there was no room for them there. Recommendations were made to the board of education from time to time to make provision for the proper instruction of sub-normal pupils, and in 1905 Superintendent Cooley wrote in his report: "It seems only just that, as the state levies taxes to provide for the special education of various classes of defective children, and Chicago pays about 75 per cent of all such taxes, the state ought to establish and maintain, in Chicago, schools or homes for the training and instruction of the deaf, blind, feeble minded, and the helpless cripples. This would enable the Board of Education to give all its energies and resources to the education and proper training of the great multitude of normal children." For fifteen years before this was written, there were in the school ungraded rooms to which the so-called feeble minded children were sent, not always with good reason. Recently, with the help of the Child Study department, established in 1899, the sub-normal pupils have been classified, placed in their proper grades in the rooms assigned such classes as centers, and specially trained teachers placed in charge of them. In the latest report issued by the board of education recommendations are made by the district superintendent supervising the department that will work further improvements in the training of this class of pupils, many of whom, it is felt, have already been saved from a life of uselessness and even crime by the attention given them in special classes.

ALBERT G. LANE

Albert G. Lane was superintendent of Chicago public schools from December, 1891, to July, 1898. He had spent his life in teaching in Chicago schools, first as principal for ten years of the old Franklin school; then, from 1868 to 1891, as superintendent of Cook County schools, with the exception of four years in which he engaged in banking; from 1891 to 1898 as city superintendent, and from the latter year until his death in 1906 as district superintendent. He was active and influential in the affairs of the State Teachers' Association, of which he was at one time president, and contributed greatly to the success of the National Education Association as a member for many years of its executive committee. He had an

MRS. ELLA FLAGG YOUNG

Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools
from 1909 to the present time



Original owned by Chicago Historical Society

WILLIAM H. WELLS

Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools
from 1856 to 1864

Photograph by Sykes

ALBERT G. LANE

Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools
from 1891 to 1898

intimate knowledge of the school affairs of city, county and state, and this, added to his sound judgment, his wide acquaintance and his unselfish devotion to the schools, made him almost indispensable as a counselor to his successors in the city office. This service was freely rendered and fully acknowledged. He was a man of high honor and courage and enjoyed the genuine and wide respect of his fellow citizens as well as the confidence of the teachers among whom he worked.

RECENT SUPERINTENDENTS

Following Mr. Lane as superintendent of schools was Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, formerly president of Brown university, who occupied the position for two years. Dr. Andrews was succeeded by Mr. Edward G. Cooley, who for nine years was superintendent, and in 1909 resigned to become president of the publishing firm of D. C. Heath and Company. Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the present superintendent of schools, was elected in Mr. Cooley's place, the first woman to hold the position. Under her active and progressive leadership original and radical improvements are being brought about in the public school system of the city.

CHAPTER XVI

MEN OF THE THIRTIES—JOHN WENTWORTH, AND OTHERS

SOME OLD DIRECTORIES—DIRECTORY OF 1839—INTERESTING NAMES—GLIMPSES OF PIONEER RESIDENTS—DIRECTORY OF 1843—JOHN WENTWORTH—ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO—WENTWORTH'S CIVIC CAREER—BECOMES PROPRIETOR OF THE "DEMOCRAT"—ELECTED MEMBER OF CONGRESS—MAYOR OF CHICAGO—ENTERTAINS PRINCE OF WALES IN 1860—WENTWORTH INVESTS IN LAND AT SUMMIT—HUMOROUS EPISODES IN HIS CAREER—RINGING WAR TIME PROCLAMATION—REPLY TO VALLANDIGHAM—WENTWORTH A GREAT FIGURE IN THE HISTORY OF CHICAGO—CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES—WILLIAM B. OGDEN—ELECTED FIRST MAYOR OF CHICAGO—BECOMES A RAILWAY MAGNATE—DIARY OF WALTER BROWN IN 1844—IMPRESSIONS OF A TRAVELER FROM MAINE—CONDITIONS IN CHICAGO—LUTHER NICHOLS.

SOME OLD DIRECTORIES

A STUDY of old directories brings to light many curious references to persons and conditions connected with the history of the years they stand for. An examination of the entire series of Chicago directories would be an appalling task, though it would be a fruitful field for the researches of a specialist. We may, however, glance at a few of the more important ones. The first directory of Chicago having any pretensions to completeness was prepared by James W. Norris, an attorney, in 1843, and was published by William Ellis and Robert Fergus. This directory will be noticed later in the course of this chapter.

There is, however, a directory of Chicago for the year 1839, which, rather oddly, was not published until 1876, at this latter date appearing as Publication Number 2, of the Fergus Historical Series. In the introduction to this valuable publication, Robert Fergus says that in the year 1839 the Chicago Common Council ordered the "Laws and Ordinances" of the city to be printed in pamphlet form. At the end of the pamphlet was a six-page supplement containing a list of the names of business men, set up by the printer as the names occurred to him, without written "copy" to guide him, and without any previous canvassing whatever. Naturally by such a method many names were omitted. There were no numbers in use at that time except on Lake street.

FERGUS' DIRECTORY OF 1839

Chicago was incorporated as a city on March 4, 1837, when its population was 4170, and at the time the "Laws and Ordinances" was published the city was

still in its infancy. The publication, with its six pages of names at the end, was the first attempt made to print a directory. In 1876, Robert Fergus, taking the list comprised in the six pages referred to as a basis, and with the assistance of many of the old residents, compiled a "Chicago Directory of 1839." Many of the names appear without given names, and all of them are included in thirty-one pages having an average of fifty names on a page, a total of about fifteen hundred and fifty names. The compiling of this directory may be considered a rather remarkable feat, when it is remembered that thirty-six years had elapsed, and that the names were largely recovered from the memory of those surviving that period.

INTERESTING NAMES RECALLED

A few names may here be mentioned. There is the name of Isaac N. Arnold, "attorney and counsellor-at-law," with the address given as "Clark street." Arnold was a member of Congress in later years, a friend of Lincoln, and the writer of a "Life of Lincoln." Another lawyer, Joseph N. Balestier, then a young man twenty-five years of age, is mentioned with the address, "24 Clark street." Balestier was a Vermonter who resided in Chicago a few years only and returned to his native state. He is remembered chiefly as being the first of our historians, having delivered a lecture before the Chicago Lyceum in 1840, the title of which was the "Annals of Chicago," though the city was yet scarcely more than three years of age. This lecture was published as Number One, of the Fergus Historical Series.

There are four Beaubiens mentioned, Charles H., John B., who held the rank of general in the state militia, Mark, and Medard, often called Medore. Other French and Indians in the population whose names appear are the three members of the La Framboise family (sometimes appearing as one word, Laframboise), Claude, Eugene, and Joseph. The two latter are given as "Indian Chief." Billy Caldwell, well known as a chief among the Pottawattomies, is mentioned, and his residence is given as on the North Branch of the Chicago River.

There are still a few survivors of those days among us at the present time who no doubt are familiar with the names in this directory, but even the residents of Chicago who can date their arrival within two or three decades will recognize many of them and the places filled by them in the affairs of the city and nation. For example, here is the name of Henry W. Blodgett, "clerk for P. F. W. Peck," who was afterwards United States Circuit judge; the names of the old time Bradleys,—Asa F. Bradley, city surveyor; Cyrus P. Bradley, clerk for Norton & Co.; David Bradley, plow maker; David M. Bradley, foreman of the Chicago *Democrat;* and Timothy M. Bradley, clerk for Norton & Co. The name of Justin Butterfield, "attorney," appears. Butterfield secured an appointment as United States Land Commissioner, an office which Lincoln, in 1849 made a trip to Washington to obtain for himself, though he failed in the endeavor.

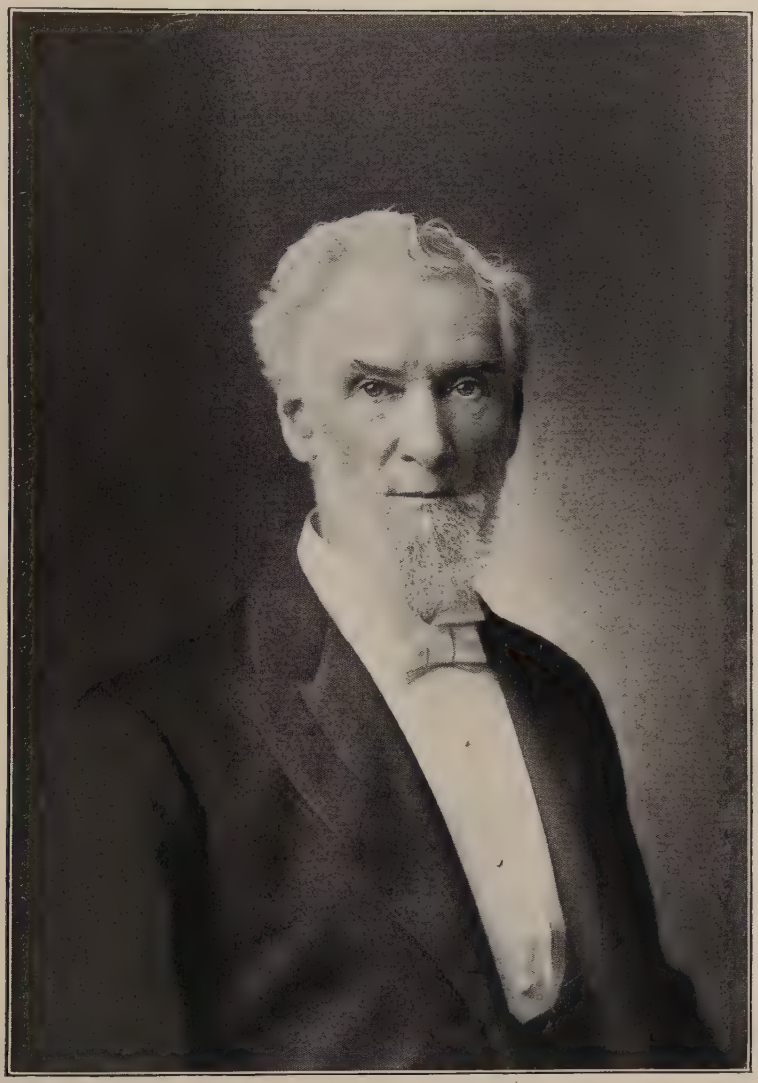
John Calhoun, who started the *Democrat* in 1833, and sold it to John Wentworth a few years later, is mentioned as "county collector." Other names are: Philo Carpenter, druggist on South Water street; Stephen F. Gale, bookseller at 159 Lake street; Shubael D. Childs, engraver; Charles Cleaver, soap and candles; Archibald Clybourn, farmer and cattle dealer; Silas B. Cobb, saddle and harness

maker; George C. Cook, afterwards wholesale grocer, clerk for Thomas Church; and Walter L. Newberry, who afterwards endowed the Newberry Library.

We find here the names of all the mayors of the city, past, present and future, down to the war period. There are the names of William B. Ogden, mayor in 1837 (the first mayor after the incorporation of the city); Buckner S. Morris, 1838; Benjamin W. Raymond, 1839 and 1842, dry goods merchant at 122 Lake street; Alexander Loyd, 1840, builder; Francis C. Sherman, 1841, 1862 and 1863; Augustus Garrett, 1843 and 1845; Alson S. Sherman, 1844; John P. Chapin, 1846; James Curtiss, 1847 and 1850; James H. Woodworth, 1848 and 1849, dry goods merchant at 103 Lake street; Walter S. Gurnee, 1851 and 1852, saddlery hardware at 106 Lake street; Charles M. Gray, 1853; Isaac L. Milliken, 1854; Dr. Levi D. Boone, 1855; Thomas Dyer, 1856; John Wentworth, 1857 and 1860; John C. Haines, 1858 and 1859; and Julian S. Rumsey, 1861. No mayors, holding office at a later date than 1863, when Francis C. Sherman was mayor for the third time, appear in this directory.

Some of the young lawyers, other than those already mentioned, were: John D. Caton, afterwards a judge on the State Supreme bench; Hugh T. Dickey, afterwards judge of the county court; Norman B. Judd, afterwards a friend of Lincoln's, and minister to Prussia; Grant Goodrich, prominent in Chicago affairs for fifty-five years; S. Lisle Smith, who died in 1854 at the early age of thirty-seven, having already established a reputation as "one of the most brilliant campaign orators in the West;" Theophilus W. Smith, then a judge of the State Supreme court; Mark Skinner, later United States District Attorney under President Tyler, and, in 1851, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Cook County; J. Young Scammon, whose name is met with constantly in the city's annals throughout the fifty-five years of his life in Chicago; George Manierre, afterwards judge; Thomas Hoyne, one of Chicago's most public spirited citizens; Richard J. Hamilton, whom Bross said was "the oldest permanent resident" of Chicago; Mahlon D. Ogden, brother of William B. Ogden, the first mayor; Alexander N. Fullerton, who later drifted away from the practice of the law into commercial life and made a fortune in the lumber business; Ebenezer Peck, afterwards one of the founders of the Republican party and a friend of Lincoln; James H. Collins, who in later years was a stanch abolitionist; and Henry Brown, who in 1844 published a history of Illinois.

In a more miscellaneous group may be mentioned the names of John Frink, of the firm of Frink & Walker, operating several lines of stages; Russell E. Heacock, known as "Shallow-cut Heacock," because he advocated a shallower depth for the canal than that proposed by the engineers; Frederick A. Howe, justice of the peace, whose son of the same name died early in 1911, after a residence in Chicago of nearly seventy-seven years; Fernando Jones, who came to Chicago in 1835, and has resided here continuously since that time and is now hale and hearty at the age of ninety-one; Captain David W. Hunter, son-in-law of John Kinzie, a graduate of West Point Military Academy, a partner with his brother-in-law John H. Kinzie in the forwarding business, who in later years became a Major General during the Civil War; Colonel James M. Strode, register of the United States Land office, known to fame as the commander of a force which suffered defeat at Stillman's Run in the Black Hawk war; the three Kinzies then residing



FREDERICK A. HOWE

Arrived in Chicago June 7, 1834, and has resided here continuously since that time. He is seventy-nine years old.

in Chicago,—James, John H., and Robert A., the first a half brother of the latter two, and all sons of the original pioneer of Chicago, John Kinzie, who had then been dead eleven years. The wife of John H. Kinzie was the author of the book entitled "Wau-Bun," well known to all students of the early history of Chicago. Both John H. and Robert A. Kinzie were paymasters in the army during the Civil War, and both held the rank of major.

Other names of historical interest may be added. Some of these are as follows: Gholson Kercheval, real estate man; John S. C. Hogan, who had been postmaster from 1832 to 1837; Amos Grannis, builder of many fine structures in later years; Elijah M. Haines, who became prominent in state politics and was twice elected speaker of the Illinois General Assembly; George F. Foster, ship chandler; six persons bearing the name of Hugunin,—Daniel, Hiram, James R., John C., Leonard C., and Robert; Charles N. Holden, grocer; Tuthill King, clothier, at 115 Lake street; Michael Lantry, in the teaming business, who later became the stepfather of Colonel James A. Mulligan; Ira Miltimore, afterwards the leader in the movement to build the first schoolhouse in 1844; Peter Page, builder; Philip F. W. Peck, real estate dealer; John, Maurice and Redmond Prindiville; James H. Rees, surveyor; Sidney Abell, postmaster; and the following names of those who afterwards became postmasters;—William Stuart, editor of the Chicago *Daily American;* Hart L. Stewart, canal contractor; Richard L. Wilson, canal contractor; George W. Dole, city treasurer; Isaac Cook; and Francis T. Sherman.

The names thus chosen may be considered fairly representative, though many readers with the directory before them would doubtless have made a different selection. Summarizing a city directory in this manner is no easy task, especially when one's attention is constantly arrested by names which bring to mind numerous events in the history of the city or of the persons mentioned, and one has difficulty in making a choice among so many.

Looking at this directory in the light of subsequent events it seems like an index to the history of the city and its builders. Within its thirty-one pages are the names of many who bore leading parts in the development and renown of the city of destiny. Men who afterwards filled honorable stations in the city, state and nation, who served their country in the field of war and diplomacy, or who built up large fortunes which contributed to the material prosperity of the community and to the endowment of great institutions ministering to the public welfare, are found in this modest compilation. Their names are perpetuated in the names of streets, buildings, institutions and parks, and in the memory and respect of the people of later times.

Comparing this old directory of 1839 with that issued for the year 1910 we note a marvelous contrast. The Chicago directory for 1910 comprises a volume of 1752 pages, of which 1454 pages are taken up with the names of residents of the city, the number of names printed, it is stated, reaching a total of 803,108. The names given in the old directory would scarcely fill three pages of this colossal work. Such is the difference between the two periods separated by a space of seventy-one years, showing the wonderful progress made in the intervening time.

THE CHICAGO DIRECTORY OF 1843

Robert T. Fergus in 1896,—he was then eighty-one years of age—compiled a directory of Chicago for 1843, much in the same manner as that in which he compiled the directory of 1839 twenty years before. Mr. Fergus took as the basis for the compilation a directory of Chicago for 1843; that is, the canvas had been made for it in 1843, but the directory itself was not published until 1844. This directory he extended, corrected, and generally revised, afterwards issuing it as Publication Number 28 of the Fergus Historical series. This reprinted directory contains seventy-one pages of names, averaging thirty-three names to a page, a total of about 2340 names. In passing it may be interesting to state that the population of the city in the year 1843 was 7580.

A valuable feature of this reprint is that Mr. Fergus, from his abundant knowledge and vivid recollection, has added many details to the names given in the original, involving bits of subsequent history of great interest. Many names given in the directory of 1839 are of course found here also; but among those who appear here for the first time a few may be mentioned.

We find in the directory of 1843 the names of William Blair, hardware dealer, at number 111 South Water street; James V. Z. Blaney, Professor of Chemistry at Rush Medical College; Isaac H. Burch, banker; Zebina Eastman, editor of the *Western Citizen;* Charles B. Farwell, clerk for J. B. F. Russell, land agent (Mr. Farwell arrived early in January, 1844, but in sufficient time, it appears, to have his name included in the directory of 1843); Joseph K. C. Forrest, law student with Scammon & Judd; Thomas L. Forrest, clerk for Norton & Co.; Samuel Hoard, clerk of the Circuit court; Charles C. P. Holden, clerk; Allan Pinkerton, cooper; Joseph T. Ryerson, dealer in iron and nails, number 74 Lake street; Robert W. Patterson, Presbyterian clergyman; Orrington Lunt, commission merchant; Amos G. Throop, lumber merchant; Murray F. Tuley, law student; Charles G. Wicker, who sold dry-goods and groceries, number 94 Lake street; and Alden G. Wilder, teacher in the public schools.

THE DIRECTORY OF 1857

Taking up the Chicago directory for 1857, published by John Gager & Co., one sees a great increase in size as compared with the ones previously noticed. Chicago had now attained a population of about 85,000, though the directory publishers speak of the city as containing 100,000 souls. The United States census for 1860, three years later, gave the city a population of 109,206. A rough computation shows that there are about 29,000 names in this directory. An unusual feature was the addition, after the name and address, of the previous residence of the person whose name appears, and the length of his residence in Chicago. This was not done, indeed, in every case, as it was no doubt impossible to procure the information, but a majority of the names appear with this addition in abbreviated form. Several names taken at random will illustrate this odd manner of printing a directory.

Amberg, Adam, grocer, 91 S. Jefferson, Ger. 15 y; (meaning that he was a native of Germany and had been a resident of Chicago 15 years.)

Anderson, Charles, tailor, 87 N. Dearborn st., Swe. 3 y.

Baldwin, John, bookkeeper, 261 State st., Mass. 4 y.

Jaeger, Adam, joiner, 142 Randolph st., Ger. 18 m.

Johns, James M., attorney at law, 13 La Salle st., Del. 2 m.

Miles, Michael, laborer, 111 Market st., Ire. 2 y.

Shuman, Andrew, editor *Journal*, 104 Monroe st., Pa. 6 m.

The great number of foreigners is especially noticeable, the Germans prepondering, with the Irish a close second. All of the eastern states apparently are mentioned as among the former residences of persons whose names are given; but among the foreign countries one sees the names of Germany, Ireland, Scotland and England quite frequently, and occasionally Sweden, Norway and Switzerland, and doubtless many other countries if one were to search deeper. This directory would be a fertile field for an investigator whose object might be to ascertain the nativity of the inhabitants at that particular time, for here is given in perhaps nine cases out of ten this most valuable information, though it must have added greatly to the labor of the compiler.

In the preface to the directory the publishers have referred to the painstaking care required and the difficulties encountered in preparing it. "Many demand absolute perfection in a work of this character," says the writer of the preface, "let such reflect for a moment on the delicacy of the task and its enormous extent in first collecting in a mass the name of each householder, and every male resident of age within the limits of a city like this; then arranging them in alphabetical order." Those who are to use the directory are warned first to make sure of the "exact orthography of the name he is seeking," and to remember that if a man's name is Browne he should not expect to find it among those who spell their names Brown.

"One source of annoyance leading to endless confusion," says the writer, "is the want of numbers throughout the city, there being but two or three streets where a continued numbering is preserved." Another annoyance complained of was the lack of sign boards showing the names of the streets, a lack which after more than half a century is still severely felt. Referring to that part of the information given which states the native country and duration of residence in Chicago of the greater part of those whose names are in the directory, the writer says that "it is sufficiently accurate to form a correct estimate of the nativity of our population, as well as to show to the world the enigma, almost, of a city of 100,000 souls, scarcely ten in a thousand of which resided here ten years since."

SOME OF THE NAMES IN THE DIRECTORY

A few names from the directory are given below as examples, each of which, doubtless, will have a special interest for some reader. The spelling is preserved as it is found in the columns of the directory.

Blanchard, Rufus, book and map agent, 52 La Salle st., 2 y.

Blatchford, E. W. (of Collins & B.) Lead pipe and sheet lead, cor. Clinton & Fulton sts.

Davis, Dr. N. S., 53 Randolph st., h. 43 Michigann av., N. Y. 7 y.

Douglas, Stephen A., Ex-judge, Cottage Grove, Vt. (i.e., lives at Cottage Grove in Chicago but came from Vermont.)

Ellsworth, E. E., Patent agent, 66 Randolph st., N. Y. 1 y.

Evans, John, (Evans & Nutt, physicians), Evanstown.
Fergus, Robert, Printer, 189 Lake st., h. 177 State st., Scot. 17 y.
Field, Marshall, clerk, 205 S. Water st., Mass. 6 m.
Gage, L. J., clerk, boards 118 W. Jackson st.
Goodwillie, David, Planing mill, h. Green Bay Road near Cemetery, 7 y.
Harrison, Carter H., (Harrison & Walker, attornies), 55 Clark st.
Kerfoot, S. H., (Real Estate), Pine Grove near Lake View House, Penn. 8 y.
Reed, J. H., (J. H. Reed & Co., druggists), 144-146 Lake st., Tremont House.
Upton, George P., Commercial Editor *Journal*, 45 Randolph st., Mass. 1½ y.
Wright, John S., h. 34 Washington st., Mass 23 y.

JOHN WENTWORTH

John Wentworth was a native of New Hampshire, where he was born March 5, 1815. He was descended on both his paternal and maternal sides from the earliest settlers of New England. His grandfather, John Wentworth, Jr., was a member of the Continental Congress and was one of the signers of the Articles of Confederation in 1778, under which the government was carried on until the adoption of the Constitution, nine years later.

In his boyhood and youth, John Wentworth attended the schools and academies in the neighborhood of his native place, and at the age of seventeen entered Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1836. During the winter seasons, while attending college, he taught school in neighboring towns, thus paying his own way. He also took an interest in local politics, acting with the Democratic party, and on one occasion was a delegate to the county convention, where, young as he was, he was made chairman of the committee on resolutions. His reports and the remarks called forth in the transaction of business received high praise and approval from the other delegates and the newspaper press.

In October, 1836, when twenty-one years of age, John Wentworth bade farewell to his old home, and, with one hundred dollars in his pocket, started for the West with but a vague idea as to his destination. He was of gigantic stature, measuring six feet and six inches in height, and throughout his life was for this reason known as "Long John." He was broad-shouldered and erect, endowed with good sense and with a keen and caustic humor, and in after years became a ready and forceful speaker and writer. On his departure he carried with him letters of introduction to prominent men in Illinois and Wisconsin, one from Isaac Hill, the governor of New Hampshire, and one from a member of Congress of the same state.

JOURNEY TO THE WEST

Wentworth traveled by coach as far as Schenectady, New York, from there to Utica by cars, and from Utica to Tonawanda, near Buffalo, by the Erie Canal. From Buffalo he went by steamer to Detroit, arriving there on the 13th of October, ten days from the time of starting on his journey. At Detroit he attempted to procure employment as a school teacher, and visited neighboring towns on foot for that purpose, meeting, however, with no success. Sending his trunk to Chicago by a lake vessel he took a stage as far as Michigan City, and traveled the

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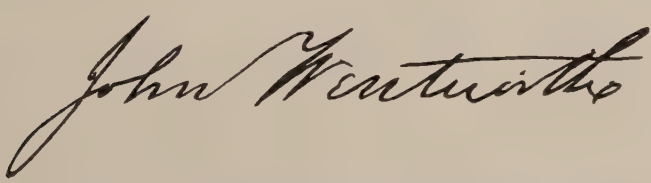


Came to Chicago in 1836; became member of congress in 1843, serving six terms, and was mayor of the city in 1857 and 1860.

rest of the way to Chicago on foot. Here he arrived on the 25th of October, 1836, and went to the United States hotel, which was the name then borne by the old Sauganash.

ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO

John Wentworth's intention, after his arrival at Chicago, was to pursue the study of law, and he made the necessary arrangements having that end in view with Henry Moore, a leading lawyer of Chicago. But within a month after his arrival he was invited to take editorial charge of the Chicago *Democrat*, a weekly paper which had been established four years before by John Calhoun. A short time after he had entered upon his editorial duties the proprietor offered to sell the entire establishment to him, and Wentworth bought it for twenty-eight hundred dollars, and within three years he owned the newspaper free from indebtedness. "He had earned it," says Andreas, "by incessant labor and indefatigable application, rigid economy and unremitting attention to business, such attention as his magnificent physique and the stern, persistent daily labor of his early New England home fitted him to endure." He thus found himself at the age of twenty-one in an influential position, at a time when the town of Chicago was on the eve of its incorporation as a city. The responsibilities thus thrust upon him at so early an age he met with ability and general popular acceptance, and laid deep and sure the foundations of his subsequent successful career.

WENTWORTH'S CIVIC CAREER

Young Wentworth was now fairly embarked on a career which identified him throughout a long life with the history and growth of Chicago. His progress was regular and consistent; he was continually entering upon new responsibilities and discharging them with credit to himself, and with satisfactory results. He became not only a prominent figure in our city affairs, but in national affairs as well, his acquaintance and influence extending over the whole country.

National concerns have always interested the people of Chicago more than those of the state of which it is so important a part; and in Wentworth's career we find him first in close and intimate relationship with the city of his residence, and, at a later period, representing it, as well as the extensive territory included in his Congressional district, in the councils of the nation.

In February, 1840, the *Democrat* was changed from a weekly to a daily paper, and so continued until July, 1861, when Wentworth sold it to other parties. In 1839 Wentworth was appointed an aide-de-camp on the staff of Governor Thomas Carlin, with the rank of colonel, and for this reason the title of Colonel was often applied to him. Owing to his change of sentiments from the old-time Democracy to Republicanism he gave the support of his paper to the Republican party on its organization. Zebina Eastman thus wrote in 1857: "In politics Colonel Wentworth has ever acted with the old-line Democratic party, but when the old parties became split up, by making the slavery extension question a test, he went, with such other Democrats as Hamlin, Wilmot, King, Trumbull, Fremont, Blair, and others, into what is known as the Republican movement. To the success

of this movement Colonel Wentworth has, by public speeches, by writing in his newspaper, and by efforts in every other way, bent all his energies."

POLITICAL PREFERMENTS

Mr. Wentworth was admitted to the Bar in 1841, and two years later he was nominated for Congress by the convention at Joliet, and was elected by a large majority. He was twenty-eight years of age when he took his seat in Congress, being the youngest member of that body. Owing to the failure of the legislature to district the state in time for the election which should have taken place in 1842, his term did not begin until 1843, so that he had but one year's service in the Twenty-eighth Congress. He was, however, renominated in 1844, and reelected for a second term. He was successively reelected in 1846 and 1848.

"Before his election to Congress," says Andreas, "there had not been any member who resided on the lake, nor had there been one north of the center of the state of Illinois, and, until the admission of Wisconsin as a state, he continued to be the sole representative who resided upon the shores of Lake Michigan. His district embraced the counties of Boone, Bureau, Cook, Champaign, De Kalb, Du Page, Grundy, Iroquois, Kane, Kendall, Lake, La Salle, Livingston, McHenry, McLean, Vermilion and Will; and it extended from the Wisconsin state line on the north to a distance of one hundred miles below the line of the termination of the Illinois and Michigan Canal on the south, and from the Indiana state line on the east to counties touching Rock River on the west."

Mr. Wentworth was a member of the Baltimore convention of 1844, which nominated James K. Polk for the presidency; also that of 1848 which nominated General Lewis Cass. He was one of the leading spirits in calling the great River and Harbor convention, which assembled at Chicago in 1847, and wrote the address which will be noticed in another place.

In 1850 he declined the nomination for Congress, but in 1852 he again became a candidate from a new congressional district made under the census of 1850, and was elected. At the end of his term he refused a renomination; but, in 1865, he again represented his district in Congress, this time as a Republican, and finally retired in 1867. He had thus served eleven years in Congress. A writer, in the *Democratic Review,* said of him:

"Colonel Wentworth's political career has been marked by untiring industry and perseverance, by independence of thought, expression and action, by a thorough knowledge of human nature, by a moral courage equal to any crisis, by a self-possession that enables him to avail himself of any chance of success when on the very threshold of defeat, and by a steady devotion to what he believes to be the wishes and interests of those whose representative he is."

In a convention of delegates from all the old political parties, which assembled at Chicago in 1857, Mr. Wentworth was nominated to the office of mayor, and was elected. During his term as mayor he introduced the first steam fire engine into the city, which was named "Long John" in his honor, and his first official act was to call a board of engineers who established the new street grade. At the end of one year his term expired, but he declined a renomination. However, in 1860 he

was again nominated and elected to the office of mayor, and served until the spring of 1861.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT

It was during his last term as mayor that the Prince of Wales, afterward King Edward VII of England, visited Chicago. This visit took place in the fall of 1860. The Prince was then nineteen years of age and was making a tour of Canada and the United States, he and his party being under the charge of the Duke of Newcastle.

The Canadian authorities were opposed to the extension of the Prince's tour into the United States, and Mayor Wentworth went to Montreal with a large body of other Americans to give assurance of his safety. As there were fears that disturbances might arise, especially in Chicago, where there were large numbers of foreigners residing, Mr. Wentworth assured the Duke that he had only to make his arrangements through the British consul at Chicago, and he, as mayor of the city, would see that they were all carried out. The Prince and his party came to Chicago and stayed at the Richmond House, then supposed to be the finest hotel in the city, situated at the northwest corner of South Water street and Michigan avenue, and met with a cordial reception by the people. Mr. Wentworth superintended all the arrangements himself, and they were so satisfactory that after the return of the Prince, the Duke of Newcastle wrote a very complimentary letter to Mr. Wentworth, stating that nowhere were the arrangements made and carried out so satisfactorily as they were at Chicago. At the same time the Duke sent him a large portrait of the Prince, and also sent him two Southdown sheep from the Queen's herd for his farm at Summit.

THE SUMMIT FARM

Mr. Wentworth became the proprietor of a large tract of land at Summit, in the township of Lyons, in Cook County, some fifteen miles from the courthouse in Chicago, now a station on the Chicago & Alton Railroad, and also on the banks of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. This place is noted as being the highest point between the watersheds of the two great systems of drainage, the waters on the west being tributary to the streams that flow into the Gulf of Mexico, and those on the east into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The tract acquired by Mr. Wentworth consisted of four thousand and seven hundred acres, upon which he erected a farmhouse and other farm buildings, and devoted it largely to stock raising. He continued to reside in Chicago, however, and died there on the 16th of October, 1888, at the age of seventy-three years and seven months.

SOME GENERAL DETAILS

In 1844 Mr. Wentworth was married to Miss Roxanna Marie Loomis of Troy, New York. They had five children, only one of whom survived to maturity, a daughter named after her mother. She was married, in 1892, to Mr. Clarence Bowen of New York. Mrs. Wentworth died in 1870.

In 1867 Mr. Wentworth received the degree of Doctor of Laws from his Alma Mater, Dartmouth College, and in 1882 and 1883 he was elected president

of the Alumni Association of that institution for each of those years. He was greatly interested in historical matters, especially in the early period of Chicago history; his lectures and writings, printed in the Fergus Historical Series, forming several important pamphlets which are indispensable to the student and investigator. He was the author of the "Wentworth Genealogy," a work in three volumes, said by critics to be "the most complete and most perfectly indexed of any of that class of work published."

ANECDOTES AND EPISODES

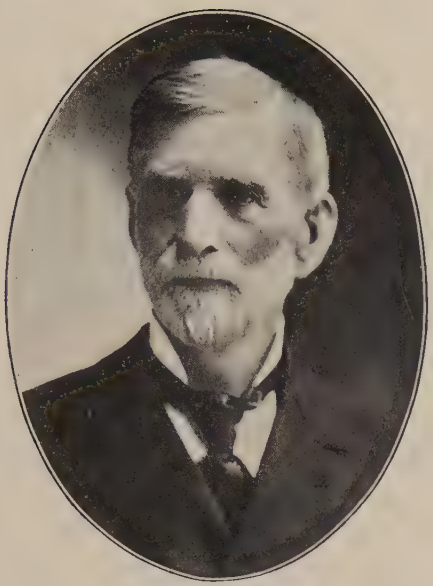
After Wentworth had received the appointment of Colonel on the staff of Governor Carlin, he printed in a carrier's address of the *Democrat,* under date of January 1, 1841, a humorous address, with an imaginary view of himself in brilliant uniform mounted on a forlorn looking horse, while his feet, armed with prodigious spurs, reached the ground on either side of the charger; upon seeing which an Irishman exclaimed, "Faith, this is the first Colonel I ever saw that could ride and walk too." The address begins:

"Fellow citizens, it is hardly necessary for me to premise that I appear before you in a novel and unexpected attitude. But tremble not! For though clothed in the habiliments of war, my governing motive is 'peace on earth, good will to men.' To be sure the steed upon which I ride snorts at times like the war-horse, and in his very tramp, imitates the thunder of the cannon. . . . But though furious in his inclination, I can assure you he is reined by the hand of discretion. Banish, then, the least ground of affright, and consider me, as ever before, your fellow-citizen and your equal whenever I shall have dismounted, and, laying aside this glittering equipage, shall have retired once more to the shades of private life." He then proceeds to relate the circumstances of his arrival some four years before. "Could you have been upon the sand-hills between here and Michigan City, on the southern shore of Lake Michigan in the fall of 1836, you would have seen me stretched out like a leather shoestring, all length and no breadth, leaning over the country at an angle of forty-five degrees, with all my clothes under one arm."

He then invites the children to behold him. "Young children, look at me, and, as you admire the trappings of power, imitate my example, and you may get to be not only Colonels but Generals."

"Ladies," he continues, "I ask you, too, to look at me. Do you see this proud war-steed, this nodding plume and glittering epaulette? Well, then laugh no more at old bachelors." And to the men he says: "One word to you, fathers, and I have done, and perhaps forever. For this very night news may arrive of the invasion of our territory, and if there is anything to be argued from the conduct of my horse, . . . I should think he already snuffed blood and carnage. I have unsheathed my sword, and it will never be sheathed again until your last enemy shall be trampled under my feet."

In this mock heroic address, Wentworth acknowledges the military title conferred upon him by the governor, representing himself in the manner of Don Quixote mounted on his charger; and at the same time forestalling the ridicule which he knew his adversaries intended to direct against him.



PAUL SELBY

ANDREW SHUMAN

ELIPHALET W. BLATCHFORD

GEORGE P. A. HEALY

The famous portrait painter who in 1855 came to Chicago to live

A RINGING WAR TIME PROCLAMATION

During the closing months of Wentworth's second term as mayor it was becoming increasingly evident to the people of the whole country that a civil conflict was impending, that the southern states were determined to assert the right of secession by force of arms. Already, in January, 1861, while Buchanan was yet president, overt acts of rebellion had occurred, military posts had been seized and arsenals plundered for the benefit of military organizations then rapidly forming throughout the southern states.

On the 5th of January, 1861, Mayor Wentworth issued a proclamation calling the attention of the people of Chicago to the condition of affairs in the South. "Whereas," began the proclamation, "rebels and traitors have taken possession of the forts and other public property of the Union, and the Constitution of the United States has been set at defiance, and men who are sworn to protect them all, not only fail to discharge their duty in this respect, but have the appearance of encouraging rebellion and treason; and whereas, an honorable exception to this charge is furnished in the conduct of Major Robert Anderson, who took the responsibility, without awaiting for orders from those who would have left him in a weak position, either from a disposition to make him an easy prey to rebels and traitors, or from a fear to do what they knew to be their sworn duty, of fortifying his position and placing himself where he could defend his own and his country's honor; and whereas, some demonstration of respect is due from the Metropolis of the Northwest to the gallant Major Anderson; and [as] it seems to be appropriate that the 8th day of January should be set apart as the day for such a testimonial," it is therefore ordered that on that day the public offices of the city shall be closed, that it is recommended that the business of the city be generally suspended, "that the people congregate in such places as may seem to them best, to adopt the necessary measures to declare their attachment to the Federal Union, and in 'support of their declaration, with a firm reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence, to mutually pledge to each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.' " [1]

This quotation from the closing words of the Declaration of Independence gave peculiar force to the proclamation. "I also recommend," continued the mayor, "that the flag of the Federal Union be everywhere displayed, and that our military companies and other organizations take such steps as they may deem due to the memory of a Jackson and the gallantry of an Anderson. At sunrise, thirty-three guns will be fired in honor of the union of these United States. At noon a salute will be fired in honor of Major Anderson, of fifty-six guns, corresponding with his age. During the firing of these guns, the bells will be rung throughout the city. At sunset, a salute will be fired in honor of the memory of General Andrew Jackson, to the number of seventy-eight guns. During this salute the bells will be tolled throughout the city, not so much in consequence of the loss of General Jackson (for all men must die), but because of the absence, in the General Government, of his patriotism and courage, which did not wait for overt acts among nullifiers and disunionists. In the evening, I recommend the meeting of our young men, at such places as may best suit them, for the purpose of forming

[1] Andreas: "History of Chicago," Vol. III, p. 839.

themselves into military companies, in order that they may be able to promptly respond to any calls that may be made upon them to aid in the defense of the Union and the Constitution." [2]

The ringing words of this document are an indication of the spirit of loyalty to the Union which flamed up to such a degree throughout the North, and the proclamation reflects honor alike upon the mayor who issued it and to the people who responded so loyally to his appeal and to many other calls made upon them in behalf of their country, during the four succeeding years of civil strife.

WENTWORTH'S REPLY TO VALLANDIGHAM

During the presidential campaign of 1864, when General McClellan was the candidate of the "Peace Democrats" against Abraham Lincoln, who was the candidate of the Republicans for a second term, Mr. Clement L. Vallandigham made a speech at Chicago in the Courthouse square in the interests of McClellan's candidacy. On the retirement of Vallandigham from the steps of the Courthouse the crowd called for "Long John," and "Wentworth," the two names being synonymous with Chicago people. Mr. Wentworth appeared upon the stand, and said, "I am pleased with the opportunity, which your call affords me, to lay my own views of public policy and public affairs before you." He then went on to say that he would not speak as a party man. "To my country and my country alone do I owe fealty and render homage. I love my country. It nurtured me in my youth, it honored me in my manhood, and now, when I have passed the meridian of life, I love to respond to any call to plead in her behalf.

"As we cast our eyes over the land, and witness the tears that everywhere prevail, and the dangers that now environ the republic, the heart of the patriot sinks with doubt and dread. War, with all its dread calamities following in its train, is convulsing the nation. The art of arms has succeeded the pursuits of peace, and nearly a million of men confront each other in battle array. Amid the horrors of war, we naturally look and long for peace.

"The fathers and mothers of Chicago, whose sons are braving the hazards of battle and the perils of disease, long for peace. The wives of Illinois, whose husbands have perished, or are perishing, in the terrible struggle, send up their daily prayers for the cessation of the strife. My own wish and hope is for peace." But, when those who had inaugurated the conflict should lay down their arms, then we might hope for peace, the peace "for which we pray, for which we fight."

He then refers to the speech "of that peculiar Democratic champion who has just addressed you from the stand. I have heard him bewail," he continued, "in feeling, touching terms the existence and continuance of this accursed war. In terms of indignation he has inveighed against the Federal administration for the part it has had to act in the bloody drama. But while he was thus deprecating war and violence, I listened in vain for one single breath of censure, for one word of reproof from his lips of those who first madly unchained the ugly demon, and let loose the storm of deadly hate. . . . But this denunciator of war, this deprecator of strife, this messenger of peace, in his speech tonight, had not a

[2] Andreas: III, 839.

word of denunciation and reproof for those who, before God and man, are guilty of its commencement."

He asks his hearers why the speaker's invectives were directed solely against the Federal government which attacked only after it was assailed, and why he had no word of censure for those who opened the strife. "If we want peace, then, let us conquer. If the South want peace, let them lay down their arms and cease war. . . . But while an arm wields a saber, while the Constitution is defied and the laws laughed to scorn, I will uphold the authority" to which we have given our solemn oath "that the Constitution should be preserved and the laws maintained."

Mr. Wentworth continued his address, as follows: "But Mr. Vallandigham told you that the government could never be held together by coercive force, that power, brought to apply upon the unruly, could never reduce them to obedience. Was there ever a greater heresy uttered by the mouth of man! No coercion! Why, gentlemen, the coercive power of government is the only safety and salvation of society. No government, no community can exist an hour without it. It was the weakness of the articles of the old Confederation that they conferred no coercive power, and the statesmen of that day saw the pressing neccessity of the new Constitution. Take, today, from the municipal and governmental organization, the power of coercion, and society goes at once into anarchy and chaos. . . . That glorious old war-horse of Democracy, General Jackson, from whose lips I inhaled the pure inspiration of Democracy, and at whose feet I received the first lessons of political and governmental duty, was gloriously free from this modern heresy. His celebrated proclamation against the nullifiers, in which coercion gleamed and glistened in every line, will give him a name and an immortality in history when the maligners and denunciators of this policy shall have been forgotten. I, therefore, stand for General Jackson, and against Mr. Vallandigham."

This address breathes the true spirit of able and efficient government everywhere, for Douglas was unquestionably right when he said: "The word government means coercion. There can be no government without coercion. Coercion is the vital principle upon which all governments rest. Withdraw the right of coercion and you dissolve your government."

JOHN WENTWORTH IN CHICAGO

Wentworth was a familiar figure in Chicago for a period of fifty years or more, conspicuous not only by reason of his extraordinary stature, which made him known to multitudes, but also because of his sterling common sense in times of stress and anxiety. A Democrat up to the time of the formation of the Republican party, he became fully identified with the latter, though often independent of either party on occasions. At the time of the Civil War he was a strong Union man and showed by his official acts and speeches the heartiest sympathy for the Union cause. His reply to Vallandigham, made as it was, without preparation and on the spur of the moment, was perhaps one of the most notable speeches he ever made.

In his later years he took a deep interest in the history of his adopted city, and his various writings and addresses form valuable contributions to the collec-

tions on that subject. In the great fire of 1871 there was destroyed a large amount of material he had gathered of a valuable historical character. He had kept a journal of all the events worthy of record which had taken place during his life, making entries therein almost every day. He had also a complete file of the Weekly and Daily *Democrat* from his first connection with that paper until it was sold to others, a period of twenty-five years. These and many other valuable papers were burned.

Mr. Wentworth made his home at the Sherman House for many years before his death in 1888. The lot in Rosehill Cemetery, where his remains are buried, is the largest in that city of the dead. The monument is a shaft of granite, and is the tallest one of its kind in Cook County, rising seventy-two feet from the surface of the ground to its summit. The monument was set up some years before Mr. Wentworth died under his own personal direction. The shaft and base, the latter eighteen feet square, were brought from New Hampshire by the lake, as they could not be transported by rail on account of their huge dimensions.

CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS

Judge Bradwell, while Wentworth was yet living, said of him: "Few men in the nation have the intellectual capacity of Mr. Wentworth. He is strong in whatever he undertakes, and does it in his own peculiar way. He has been a power in this state and nation."

There was printed in an Eastern paper the following appreciation of him: "Mr. Wentworth, all through his editorial and official life, has shown himself not only a man of decided convictions, but has proved on many notable occasions that he had, under the most adverse circumstances, the courage to follow them."

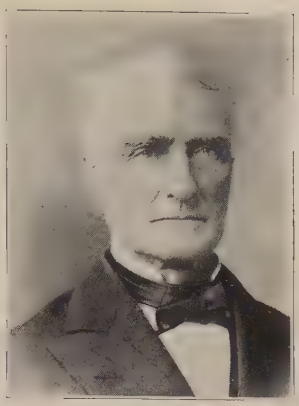
In the latter part of his life the press often contained items regarding Mr. Wentworth's great wealth, especially his large landed interests in the south part of the city and his great Summit farm. Although not in the best taste, perhaps, it was occasionally hinted that he was considering the gift of a park to the city, and that if he should not do so in his lifetime he would undoubtedly provide for such a gift in his will. As is well known, he did nothing of the kind either by direct gift or will. There was much disappointment when it was realized that no such public benefaction had been made, and the great reputation he enjoyed in his lifetime suffered in the comments of the press after his death. It should, however, be borne in mind that Wentworth's great public services entitle him to a high place in the regard of the people of Chicago, and he should be remembered for these rather than for any omissions in making generous gifts to the public which might be charged against him.

WILLIAM B. OGDEN

One of the men who came to Chicago as a result of the dealings in land that took place in 1835 was William B. Ogden. He came from Delaware county, New York, when he was thirty years old, to take charge of some property interests which were put in his hands.[3] At first the swamps and prairies seemed to him

[3] Andreas: I 618.

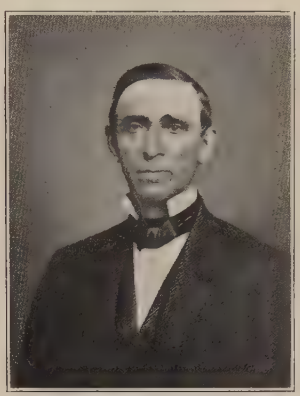
JOHN DEAN CATON



PHILO CARPENTER

THOMAS HOYNE

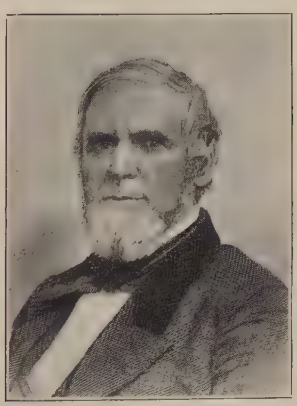
MARK SKINNER



FRANCIS C. SHERMAN

HUGH T. DICKEY

Early resident of Chicago, Judge of the county court and one of the founders of the Chicago Library Association.



W. B. OGDEN

Mr. Ogden was the first mayor of Chicago, having come to the town in 1835.

NORMAN B. JUDD

Early resident of Chicago, friend of Lincoln, by whom he was appointed minister to Prussia. Elected to congress in 1870.

desolate and of little promise, but in throwing himself into the work of surveying and selling the land he became convinced of the great commercial possibilities in the city's location and decided to remain to promote and participate in her growth. Soon after his becoming a resident here he became prominent in forwarding public enterprises, being active in a large number of movements to build up Chicago and the West. He advocated the building of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; was one of the projectors and the president of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, the first road entering the city; a builder and administrator of other roads in the West, among them the Union Pacific Railroad Company; the president of large and diverse undertakings, such as the board of sewerage commissioners of Chicago, the old University of Chicago, Rush Medical College, the Chicago branch of the State Bank of Illinois; and was interested with Mr. McCormick in the promotion of the McCormick Harvester, and in introducing it throughout the West. To all of those works he gave his support, his time and his money, and he was worthy of the respect and confidence of his townsmen.

Two years after his arrival in Chicago, upon the incorporation of the city, he was chosen the first mayor, defeating John H. Kinzie for that office. At the time of the panic of 1837, when crowds of frenzied men were crying "Repudiation —relief laws—anything to save us from our creditors!" Mr. Ogden, in a speech to the people, urged them not thus to proclaim abroad their own misfortune and dishonor, and give up by such folly what might be saved by concealing their weakness and by courage. In spite of the violent feeling that prevailed in the throng, his words were effective, and to the spirit they engendered was largely due the final recovery of credit. His eloquence on this and on other occasions was made the more convincing by his own courage and good sense.

BECOMES A RAILWAY MAGNATE

"The Railway King of the West" was a name appropriately given him, for he had promoted and administered roads in the West, South and East, and was the first president of the great Chicago and North-Western Railway. When the panic of 1857 came, Mr. Ogden, as endorser for the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad Company, was heavily involved, though in the end suffering no loss. Among the offers made by many of his friends to help him through this time of anxiety was a quaint note sent by a Scotch noblemen whom he knew: "My dear Mr. Ogden:—I hear you are in trouble. I have placed to your credit in New York £100,000. If you get through I know you will return it; if you don't, Jeanie and I will never miss it." Though these offers for help were not accepted, they indicate the friendliness and confidence which he evoked on all sides from men whom he met in business. in travel and in his social life. For not only was he able in the immense undertakings in which he was active, but he was a man of broad culture, through reading, travel, and attention to the fine arts. In his home there was a fine hospitality, his mother and his sisters assisting him in his duties of host.

Politically, Mr. Ogden was known as a Democrat; when the slavery question arose he was of the free soil party. He supported Lincoln in 1860, and was elected to the Illinois Senate on the same ticket. He supported the war to main-

tain the Union, but opposed the emancipation proclamation and the policy of the administration, thus antagonizing the Republican party.

His later years Mr. Ogden spent in New York, in his home on the Harlem River. At the time of the Great Fire he hurried back to Chicago at once, to find the city that he had helped to build in smoke and ruins. There still stood, alone on the North Side, the home of his brother, Mahlon D. Ogden.

He was married late in life, in 1875, to Miss Mariana Arnot, of Elmira, N. Y. Two years later he died at his New York home. Healy, the artist, said of him that he compared well, in his conversational ability, with the best three he had ever met: Louis Phillippe, John Quincy Adams and Dr. Bronson. Guizot, the French historian, said of him, "That is the representative American, who is a benefactor of his country, especially of the mighty West; he built Chicago." In a city where much honor has been given to Mr. Ogden, one of the finest memorials to him is the Ogden Graduate School of Science at the great university which is the successor of that earlier institution in which he was deeply interested and of which he was the second president. By the terms of his will, the executors and trustees were able to make a large gift to the University of Chicago, to provide for and maintain a graduate school of science. In this foundation will the memory of the city's first mayor and an honored citizen be perpetuated.

DIARY OF WALTER BROWN

It will be interesting to the readers of this history to peruse a portion of the diary of Mr. Walter Brown, who in 1844 passed through Chicago on a journey from Maine to the Illinois River. Walter Brown was the father of Edwin Lee Brown, who came to Chicago in 1860.

"After passing the Straits of Mackinac," wrote Mr. Brown, "we then enter Lake Michigan, which is 380 miles long; and as we pass up the Lake the first place we come to is Milwaukee in Wisconsin territory. It is a village of about eight thousand inhabitants. I think this place will one day do a great business on account of its situation upon the lake, and the valuable extent of the country back, which must in time bring a large amount of the products of the soil to be shipped to market.

"We then pass on to Little Fort (Waukegan) in the northeast corner of Illinois, a place where there is considerable business done. We then pass on to Chicago at the head of the Lake and cornering on to the northwest corner of the state of Indiana.

"Chicago has about twelve thousand inhabitants. The city extends over a large space of land and is upon a prairie. It is so level that there is no chance for draining, and the houses are generally level with the top of the ground, and there are no cellars in the city except those that are built upon the surface of the ground. The streets are generally rounded up by plowing and making ditches on each side of the street. Consequently the filth of the city such as comes from houses generally, and the stables of horses and cattle standing near the streets, causes a filthy condition which is very disagreeable, when you consider that those ditches are full of water and must dry away by the heat of the sun.

"The water was foul and completely green in those ditches the second day of

From photograph taken in 1870

MRS. ADALINE (NICHOLS) HEARTT

Oldest living resident of Chicago. Born, Fort Niagara, New York, March 21, 1831. Came to Chicago, June 15, 1832. Daughter of Luther Nichols, soldier at Fort Dearborn.

From the frontispiece of the Chicago Directory of 1845

CHICAGO IN 1845

September (1844) when I was there, although I think the place is much more healthy than anyone would suppose. It lies upon the lake and often the breeze from the lake is refreshing and keeps the air much purer than it otherwise would be. I think the people are generally indolent [meaning careless]. I did not see a single specimen of vegetables growing in the city and but few flower gardens. The lands generally around the houses are not fenced but lie open like a common. Going to the western part of the city you behold an ocean of prairie as far as the eye can extend until it is lost in the distance.

"There is a great amount of business done here. There is a vast extent of fertile country back of this place, the products of which must center at this place for a market, or be shipped from there to Buffalo. In the morning as I was walking out I saw cartload after cartload of watermelons and muskmelons that were offered for sale from six to twelve cents each, and their size was about as large as our pumpkins are generally. The best beef I ever ate was considered worth from two to two and a half cents per pound. The number of vessels in the harbor, is I should think, about fifty, besides seven large steamboats. The amount of goods sold is much larger than at our place [Bangor, Maine], and a greater portion of them are drygoods.

"We left Chicago in the morning, after stopping two days, for the Illinois River, by stage, the journey to extend one hundred and ten miles, and arrived at Peru on the fifth day of October, very much fatigued from riding one day, one night and the next day until three o'clock in the afternoon, to get over the one hundred and ten miles of the prairie all the distance, and as bad a track as you ever saw. The sloughs and mud holes were so bad that we had to get out and walk about twenty times, I should think, and then the driver would drive his horses with all possible speed so that the coach should not stick in the mud; and in going this distance we pass over a prairie that is unsettled and never will be, I think. It is low and wet and where there were human beings they looked as though they ought to be buried or taken to the insane hospital. I should think from their appearance that the children are growing up without knowing one letter from another and never knowing when the Sabbath comes. They are dirty, filthy creatures, and no ambition to be otherwise.

"While on our way from Chicago to Peru by the above route I should think we met one hundred teams laden with wheat and oats, and some of them had been upon the road ten days. The roads were so bad that a span of horses hauled only about twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat at a load; and when they arrived at Chicago if their wheat weighed sixty pounds to the bushel they could get fifty-six cents per bushel for it. Some go with ox teams and that is slower yet, but the teamsters take it fair and easy. They sit upon their carts day after day, and when night overtakes them they turn out the oxen and lie down on or under the cart, and thus pass the night. A farmer told me that it took him all day to get to mill, and then if he carried corn he had to give one-half for toll and that was the best the miller would do."

NICHOLS-HEARTT

A name that connects the period of the early thirties directly with the present is that of Adaline Nichols Heartt, who when but one year old arrived at Fort

Dearborn with her parents, on July 20, 1832. She was the daughter of Luther and Ellen Nichols, who came with General Scott's army at the time of the Black Hawk war. Luther Nichols remained in Chicago until his death in 1881, and during his life occupied positions of responsibility, having been chief of the Fire Department in 1840 and 1841, and captain of police in 1855 in Mayor Boone's administration.

Adaline Nichols in later years married Abram Heartt. She is now a widow and at this writing (April, 1911) is a resident of this city. Her name appears in the Daily News Almanac's list of old residents among those who arrived in 1832, there being no arrivals in the record who came previous to that year.

CHAPTER XVII

PROPHECIES AND REALITY—NEWBERRY LIBRARY, ETC.

PROPHECIES OF THE COMMERCIAL GREATNESS OF THE WEST—BALESTIER'S PROPHECY—JEREMIAH PORTER'S ADDRESS—A BOSTON PROPHECY OF CHICAGO'S POPULATION MADE IN 1868—POPULATION GIVEN BY DECADES SINCE 1860—JUDGE SMITH'S PROPHECY OF POPULATION—THE NEWBERRYS—OLIVER NEWBERRY—NEWBERRY & DOLE—WALTER L. NEWBERRY—A PATRON OF ART AND A LIBERAL CONTRIBUTOR TO BOOK COLLECTIONS—HIS DEATH AT SEA—HIS SPLENDID PROVISION FOR A "PUBLIC" LIBRARY—THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY—LAKE STREET IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES—OLD TIME BUSINESS FIRMS—THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT—CHOLERA VISITATIONS—MORTALITY AMONG THE TROOPS OF GENERAL SCOTT'S ARMY—VISITATION OF 1849—THE "GREAT CHOLERA YEAR" OF 1854—LAST APPEARANCE IN 1866—SKETCHES OF CHARLES B. FARWELL AND JOHN V. FARWELL—THE TEXAS CAPITOL BUILT BY THE FARWELLS—THE TEXAS PANHANDLE LANDS—SKETCH OF MARSHALL FIELD—HIS GREAT SUCCESS AS A MERCHANT—A LETTER WRITTEN BY FIELD—HIS IMMENSE ESTATE—THE PROVISION FOR THE MUSEUM—LANGUAGE OF THE BEQUEST.

PROPHECIES

THE editor of the Niles *Register,* writing in August, 1814, while the war between Great Britain and the United States was still in progress, gives expression to his views on the internal commerce of the country, especially as it affected the West, in the following forcible manner: "I have spoken of the Western country as likely to become *commercial.* There is no word in the English language that more deceives a people than the word *commerce.* Englishmen and Americans, too much alike, alas! in many things, associate with it an idea of great ships, passing to all countries—whereas the rich commerce of every country is its *internal;* a communication of one part with other parts of same. The *foreign* commerce of Great Britain with all her colonies and dependencies, and all her singular advantages, is not one-fifth as important to her as her *home business,* and, in the United States, (were we at peace) our *foreign* trade would hardly exceed a fortieth or fiftieth part of the *whole commerce* of the people."

In the same issue of the *Register* occur some rather striking comments regarding the proposed canal, which even at that early period was the subject of discussion among thoughtful men. "By the Illinois River," says the editor, "it is probable that Buffalo in New York, may be united with New Orleans by inland navigation, through Lake Erie, Huron and Michigan and down that river [sic] to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles

the importance of the artificial canals of Europe, compared with this water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may be easily made), the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

Mr. C. C. Trowbridge, writing to the secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, said: "Even as late as 1834, I declined becoming a party to the purchase of one-fourth of the 'Kinzie Addition,' Chicago, located on the North Side, at five thousand dollars. Ten years prior to that I was in Chicago, and would not have given that sum for both sides of the river as far as the eye could extend."

Keen observers, however, were frequently making the discovery that the future of Chicago was full of possibilities, and in Peck's "Gazetteer of Illinois" (published in 1837), the author comments thus: "The natural position of the place, the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here, with favorable prospects for health, must soon make this place the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country."

BALESTIER'S PROPHECY OF POPULATION

In the year 1840, Joseph N. Balestier, then a young lawyer of Chicago, made an address before the Chicago Lyceum taking as his subject the "Annals of Chicago." This address was printed and in due time became a much sought for rarity, finally being republished by the Fergus Printing Company in 1876 as Number One of the Fergus Historical Series. The year following the delivery of this lecture Mr. Balestier returned to his old home in Vermont, and when the address referred to was about to be reprinted he wrote an introduction for it. He humorously refers to his pamphlet long since out of print, and indulges in a flight of fancy regarding the future of Chicago. "If, in the year 1911," he says, "the belated traveler, who has just missed the air-boat at Sitka, shall curiously look over the volumes in the Alaska State Library—warmly bound in seal-skin—he may chance to alight upon this modest pamphlet. He will be a Chicago man, and will have left behind him, a week before, a proud and opulent city of two million inhabitants; a city built of non-inflammable materials, partly within and partly without the forty miles of boulevards which the foresight of the present has wisely and liberally provided for the use of the future. Will it be too much to ask of him to telegraph a sprightly review of these then forgotten pages to the Chicago *Tribune*, by the new process? My heirs will cheerfully pay the expense."

In the year 1859, the Rev. Jeremiah Porter made an address before the Chicago Historical Society reviewing some of the events of the early thirties. "The report had gone through the land," he said, "that, in addition to the lighthouse, a pier was to be built, making the Chicago River a harbor, and that a canal would be dug, connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; in that case, Illinois farmers would find an Eastern market, and corn would rise in price, from twelve cents and a half to half a dollar. This the farmer of interior Illinois could not credit, but Eastern capitalists and farmers guessed it might be so. DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal had made the journey through New York easy, and a tide of population had begun to flow through it to the corn-bearing prairies of Illinois.

Black Hawk was gone, and fears of Indian massacres were subsiding. Eastern emigration began at once to reach Chicago, so that a gentleman who had come from Washington to make his home here, was so bold as to wager that 'in five years there would be five thousand inhabitants in this place.' An army officer replied to this assertion, 'That cannot be, for there is no back country to sustain a city.' But the most sanguine never dreamed of what we see today, in twenty-five years, one hundred thousand. The stream then setting towards our rich prairies has made a back country that well supports the present wondrous city."

PROPHECIES OF POPULATION

The Boston *Traveller,* early in March, 1868, published an estimate of Chicago, which was reprinted in one of the Chicago papers: "When it is considered that the present population is 220,000 to 250,000, and we give only the lowest estimate, it is fair to assume that the accelerated ratio of increase indicated in its past growth will make the population of Chicago in 1870, 370,000; in 1880, 600,000; in 1890, 1,000,000. If any think this estimate too large, let him traverse the immense and rapidly growing region tributary to that city, see the railroads extending from Chicago as a center in every direction, and remember that in 1870 people expect to take through cars for San Francisco, and pour the trade of Asia over the roads of which Chicago is the great western center."

A comparison of this prophecy with subsequent statistics of population will be of interest. In 1868, the year in which the Boston *Traveller's* estimate was made, the population of Chicago, as nearly as could be ascertained, was about 252,000. The United States census figures for 1860 were 109,206. Thus in eight years there had been an increase of nearly two and one-half times. And this was the more remarkable when it is remembered that within that period a war of four years' duration, with its great drain of men to supply the armies, had taken place. In spite of that the city continued to grow at a prodigious rate, while it was steadily nearing the time when its principal portion would be laid in ashes.

In the year 1870, the government census gave the population of Chicago as 306,605, which was somewhat short of the Boston *Traveller's* estimate, but still a remarkable advance upon the figures of the previous decade. Again in 1880, the census showed a population of 503,298, which was still considerably below the *Traveller's* estimate; but in 1890, the actual census figures, namely, 1,099,850, quite surpass those of the *Traveller.* It will be a matter of general interest, while this subject is under review, to give the figures of population for each of the ten-year periods from 1860 to 1910, inclusive.

1860	109,206
1870	306,605
1880	503,298
1890	1,099,850
1900	1,698,575
1910	2,185,283

PROPHECIES OF POPULATION

At the time of the formal beginning of work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, in 1836, several speeches were made, among them one by Judge Theophilus W.

Smith, at that time one of the judges of the Illinois Supreme Court. "While neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet," said he, "yet I feel the spirit of prophecy in me this day. Fellow citizens, in ten years from this time you will see a city on the borders of Lake Michigan containing ten thousand people. Yes, fellow citizens, in twenty years you will see twenty thousand, and in fifty years, you will see a city of fifty thousand people." An Irishman present called out, "Aye, aye, Judge, now, we won't be here, so we can't see how big a lie you are telling." But that didn't stop the Judge, and he continued again, "Yes, fellow citizens, in one hundred years from this time you will see a city of one hundred thousand people!"

This proved too much for his hearers, and as Mr. Fernando Jones relates it, they "took him off the barrel he was standing on and gave him a little something to drink, and scattered water in his face." Presently some one asked him how he felt, and he said that he felt better. "Arrah," said the Irishman, "if we had not stopped you, you would have made it a million."

THE NEWBERRYS —OLIVER NEWBERRY

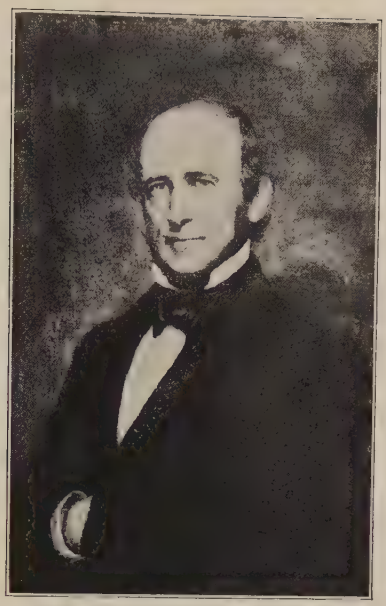
In the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, in the volume for 1902, there is mention of Oliver Newberry, who, it is stated, kept a grocery store in Buffalo in the early twenties, and carried on a trade with the "natives," that is the Indians of that neighborhood. He was "prompt and honorable in his dealings," and was said to have been quite eccentric in his habits, wearing an "Indian blanket coat in winter," and his memory was so good that he did not find it necessary to keep books of account. "He built and put afloat quite a fleet of sail and steam vessels," it is said, and, taking a great interest in the life and campaigns of Napoleon, he named some of his vessels Napoleon, Marengo, Marshal Ney, Austerlitz and Lodi. Other steamers in his fleet were named the Michigan, the Illinois (first and second), the Oliver Newberry and the Nile.

About the year 1824 or 1825, Mr. Newberry located in Detroit, and in 1828 he came to Chicago in his own schooner Napoleon on a visit, and in 1834 he became a partner with George W. Dole in a forwarding business at Chicago under the firm name of Newberry & Dole, although continuing to reside at Detroit until his death. Oliver Newberry's brother, Walter L. Newberry, became a resident of Chicago in 1833; of him we shall speak in another paragraph.

WALTER L. NEWBERRY

A representative citizen of Chicago, of whom we shall here give some account, was Walter L. Newberry. He was a brother of Oliver Newberry previously spoken of, and came to Chicago in 1833, at the age of twenty-nine, having been born September 18th, 1804. In the directory of 1839 his name is given, and his occupation is indicated by the words "attorney and real estate." His office was with Newberry & Dole, the firm in which his brother, Oliver Newberry was a partner, at the corner of North Water and Rush Streets. Newberry & Dole were engaged in the forwarding and commission business.

That he was a public spirited citizen is shown by the fact that his name is constantly found in connection with the literary, educational and artistic movements



WALTER LOOMIS NEWBERRY

Founder of Newberry Library

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

A public Reference Library situated on Walton Place between North Clark street and Dearborn avenue, facing Washington Square. The gift to the city of Walter L. Newberry.

and developments of the early days. In 1841 he joined with others in establishing the Young Men's Association of Chicago, the main object of which was the formation of a library of books and the maintenance of a reading room. It began with a membership of two hundred. Each of the members paid two dollars as an initiation fee, and agreed to pay the same amount every year. Walter L. Newberry presented a collection of books to the association, and other members also made generous donations. The association continued in existence until the fire of 1871, when its collection was destroyed. It was never revived because the Chicago Public Library supplied its place.

In 1855 Mr. Newberry was a member of the Board of Health under Mayor Augustus Garrett's administration. He cooperated in forming an Art Exposition in 1859, the object of which was to secure loans of art works for exhibition, a movement which proved highly successful. In 1862 he established the "Newberry Fund" of one thousand dollars, "the interest of which is to be applied for the benefit of the Newberry School, in procuring text books for indigent children, school apparatus and books for reference." Mr. Newberry became president of the Chicago Historical Society in 1863, and at the same time was a liberal benefactor of that institution. In the same year he with many others contributed to the success of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair by loaning works of art to the Art Gallery, which was a notable feature of the Fair. It will thus be seen that Mr. Newberry was a patron of art, education and literature, and the later endowment of the great library which bears his name is completely in harmony with the tastes and activities of his life.

Mr. Newberry died at sea, November 6th, 1868, under pathetic circumstances. His wife and two daughters were making a visit to Europe, and he was on his way to join them in France. The incidents of the voyage were printed in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* some years after the events described, and are quoted, as follows:

"The evening before his death he was apparently as well as usual, and he ate supper with the other passengers. Opposite him at the table was a Catholic priest, with whom he spoke at some length in reference to his failing health, and of his wife and daughters, who were waiting for him at the port of destination in France, and the pleasant anticipations he entertained of meeting them on his arrival. He stated that he was from Chicago; and, as the clergyman was well acquainted there, it turned out in the course of subsequent conversation that they had a number of common friends in that place and vicinity.

"Mr. Newberry retired at the usual time complaining that he felt very ill and weak. Next morning he was missed from breakfast, and a little later the passengers were startled to learn that he had died during the night. A few hours afterwards the officers of the steamer began to make the customary preparations to commit the remains to the deep. Fortunately, however, the clergyman whose acquaintance he had made the evening before interposed, and very earnestly and warmly protested against any such proceedings. He said that the widow and daughters of the dead man were anxiously expecting his arrival at the port of destination, and that it would be cruel and shocking in the extreme—almost too much for human nature to endure—to deprive them even of the last poor privilege of looking again upon his face and laying away his remains with their own hands. He appealed to the phy-

sician, and the latter referred him to the captain. He then saw the captain, related such facts as seemed calculated to arouse sympathy, called attention to the age of the deceased, and represented that it could do no possible harm to take the body ashore and deliver it to the stricken family. The captain declared it to be an imperative rule to consign to the ocean the remains of all who die on shipboard, but, affected by the circumstances of Mr. Newberry's death, he said that he would yield to the clergyman's request if the physician could likewise be persuaded to do so. Then the physician, a most humane person, was seen, and after a brief interview he consented to keep the body on board till the arrival of the steamer in port, and said that he would personally deliver it to Mrs. Newberry.

"All this he faithfully did, and the clergyman, not being acquainted with the family, started for Rome. The physician, however, narrated all the facts to Mrs. Newberry, and even gave her the name of the clergyman through whose instrumentality the remains of her husband were brought into port.

"Some weeks later the clergyman in question, being still in Rome, was greatly surprised one day at being accosted by a young lady, who asked: 'Are you not the Rev. Father Sorin, of the University of Notre Dame, in Indiana?' 'Yes, that is my name,' he said, for the clergyman referred to was no other than the Very Reverend E. Sorin, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. She then stated that she was Miss Newberry, that she had ascertained the facts in regard to the death of her father, that the physician stated that the remains would have been consigned to the deep but for the intervention of Father Sorin, and that she wanted to thank him for his kind offices on behalf of her mother, her sister, and herself. Father Sorin never met her afterwards, nor did he ever meet any other member of the family, but he felt deeply touched by her manifestations of filial devotion."

Mr. Newberry had made his will two years before his death. In the will he directed that in case of the death of both of his daughters, without issue, then immediately after the death of his wife, if she survived them, the trustees named in the will should apply one-half of the estate to the founding of a "free public library," to be located "in that part of Chicago known as the North Division." Both daughters died unmarried, one in 1874, the other in 1876. Mrs. Newberry died in 1885, thus leaving the trustees free to establish the library as directed in the will. The value of the entire estate at the time of Mrs. Newberry's death was about $4,300,000, one half of which was to be devoted to the library, namely, $2,150,000. The larger part of this endowment being in real estate the value has materially increased since that time.

In contemplating this splendid monument of Mr. Newberry's generosity the strange succession of events by which it came into the possession of the people, for their perpetual instruction and delight, is indeed very striking; and it must awaken the sympathetic interest of every one in the sad and touching circumstances by which it came into being. "It is not improbable, in view of all the circumstances," says the writer above quoted, "that the lamentable death of Mr. Newberry had much to do with accelerating the death of his daughters, who were so tenderly attached to him; and as for Mrs. Newberry, all know that to the last moment she was an example of patient resignation and silent melancholy—true to the obligations of a bereaved widow and faithful to the duties of a sorrowing mother."

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

The origin of the funds available for the foundation of the great Newberry Library are described in the account given above concerning Mr. Walter L. Newberry, and the will under which the gift was provided. When the trustees entered upon the execution of their trust in establishing a library, they found that there was available the large sum of $2,150,000. The values representing this sum were in the form of real estate largely, which was rapidly increasing as time elapsed, so that when a location was decided upon and a new building started the amount of the original gift was very considerably increased.

Dr. William F. Poole, the eminent librarian who had been in charge of the Chicago Public Library since its formation, was induced to undertake the task of forming the collection of the "Newberry Library," as it was decided to call it. The trustees also decided that it should be a library of reference, open to the use of the public on the premises. Temporary quarters were provided for a time, but in 1893, a new building, the one now in use, was completed, having a capacity for one million volumes. The building occupies the site of the well known "Ogden Mansion" which so strangely survived the Chicago fire of 1871. It fronts on a short street called Walton Place, separated by that street from a small park known as Washington Square; it has a frontage of three hundred feet extending from North Clark street to Dearborn avenue, and is built of granite after a design by Henry Ives Cobb, who it will be remembered was the architect of the Fisheries Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. The plan of the library building contemplates an addition to the north which when built will more than double its capacity.

LAKE STREET IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

During the later fifties and earlier sixties Lake Street was without doubt the most attractive business street in the city. Its attractiveness was of course entirely due to its business improvements, in contrast, for example, with the unrivalled natural and artificial advantages possessed by Michigan avenue, often said to be "the finest street in the world," with its avenues of shade trees, its superb outlook upon Lake Michigan, and its beautiful residences ranged along its western side. At the eastern end of Lake street the vast bulk of the Illinois Central depot loomed up and closed the view in that direction. A large sign on the roof of the depot (the time had not yet arrived when the word station superseded the word depot), which bore the name in letters of colossal size "Union Depot," easily visible as far away as the bridge over the South Branch at the other end of the street.

Along Lake street, from Michigan avenue as far west as Wells street (the name formerly applied to Fifth avenue) the buildings were occupied by wholesale and retail stores, hotels, and banks, and in the upper stories of the buildings were the offices of lawyers, doctors and real estate agents, the latter usually called land agents. Generally the buildings did not exceed four stories in height, though here and there were buildings five stories high, the Tremont House being an example of the latter class. Elevators in buildings had not then come into use, and stair climbing about reached its limit for ordinary business use when the fourth floor was reached. It would have been difficult to find use for spaces above the fourth story, except perhaps a limited use for storage purposes; at all events above that height

the space could not have been rented for offices. Thus the general height of the structures along the street was more uniform than at the present time, when the great differences in the heights of buildings makes a broken and irregular sky line. The perfection attained in the construction of elevators in buildings has enabled architects to carry buildings to any height, only limited by the strength of the materials employed in their construction.

BUSINESS HOUSES ON LAKE STREET

It will be interesting to recall some of the better known wholesale and retail concerns doing business on Lake Street at that time. Of the dry goods stores there was the fine store of Potter Palmer, afterwards Field, Palmer & Leiter, at number 137; Bowen Brothers, at number 100; T. B. Carter & Co., at number 136; Downs & Van Wyck, afterwards A. G. Downs & Co., at number 150; W. M. Ross & Co., afterwards Ross & Gossage, at number 167; and Stryker & Co., at number 141. On the same street were also the wholesale dry goods houses of Harmon, Aiken & Gale, at number 53; Savage, Keith & Co., at number 49; Davis, Sawyer & Co., at number 42; and Richards, Crumbaugh & Shaw, at number 22.

Other prominent firms doing business on Lake Street in those years were as follows: Drugs, Burnham & Smith, Lord & Smith, J. H. Reed & Co., Smith & Dwyer; Jewelry, A. H. Miller & Co., and Hoard & Hoes; Boots & Shoes, Doggett, Basset & Hills, C. M. Henderson & Co., and Bullock Brothers; Clothing, Field, Benedict & Co., Huntington, Wadsworth & Parks, A. D. Titsworth & Co., Edward Ely and H. H. Husted & Co.; Books, D. B. Cooke & Co., S. C. Griggs & Co., and Keen & Lee. There were also on Lake Street the following banks: The Marine Bank, on the northeast corner of Lake and La Salle Streets; The Merchants Savings Loan and Trust Company, at number 95, (where in 1862, Lyman J. Gage was a teller); and the bank of Greenebaum Brothers. The principal hotels on Lake Street were the American House, corner of Lake Street and Wabash Avenue; City Hotel, corner of Lake and State Streets; and the Tremont House, on the southeast corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets. No attempt is here made to give a comprehensive list of the business occupants of premises on Lake Street, but merely to mention a few. A review of the general field of business and industrial enterprises, as reflected in the newspapers and directories of the time, will be given elsewhere in this history.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT

The late king Edward VII was a visitor to Chicago in September, 1860. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, as he was then called, was a young man of nineteen, and was traveling under the name of Baron Renfrew, one of his titles of nobility. With his party he reached the city on a special train over the Michigan Central Railroad, coming from Canada, where he had landed some time previously. He was welcomed by a great crowd at the station, and the route taken to the Richmond House, situated at the northwest corner of Michigan avenue and South Water street, was lined with people, and thousands of them enjoyed a "fair view of the entire party," as one of the papers of the day described it.

"Soon after the appearance of the Prince," said a writer in the *Tribune*, "Mayor John Wentworth, William B. Ogden, William Bross, and E. W. McComas, composing a committee appointed for the occasion, presented an address of welcome to

RICHMOND HOUSE, CORNER SOUTH WATER STREET AND MICHIGAN AVENUE

In 1860, Albert Edward, then Prince of Wales, stopped here during his visit in Chicago

ARMORY—ADAMS AND MARKET STREETS ABOUT 1865

NORTHEAST CORNER OF LAKE AND CLARK STREETS ABOUT 1865

Lord Lyons, the British minister accompanying the Prince." During his brief stay he appeared on the balcony in view of the people, and took a drive on Michigan avenue as far as Twelfth street. He also visited one of the great grain elevators and witnessed the process of loading a vessel with grain. On this part of the trip he was accompanied by Mr. Fernando Jones to explain its workings, and presumably, to entertain him with a few stories. The party left here and went to Dwight, Illinois, where the Prince inspected a large grain farm and engaged in the sport of prairie chicken shooting.

VISITATIONS OF THE CHOLERA

When General Winfield Scott was on his way to Chicago in 1832 with an army of United States regulars, cholera broke out among the soldiers while the steamers in which they were being transported were passing the Detroit river. This, it will be remembered, was at the time of the Black Hawk War, and these troops were sent forward as reinforcements to the forces then operating in the northern part of Illinois. Four steamers had been chartered at Buffalo, the "Henry Clay," under command of Captain Walter Norton; the "William Penn," under command of Captain John F. Wight; the "Sheldon Thompson," under command of Captain Augustus Walker; and the "Superior," under command of Captain William T. Pease. They were comparatively small boats, averaging only about two hundred tons each in capacity. The steamers received $5,500 each for their services. Only one of these boats, however, reached its destination owing to the outbreak of the cholera.

Two of these steamers, the "Henry Clay" and the "Sheldon Thompson," left Buffalo on the 2d of July, 1832, the others following a few days later. On its arrival at Detroit two cases of cholera occurred on board of the "Henry Clay" while she was lying at the dock. "This created such alarm," said Captain Walker, in his account printed in the publication of the Buffalo Historical Society, for the year 1902, "that the authorities of the city prevailed upon the captain to leave the dock. On my arrival [a few hours later], I found she was lying at anchor near the foot of Hog Island, some two miles above the city. Up to that time no signs of cholera had appeared on board my boat [the 'Sheldon Thompson']. After remaining a short time at the wharf, taking on board fuel, stores, etc., for the trip, we got under way and went alongside of the 'Henry Clay.' At this time General Scott, who was in command of this expedition, came on board my boat, accompanied by his staff and a number of volunteer officers and cadets, numbering some forty, who had been passengers thus far on board the 'Henry Clay.' One company of some fifty soldiers, under command of Colonel Twiggs, also came on board from the Clay.

"Leaving her at anchor we sailed, touching at Fort Gratiot, where we landed the same fifty soldiers and their baggage, which had entirely overloaded our little steamer; and we then proceeded on the voyage. The next day the Clay arrived in the St. Clair River. The disease had become so violent and alarming on board of her that nothing like discipline could be observed. Everything in the way of subordination ceased. As soon as she came to the dock, each man sprang on shore, hoping to escape from a scene so terrifying and appalling; some fled to the fields, some to the woods, while others lay down in the streets and under the shelter of the river banks, where most of them died, unwept and alone."

ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO

The voyage of the "Henry Clay" having thus reached its termination it remains to follow the "Sheldon Thompson," the only one of the transports which arrived at its destination. It had been hoped that this steamer might reach Chicago without any cases of the disease developing on board. But at Mackinac Island two members of the ship's crew were found to be sick and were left ashore. At the Manitous three more were left. Some thirty hours before reaching Chicago the first death from cholera occurred, and as soon as life was extinct the body was wrapped in a blanket and committed to the deep. Even in the short time remaining to reach port twelve others sickened and died, and their bodies were thrown overboard. The steamer reached Chicago on the 10th of July, and anchored in the open lake as there was not sufficient depth of water at the mouth of the river to admit vessels of any considerable size. Many settlers had gathered at the fort for protection and had found shelter in the huts and cabins surrounding its walls. The arrival of soldiers, many of them already sick, spread consternation among the settlers and the garrison. The fort was converted into a hospital and the soldiers encamped in tents in the vicinity. The fort thus abandoned by the garrison was not reoccupied until the first of October following.

Even before the soldiers had left the steamer three more victims of the disease were committed to the lake, the water being so clear that their bodies could be distinctly seen at the bottom. This uncanny sight so worked upon the superstitious fears of the crew that it was necessary for the captain to change his anchorage. In the course of the day and night following eighteen others died and were interred at a spot not far from the lighthouse which then stood on the south bank of the river, near Rush street bridge. During the four days that the steamer remained at Chicago fifty-four more died making an aggregate of eighty-eight deaths from cholera. All were buried without coffins or shrouds, except their blankets which served as their winding sheets, and were left without sign of remembrance or a stone to mark their resting place.

The ravages of the disease seemed to have reached a climax in a short time and thereafter the epidemic gradually grew less violent until a few weeks later it had disappeared entirely. One incident of that time of fear and dismay is mentioned in the Autobiography of General Scott. At the time of the appearance of the cholera three Sacs were confined in the military prison at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) on a charge of complicity in the murder of the Menominees near Prairie du Chien the year before. When the epidemic had reached that point, to which General Scott had transferred his activities, he set these two Indians at liberty, taking their promise to return upon the display of a certain signal to be hung from a tree at an elevated point of the island when the epidemic should be over. The signal was in due time hung up, and true to their promise the Indians reported themselves. They were again paroled, however, and subsequently released altogether.

THE CHOLERA VISITATION OF 1849

Chicago was again visited by cholera during the spring of 1849, and for several years thereafter in succession. Hearing of its prevalence in other cities strenuous efforts were made by the health authorities to prevent its appearance, but a man

arriving by way of the new Illinois and Michigan canal from New Orleans brought the disease with him. His death was followed by a general epidemic of the cholera throughout the city, and during the ensuing summer and fall there were six hundred and seventy-eight deaths from that cause. The proportion of fatalities was one in three of those attacked. Among the prominent citizens of Chicago who fell victims to the disease in 1849 were, Hon. Henry Brown, the author of a history of Illinois published in 1844; Rev. W. H. Rice; Henry B. Clarke; L. M. Boyce; Dr. J. E. O'Leary; James Knox; M. Kohn; W. N. Bentley; Samuel Jackson; Newell Stratton; A. J. Penny; E. Hitchcock; A. Calhoun; A. S. Robinson; and George Ayers.

A resident of Chicago at that time wrote an account of some of the cases with which he was acquainted. One case was as follows: "There was at that time an Englishman named Morrell, a blacksmith, who was just from England and but recently married, who was working for me. One Saturday night he came to me and said he wanted all the money that was due him, and that he would not be at work till the following Tuesday, as he had bought a lot from Mr. Elston, and he wanted on Monday to get lumber on the ground, and set carpenters at work on a little house which he had determined to build. Late Saturday night I saw him on his way home, appearing unusually cheerful. On Sunday morning following I went over into town on the South Side, and did not return till after evening church service, when I was met with the information that Morrell was dead and buried. I was thunderstruck. Mrs. Morrell came to me in the morning to say that Mr. Elston had returned the money which had been paid on the lot, and that she was going back to her old home in England; and before night of that Monday she was on her sad and lonely journey thither.

"Another Englishman named Conn, a boiler-maker, was also at work, and with him was a boy of fourteen, who was at work also, as Conn was very desirous of keeping the boy with him. The boy was attacked with cholera. We ministered to him, and chafed his limbs to promote circulation for two or three hours. When we found that all our efforts were in vain, Conn quietly arose from working over him, and began silently to pace the floor, occasionally stopping to look down on the dying boy. . . . 'Here,' said he, 'I have brought the boy from his home, and I promised his mother that I would return him safely to her. And now, in this far-away country, the boy is dying. What am I going to say to his mother?' "

A few physicians, and, as usual in such times of calamity, some Catholic priests and Sisters of Charity remained to care for those who would otherwise have been obliged to seek the rude and hastily built shelters provided by the authorities. The cholera scourge forced the conviction upon the public mind that a permanent city hospital should be provided, which eventually took practical form, and under the charge of Dr. Brock McVickar, the city physician, a hospital building costing $45,000 was erected in 1857 on La Salle Street, between Cross and Old Streets, the two streets now known as Eighteenth and Sixteenth Streets respectively.

LATER VISITATIONS

The disease appeared again in July, 1850, though not so severe as in the previous year, the number of deaths reaching an aggregate of four hundred and twenty. During the year following, that is in 1851, there were still fewer cases of cholera, and

the epidemic was not severe enough to cause much alarm. In 1852 there were six hundred and thirty deaths from cholera, which was three times greater than the previous year. The next year the number of deaths from this cause was only one hundred and thirteen.

In the year 1854 the disease broke out again with great fury and virulence, and deaths from cholera were very numerous. Until about the 5th of July the disease was generally confined to newly arrived immigrants. Quarantine arrangements were made, but nothing could check the ravages of the pestilence. During July there were often fifty and sixty deaths in a single day. Many people left the city and sought refuge in the country districts. A voluntary board of health was formed by Dr. Charles V. Dyer and others, and a warehouse was hired to be used as a hospital. Dr. Dyer related an incident which illustrated the futility of the ordinary measures taken in the treatment of cholera cases. "Hearing that a steamboat was coming into port with eighteen cases of cholera on board," said the doctor not without a touch of humor, "we went aboard the vessel and removed the patients to the improvised hospital. On viewing the sick nine were decided to be beyond medical assistance, and the remaining moiety were decreed to be favorable subjects for pathological skill. But, unfortunately, the nine upon whom were lavished all the resources of science died, and those who were esteemed to be almost *in articulo mortis* all got well." The deaths from cholera in this year were fourteen hundred and twenty-four. The year 1855 was the last of the seven-year-long epidemic of cholera, during which the disease had been a regular visitant each year; eleven years later, however, it returned again with a fury nearly equal to that of the "great cholera year" of 1854.

THE VISITATION OF 1866

The first case of cholera in 1866 was reported on July 21st, but there was no alarm until early in the following month, when the cases began to be numerous. By the end of August one hundred and fifty-six deaths from the disease had occurred, and during September the number was somewhat increased. In October the number of deaths from this cause rose to nearly seven hundred, but in November the number rapidly diminished. The total number of deaths from cholera during 1866 was ten hundred and sixty-two.

The citizens of Chicago were now thoroughly resolved to organize a system of prevention so that no future epidemic of the kind could gain a foothold in the city. The Common Council had strangely enough abolished the Health Department in 1860, and now a strong movement was inaugurated to establish an efficient Board of Health with adequate powers and authority. An act was passed by the state legislature in cooperation with the Common Council of Chicago, and in March, 1867, under its provisions, a board was appointed consisting of the following members: Dr. Hosmer A. Johnson, Dr. John H. Rauch, Dr. William Wagner, Samuel Hoard, A. B. Reynolds, William Giles, and Mayor John B. Rice, ex officio. During the year the cholera again appeared, but owing to the measures adopted by the Board of Health there were but ten fatalities. Since that year no epidemic of cholera has visited Chicago.

CHARLES B. FARWELL

Charles B. Farwell's residence in Chicago began in January, 1844, when he arrived from Ogle County in Illinois, where his father was engaged as a farmer. He was born in New York State on July 1st, 1823, and obtained his education at the Elmira Academy in his native state. From 1849 to 1853 Mr. Farwell was a clerk in the banking house of George Smith, who afterwards became a multi-millionaire, and in 1864 he became a partner in his younger brother's wholesale dry goods firm. Mr. Farwell became active in politics, and in 1870 was elected a member of Congress, serving thereafter three terms. In 1887 he was elected United States Senator to fill the remainder of the term of John A. Logan, who had died the previous year, thus serving four years in the Senate. He continued his connection with the house of John V. Farwell & Co. until his death on September 23d, 1903.

JOHN V. FARWELL

In the spring of 1845 John V. Farwell came to Chicago. He was born in New York State, July 29th, 1825. In 1838 the family of which he was a member settled in Ogle County, Illinois, and he obtained his education at the Mt. Morris Seminary. When he came to Chicago he "worked his passage on a load of wheat," and when he arrived in the city he had three dollars and seventy-five cents in his pocket. He found employment with the dry goods firm of Hamilton & White. Afterwards he engaged with Wadsworth & Phelps in the same line of business, and, in 1850, he became a partner in the firm. In 1857 his name appeared in the firm of Cooley, Farwell & Co., successors of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co.; and in 1860 the firm name became Farwell, Field & Co. In 1865 the name of the firm became John V. Farwell & Co., which is its incorporated name at the present time.

Mr. Farwell was always interested in religious movements. He was a liberal patron of the Young Men's Christian Association, and to him the Association in a large measure owes its early prosperity. He was a friend and a coworker with Dwight L. Moody in the early days of Mr. Moody's career. Mr. Farwell died on the 20th of August, 1908, at his home in Lake Forest.

A UNIQUE REAL ESTATE ENTERPRISE

An undertaking of a unique character was engaged in by the brothers, Charles B. and John V. Farwell, in 1883, which, although it was a gigantic transaction in Texas lands, was distinctly a Chicago enterprise, and is entitled to a place in this history. The state of Texas was the possessor of a vast tract of territory in the "Panhandle," which in the old geographies was described as the "Llano Estacado," or "Staked Plains." The lands thus designated on the maps of that period were considered of little value except for grazing purposes, where herds of long-horned cattle formed the chief product of the country.

"If we can get the man with the money to build our Capitol," it was said, "we will give him all the lands he wants up there," meaning the lands in the Panhandle. The man was found in John V. Farwell, one of Chicago's leading business men, who made the state of Texas a proposition to the effect that he would erect a Capitol building at Austin, the capital city of the state, and take in

payment the lands in the Upper Panhandle, a proposition which the state gladly accepted. The land thus acquired by the Farwells, Charles B. Farwell having joined with his brother John V. Farwell in the enterprise, amounted to 3,500,000 acres, located in six counties. This was equivalent to an area larger than the state of Connecticut, and was appraised at an average of one dollar an acre, at that time considered a liberal valuation for the lands.

The Farwells entered into the contract, and the building was erected to the entire satisfaction of the state authorities, a building that was considered a fair equivalent to an outlay of five millions of dollars. The Capitol building at Austin, it is said, is the seventh largest building in the world, the third largest in the United States, and one of striking architectural beauty. It was honestly built and stands as a monument to the integrity as well as the shrewdness of the men who erected it, and no criticisms have ever been made in regard to it.

The proprietors of the lands thus acquired have profited by this transaction "beyond the dreams of avarice." Lands in the Panhandle began to be sought for and the prices rose by degrees, though land was always for sale at a fair market value. The extensive tracts over which great herds of cattle formerly ranged were reduced in size and more limited areas were made use of to better purpose in the care of improved stock, and later still large sections of the lands were divided into farms which have since become highly productive.

Towns sprang up in numerous places, railroads were built to make an outlet for the products of the lands, and to-day, although more than two-thirds of the entire territory thus acquired by the Farwells has been disposed of at steadily rising prices there is still left a million or more acres, none of which can be obtained at less than fifteen dollars per acre.

People called the Farwells "visionary" when they closed the bargain for these lands and entered upon the construction of the great building that the state of Texas received in payment for them. "The building and completion of the State Capitol," says C. F. Drake, writing in the Manufacturers' Record, "was in itself an undertaking from which most men, even of Mr. Farwell's wealth, would have shrunk, taking the chances to recover his money; and it is doubtless true that he never realized to what great figures his profits would run. It was the largest, perhaps the most unique real-estate deal ever consummated in the history of the United States, by which one man acquired title to so vast an area, and drawing so largely upon his imagination, took such immense speculative chances for financial returns."

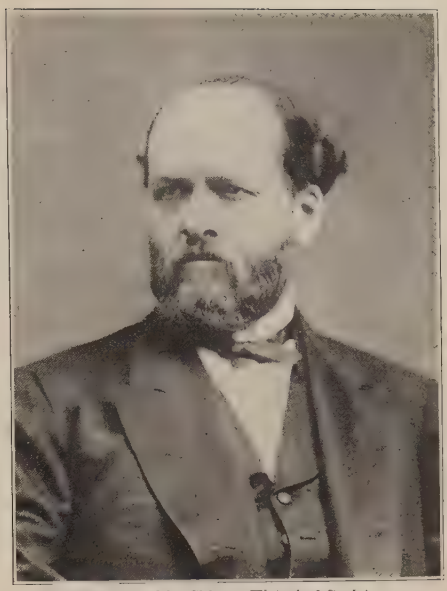
To-day there stand a large number of towns and cities on this extensive tract, some of them having a population of ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants; there are four railroad lines crossing it, which give transportation facilities to the products of the farms and cattle ranches of the territory within the original tract.

MARSHALL FIELD

The career of Marshall Field is typical of that of many others among the leading merchants of Chicago. Marshall Field came to this city in 1856, at the age of twenty-one, and immediately found employment in the wholesale dry goods house of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co., then located on South Water street. The

MARSHALL FIELD

Resident of Chicago since 1856, and later a leading merchant of the city. Until his death in 1906 he was at the head of Marshall Field and Company.



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JOHN V. FARWELL

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

panic of 1857 carried down a great number of the business houses of Chicago, but the firm of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co. survived the shock, though it was soon after reorganized under the name of Cooley, Farwell & Co. In this firm Field was taken in as a junior partner, and the location of the house was changed to Wabash avenue. In 1860 Mr. Cooley retired and the firm name was changed to Farwell, Field & Co., Mr. Levi Z. Leiter being also admitted as a partner. In 1865 Field and Leiter retired from the firm of Farwell, Field & Co., the latter firm then becoming known as John V. Farwell & Co. Field and Leiter then bought an interest in the dry goods business of Potter Palmer, which had been established in 1852, the firm style becoming Field, Palmer & Leiter, and the location of their store being at 110 and 112 Lake street. Two years later, namely in January, 1867, Mr. Palmer retired and the firm then became Field, Leiter & Co. In the fall of 1868 the firm removed from Lake street to the north-east corner of State and Washington streets where it remained until the fire of 1871.

Before the ruins of their establishment had had time to cool a place was found at the corner of State and Twentieth streets, in an old car barn, where business was resumed as soon as stocks could be procured from the East. The promptness with which the firm reestablished themselves after the fire greatly strengthened the courage of the merchants of Chicago, by whom they were recognized as leaders. A new building was begun on the old site, and in eighteen months it was completed and occupied. A year or two later another building exclusively for wholesale purposes was erected by the firm, at the northeast corner of Madison and Market streets, but the business grew so fast that further building operations were found necessary. The site chosen for the new structure was on Adams street between Fifth avenue and Franklin street. The building here erected was after a design by Richardson, the famous Boston architect and is in use at the present time. Mr. Leiter retired from the firm in 1881, since which time it has been known as Marshall Field & Co.

Marshall Field was a native of Conway, Massachusetts, where he was born on his father's farm, August 18th, 1835. At the age of seventeen his father procured a place for him in a country store in Pittsfield. His employer, Deacon Davis, did not form a favorable opinion of the youth, and on one occasion, when the elder Field came into the store and asked how his son Marshall was getting along, he told him quite candidly that while the boy was steady and all right, "he would never make a merchant if he stayed here a thousand years," that "he wasn't cut out for a merchant," and ended by advising the father to take the lad back to the farm and "teach him how to milk cows."

The father of Marshall Field was John Field, a Yankee farmer descended from a long line of farmers. Marshall was the third child in a family of nine children. Two of his brothers, Joseph Nash Field and Henry Field, were well known in Chicago. Young Marshall was sent to school and assisted in the work of the farm during his boyhood. It was in consequence of his father's desire to place his boys in a position to earn their own living that he started him as a clerk in the country store. Notwithstanding the unfavorable opinion entertained by his employer the young man remained in Pittsfield four years, until he dropped down in Chicago just as he came of age.

In his later years Marshall Field did not forget his native town, and gave to it

a beautiful memorial library, constructed and endowed at an outlay of over $200,000. He also gave a large amount of land adjoining the University of Chicago to that institution for an athletic field, which has been named "Marshall Field," the donor's name exactly answering the purpose for its designation. His chief and most enduring monument is probably the "Field Museum of Natural History," for which he has so handsomely provided.

Speaking in general of any large and successful business enterprise it may be said that the part that any one individual plays is something that defies the analysis of the historian. "A business organization," says a writer, "is a great and complicated machine, in which different elements work together for a common end. The activities are so interdependent that they cannot be adequately considered apart. Neither can there be drawn a distinct line between the work of owners, managers, superintendents, or individual workers all down the line. The ideas, energies, and personal efforts of all of them combine in wonderful complexity to make up the composite personality and vitality of the business. History has never dealt, in the most satisfactory manner, with all those whose achievements go to make up history. It can at best point out only the more conspicuous figures, speak of the work that has been jointly accomplished, and refer to the monuments which symbolize rather than express the things that have been done."

A paragraph appeared in the papers some years ago in which was reported a remark made by Marshall Field to a friend regarding his financial ventures, the substance of which was, that he always tried to be right fifty-one per cent of the time; that the man who makes the claim that he is right all the time will find himself left behind in the long run by the man who is right fifty-one per cent of the time.

This recalls the well known saying of Mr. Roosevelt's; "The only man who never makes a mistake is the man who never does anything."

Mr. Field was little inclined to talk about his affairs, and preferred to maintain a discreet silence in everything regarding himself. He was averse to any appearance in public, personally or through the press, confining himself to the usual channels of business advertising. The public have naturally always taken a deep interest in his personality, but his well known diffidence and reserve was seldom penetrated. On one occasion, however, he was moved to write a letter in answer to the request of a clergyman, who had written him asking his views on what he regarded as the essential elements of true success. He wrote as follows: "Replying to your favor of November 20th, [1893], would say that I regard honesty, truthfulness, temperance, thrift, purity of character, faithfulness, perseverance, and thoroughness in whatever a person undertakes as the most essential elements of true success.

"It is too often the case in the present day that boys starting out in life rely too much on what they call chance to bring them success, and the haste to become rich by whatever method is becoming so prevalent that too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of their starting in life with the one idea of winning success through patient and earnest endeavor to discharge faithfully and honestly every duty that may devolve upon them, be it ever so small. It is too often the custom to do little things in a careless manner because they are little, and that, as a rule, determines the character of the person doing it. If a matter is worth doing at all it is worth doing well, and by this I mean that they should be thorough in everything.

"The element of thrift is sadly neglected by young men of the present day, and the tendency to live beyond their income brings disaster to thousands continually. A young man should cultivate the habit of always saving something, however small the income; be particular in his choice of friends; have the courage to say no and mean it, when tempted to do what he knows to be wrong; aim to earn a character for candor, veracity, and strict integrity that will win the respect and confidence of all with whom he may have any dealings.

"Any young man in this country who carries out the foregoing ideas cannot fail, in my opinion, of attaining success to a greater or less degree, if possessed of good health, and while he may not become rich he is, I believe, reasonably certain of gaining a comfortable livelihood.

"I will close by giving an extract from an article recently published in the Baltimore *American* touching upon this subject, and which I heartily endorse: 'It is simply the question of the man himself. In this country he has the opportunity. If he uses it well, if he employs his purpose to high ends, if he determines that each day shall be to him an increase in knowledge or means, and that he will work honorably for success in life, he will succeed. There is no limit to the possibilities of honest sustained effort in a good cause.' "

On January 16, 1906, Marshall Field died. He had become the greatest dry goods merchant in the world, one of the richest men in the world, and seemed still in the prime of his life, though in his seventy-first year.

After his death the estate of Marshall Field was found to be the largest of any other resident of Chicago. Such of his property as was scheduled in this state amounted to upwards of seventy-nine millions of dollars. As he possessed a large amount of property in New York his total wealth has been estimated to be considerably in excess of one hundred millions of dollars. The inheritance tax paid into the state treasury of Illinois by the Field estate, with that of other estates, is mentioned elsewhere in this work.

THE PROVISION FOR THE MUSEUM BY MARSHALL FIELD

The will of Marshall Field is dated September 5th, 1905. The provisions for the Museum occupy the whole of Section Seventeen in that document. In its printed form the will covers sixty-two pages, comprising twenty-three sections. As a matter of fact the main body of the will was executed on the 25th day of February, 1904, and a "First Codicil" was added June 14th of the same year. This codicil, however, did not change or modify the provision for the Museum, which indeed was not mentioned in it. A further and final addition to the will was made on the 5th of September, 1905, making a provision for Mr. Field's second wife, to whom he had been married subsequent to the making of the will on February 25th, 1904. It may also be mentioned that the official name of the Museum at that time was the "Field Columbian Museum." This name was changed in November, 1905, to the "Field Museum of Natural History."

The section making provision for the Museum is as follows: "Seventeenth. Subject to the condition hereinafter expressed, I give, devise and bequeath to the Field Columbian Museum, a corporation of the State of Illinois, Eight Million (8,000,000) Dollars to be held and applied by the Trustees thereof for the uses and purposes of that institution, as hereinafter provided; but any sums of money that I may here-

after in my lifetime, but subsequent to the date of the execution of this instrument, give to the Trustees of said corporation or pay for the use and on account of said corporation, shall be taken and deemed by my Executors as advancements on account of this bequest, and the amount of this bequest shall be paid by my Executors to the Trustees of said Museum lessened and reduced by the amount of each and all of such advancements: Each advancement shall be charged up against the particular fund, that is, endowment fund or building fund, to which it may have been made.

"It is my will and I direct that the lands, tenements and hereditaments hereinafter described and devised to said Field Columbian Museum shall be taken and reckoned as a part of said devise and bequest to the amount and valuation of Three Million, Two Hundred Thousand (3,200,000) Dollars. To that end and as a part of said devise and bequest I hereby give, devise and bequeath to said Field Columbian Museum all and singular the lands, tenements and hereditaments situated in the City of Chicago known and described as follows: [Here follows the legal description of the property at the southeast corner of State and Madison streets, in the City of Chicago, consisting of a number of lots with the improvements thereon]. I give, devise and bequeath to said Field Columbian Museum with the lands, tenements and hereditaments aforesaid, the said several leases and all of my interests therein and in the covenants therein contained and in the rents to accrue thereunder, and also the reversions in fee in the lands above described. It is my will that all the capital of this portion of the entire devise and bequest, and the further sum of Eight Hundred Thousand (800,000) Dollars, or so much of said further sum as shall be received from my estate by said Trustees of the Museum after any advancement hereafter made by me in my lifetime shall be deducted as hereinbefore provided, shall be kept intact as an endowment fund, and that the net income thereof shall be applied to the maintenance and extension of the collections of the Museum and to the expenses of its administration.

"In the event of my death before the first day of July, 1905, upon which date a net annual rental of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars will begin to accrue under the lease last mentioned, covering the entire premises above described, it is my will and I direct that my Executors shall from my general estate pay over in convenient installments to the Trustees of said Museum, such amount as shall equal the difference between the aggregate rental reserved by said present leases and a rental at the rate of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars per annum, for the period from the date of my death until said first day of July, 1905, which amount, in such event, I give and bequeath to the Museum, to be received and applied by its said Trustees as income from said endowment fund. A net annual income of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars, together with the further income to be expected from said Eight Hundred Thousand (800,000) Dollars forming a part of the entire endowment fund, ought, in my judgment, for some years at least, to be sufficient for the administration, maintenance and reasonable extension of the Museum, but if the net income from the entire endowment fund shall be found insufficient for said purpose in any year by said Trustees, then said Trustees shall be authorized in their discretion to use in that year for said purpose so much of the net income of the remaining Four Million (4,000,000) Dollars, hereinafter mentioned, as they shall find necessary and available."

MARSHALL FIELD AND JOHN G. SHEDD

Taken at time of teamsters' strike, May, 1905

THE BUILDING FUND

"Out of the said devise and bequest it is my will and I direct that the sum or fund of Four Million (4,000,000) Dollars, or so much thereof as shall be received from my estate by said Trustees of the Museum after any advancements hereafter made by me in my lifetime shall be deducted as hereinafter provided, shall be set aside, held and used by said Trustees so far as practicable as a building fund for the erection, either at one time or at different times as said Trustees shall think best, of a building or buildings to serve as a permanent home for the Museum. Said Trustees shall have full powers of management, control, investment and disposition of said building fund according to the charter and the by-laws of the Museum, except as herein otherwise expressly provided, and they may in accordance with the authorization above expressed hold and use, if in their discretion they shall think it necessary so to do, a portion of said building fund as an addition to the above mentioned endowment fund. In making investments of any part of said building fund, it is my desire that said Trustees shall have special regard to the security of the capital, and that preference be given to mortgages being a first lien upon improved and income yielding freehold real estate in the City of Chicago.

"It is my purpose and desire, in making the aggregate devise and bequest in this Article of my Will contained, to provide the said Museum with a building or buildings suitable and adequate for its permanent home, and with an endowment fund whose net income shall be sufficient for its proper administration, maintenance and extension; accordingly I direct that said building fund shall not be so exhausted or reduced by building operations at any time as to prevent or embarrass the accomplishment of my said purpose and desire in the reasonably near future, and that a part or the whole of the net annual income of said building fund shall in the discretion of said Trustees be allowed to accumulate for a time, and be added to the capital, or to the unused portion of the capital, as and to the extent judged by said Trustees to be necessary for the ultimate and effectual carrying out of my said purpose and desire.

"The entire devise and bequest herein made is, however, upon the express condition that within six years from the date of my decease there shall be provided for said Museum and shall be given to it or devoted to its permanent use, without cost to it, lands and premises, which shall be acceptable and satisfactory to its said Trustees as a location and site for the building or buildings to be erected as its permanent home; and in the event that such lands and premises acceptable and satisfactory to its said Trustees shall not be given to it, or be devoted to its permanent use within said period, and without cost to it, then the entire capital of said devise and bequest, together with any accumulated and unexpended income thereon, shall upon the expiration of six years from the date of my decease, revert to and become a part of my residuary estate, and be conveyed, transferred and delivered by said Trustees of the Museum to my residuary Trustees."

Mr. Field's death occurred on the 16th of January, 1906, but a few months after the date of his will. The period of "six years from the date of my de-

cease," as specified in the will, will expire therefore on the 16th day of January, 1912.

The site most suitable for the location of the Museum seemed to be in some portion of Grant Park, and the Park Commissioners gave consent for such a location opposite Congress Street. The press and the public seemed to be unanimous in approval of thus placing the proposed building. A plan of the structure was prepared, modeled closely upon the Art Building at the World's Fair which had become the temporary home of the Museum while it was awaiting the final settlement of the location.

However, it was necessary before placing any structures in Grant Park that the consent of abutting property owners should be obtained, and this was readily accomplished except in the case of one property owner, Mr. Montgomery Ward, who would not give his consent. Condemnation proceedings were instituted, and, after considerable litigation, the question finally came before the State Supreme Court which decided that the easement of the property owners on Michigan Avenue could not be condemned. It thus became necessary to look for another location.

In these circumstances the South Park Commissioners set apart a space sufficient for a site for the Museum at the north end of Jackson Park, though it was realized that this site was too far away from the greater portion of the city to be available for its largest use by the people in general. It seemed the best that could be done, however, as the space required for a site was not to be obtained elsewhere at that time.

On the 11th of December, 1911, the people of Chicago were surprised and gratified to learn that through an arrangement entered into between the South Park Commissioners and the Illinois Central Railroad Company, a site for the Museum had been provided at a spot more convenient for its purposes than the one in Jackson Park. By virtue of an agreement between the above parties the public came into possession of the lake shore from Park Row to Fifty-first street, and the necessary space for the Museum site is to be provided at the foot of Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets on the lake shore. This involves the razing of the present terminal station of the Illinois Central, a new terminal on Twelfth Street being planned to take its place.

CHAPTER XVIII

RIVER AND HARBOR CONVENTION—NEWSPAPERS, ETC.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1847—NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO HARBOR—NATIONAL CONDITIONS—ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES—COMMERCE OF CHICAGO IN THE FORTIES—FIRST STEPS IN PROMOTING THE CONVENTION—ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT GAINED—PRESIDENT POLK'S ACTION CONDEMNED—EDITORIAL VIEWS—CONVENTION DETAILS PLANNED—THE ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC—ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION—HORACE GREELEY'S SPIRITED ACCOUNT—CONVENTION IN SESSION THREE DAYS—DEMANDS FORMULATED—DANIEL WEBSTER'S LETTER—MR. LINCOLN'S FIRST VISIT TO CHICAGO—GREELEY'S REFERENCE TO LINCOLN—RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION—FLOOD OF 1849—ICE AND WRECKAGE IN THE RIVER—SCENES OF DESTRUCTION—CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS—ALL BRIDGES SWEPT AWAY—BEGINNING OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE—THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS—THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE—AN OLDER PAPER OF THAT NAME—LATER HISTORY OF THE TRIBUNE—STORY OF DAVID KENNISON—LOSSING'S ACCOUNT—MEMBER OF THE BOSTON "TEA PARTY"—FOUGHT AT BUNKER HILL—COMES TO CHICAGO IN 1842, THEN OVER A HUNDRED YEARS OLD—A HERO OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WARS OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE RIVER AND HARBOR CONVENTION

"THE River and Harbor Convention," says William Bross in his "History of Chicago," "which commenced its sessions in this city on the 5th day of July, 1847, gave the second great and permanent impulse to Chicago," the first great impulse being the inauguration of work on the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1836. After the disastrous speculating mania of 1836 and 1837, the population and prosperity of Chicago suffered a marked decline until 1842, when the lowest point was reached, and business began once more to revive. In 1847 the business of Chicago merchants was confined mainly to retail trade. "The produce that was shipped from this port," says Bross, "was all brought to the city by teams; some of them would come a hundred and fifty miles. Farmers would bring in a load of grain and take back supplies for themselves and their neighbors. . . . During the business season the city would be crowded with teams. We have seen Water and Lake streets almost impassable for hours together."

When the River and Harbor Convention assembled in Chicago, beneath a spacious awning upon the Court House Square, it was attended by delegates from nineteen states and by a large number of the prominent and able men of the nation. James K. Polk was then president of the United States, Augustus C. French was governor of Illinois, John Wentworth was a member of Congress

from this district, and James Curtiss was mayor of Chicago. The proceedings of the convention were reported by Horace Greeley for the New York *Tribune,* and by Thurlow Weed for the Albany *Evening Journal.*

NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO HARBOR

The origin of the movement which resulted in the calling of the River and Harbor Convention is related in the Fergus Historical Series, Number Eighteen, published in 1882, in which is also given a complete account of its proceedings and a list of the delegates. When, after years of waiting, no adequate provision for the needs of the Chicago harbor had been made by Congress, the people of the West decided on a course of action by which the attention of the whole country should be drawn to the needs of this, the most important port on the Great Lakes. In the year 1846, President Polk had not approved the River and Harbor bill which had been passed by Congress in its closing days, and thus it failed to become a law. Although in previous years considerable work had been done on the Chicago harbor by the government, which had made the river accessible to lake craft for some distance up its channel, the southern sweep of the lake currents along the shore had gradually choked up the entrance until there was danger of an absolute cessation of navigation in the river, and a reversion to the primitive method of receiving and discharging cargoes by means of lighters from vessels anchored in the open lake.

The Chicago river and its branches, with the channel between the piers at its mouth, constitute the harbor of Chicago. In a report prepared by Jesse B. Thomas, in 1847, he gives the following description of the conditions which existed at that time: "The main portion of the river is three-fourths of a mile in length, sixty yards wide, and about twenty feet deep. The North and South Branches, which unite with the river from opposite directions in the heart of the city, are navigable, the former three, the latter five miles. The streams are, properly speaking, bayous, having very little or no current, and being on a level with the waters of the lake. . . . The principal difficulty in constructing harbors on the western shore of Lake Michigan proceeds from the deposition of sand at the entrances thereto. A strong and almost constant current . . . passes along the shore of the lake, from the north towards the south, carrying with it large quantities of sand which it deposits, forming bars wherever an obstacle, in the shape of a river, or piers, or any object of sufficient force to change, in any degree, the attraction of this current, is met with. The effect of this is observable in all the streams discharging into Lake Michigan on the west. The current along the shore coming in contact with the rivers passing out, the latter are diverted from a direct passage, and take a new direction for a longer or shorter distance along the shore, until the influence of the current ceases to operate, when they discharge, generally in a southwestern direction; and a long bar or peninsula of sand, beginning at the diverging point and terminating at the new point of entrance, is invariably formed between the lake and the river.

"Such was the Chicago river before the construction of the piers. It discharged half a mile below the present harbor. The harbor was commenced by cutting through this bar, and forcing the river straight through into the lake. No

sooner was the north pier projected into the lake than the effect of the current coming in contact with it became apparent. It deposited sand along the shore of the lake north of the pier, extending the same farther and farther into the lake, and, passing around the end of the pier, formed a bar extending in a southwestern direction across the mouth of the harbor."

ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES

This difficulty was met by extending the pier farther into the lake, but the next season, after the bars had formed again at the end of the later extension it was seen that this method of meeting the difficulty was ineffectual, and the government resorted to dredging which, however, gave only partial relief. The engineers eventually abandoned further attempts to maintain the requisite depth of water for navigation purposes, and removed the dredging machines to other ports. "Such a state of things," continues the report, "demands a prompt and effectual remedy, particularly at a time when our canal is on the eve of completion, and a consequently great augmentation of our commercial interests about to take place. The completion of the canal will divert a large share of the carrying trade of the West in this direction, and a safe and commodious harbor at this place in 1848, will be a matter of most urgent necessity." The report closes with the statement: "Should the accumulation of sand in our harbor the coming winter equal the last, it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration that the spring of 1848 will find our harbor entirely closed, and Chicago cut off, entirely barred, from the general commerce of the country."

Chicago was made a port of entry by the act of July 16, 1846, and soon afterwards William B. Snowhook was appointed collector of the port. Before this time no accurate figures of imports and exports were kept, and such statistics as are obtainable were derived from inquiry among merchants by those engaged in making up reports, such as that from which we have quoted. The commerce of Chicago, from 1840 to 1847, inclusive, is embodied in Thomas' report, and is as follows:

COMMERCE OF CHICAGO FROM 1840 TO 1847

	Exports	Imports	Total
1840	228,635	562,106	790,741
1841	348,862	564,347	913,209
1842	659,305	664,347	1,323,652
1843	682,210	971,849	1,654,059
1844	785,504	1,686,416	2,471,920
1845	1,543,519	2,043,445	3,586,964
1846	1,813,468	2,027,150	3,840,618
1847	2,296,299	2,641,842	4,938,151

EARLY STEPS IN PROMOTING THE CONVENTION

The first steps towards bringing about the great River and Harbor Convention were taken by William Mosley Hall. In a letter written from Connecticut, in 1881, to Robert Fergus, Mr. Hall says: "From 1845 to 1848, the writer was the agent, in the South and West, with headquarters at St. Louis, of the Lake Steamboat As-

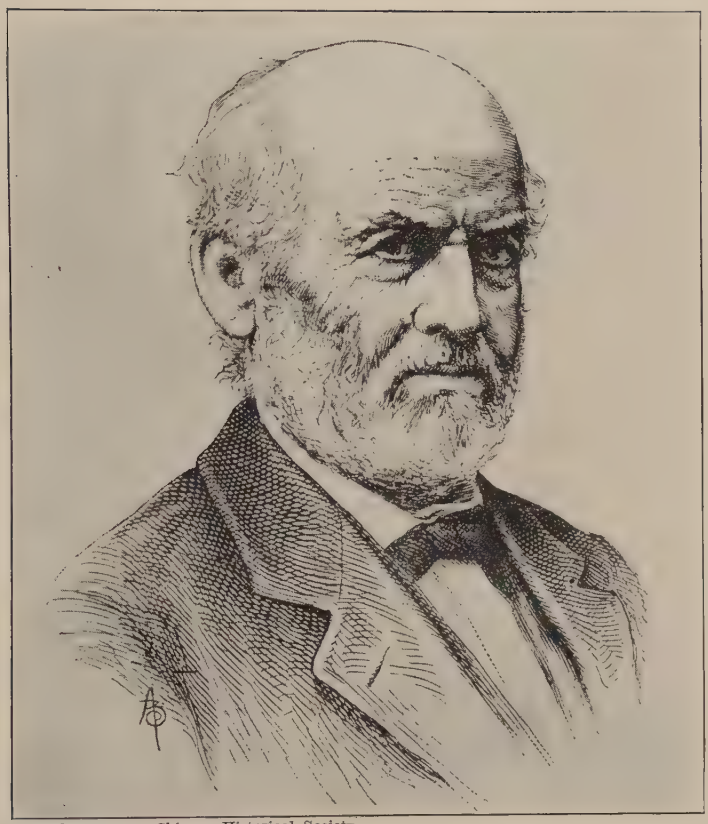
sociation, running lines of steamers between Buffalo and Chicago. Connection was made by Frink & Walker's stage line, and subsequently by packets on the Illinois and Michigan canal with Illinois river steamers to St. Louis."

Mr. Hall, finding that the press of St. Louis were taking a lively interest in the commerce of the Great Lakes, gave a dinner to the editors of a number of the leading papers. "During the repast," he continues, "the subject of river and harbor improvements was broached, and the convention previously held at Memphis, where Mr. Calhoun sought to make the Mississippi river an arm of the sea up to that place, was discussed; until finally Colonel Chambers [of the Missouri *Republican*] remarked that although the Democracy of the country was generally opposed to improvements of the kind desired in the West, he thought that if a properly directed effort was made, irrespective of politics, it would receive the endorsement of the press generally throughout the country, which would arouse Congress to favorable action. Furthermore, turning to me, he said, 'There is no one that I know of better qualified to move actively in the matter than yourself, and we of St. Louis will do all we can to aid in the movement.' "

The day following Mr. Hall started for New York, stopping on his way at Chicago, where he remained two or three days. While at Chicago he laid the proposition before R. L. Wilson, Dr. W. B. Egan, S. Lisle Smith, and several others who pledged Chicago to its support. Thus encouraged, he stopped at Detroit, Buffalo, Albany, Springfield and Boston, and at all these places he found those who sympathized with the proposal for a River and Harbor convention to be held in some western city. Arriving in New York, a meeting was held on the evening of September 28, 1846, which was reported at considerable length in the New York *Herald* the next day. Among those in attendance at this meeting were Robert Fergus of Chicago, William Duane Wilson of Milwaukee, William Mosley Hall, and many others. Press opinions from western papers were read, one of them being a quotation from the *Republican* of St. Louis, which proposed that a convention be held at St. Louis some time during the following spring. "If held in the spring," said the *Republican,* "after the navigation of the lakes and the rivers is fairly opened, the facilities for traveling would be greater, and the delegates from all quarters would have the means of seeing and forming some idea of the vastness of the commerce and interests involved. No one who has not seen something of the carrying trade of the lakes and of the Mississippi, in the full tide of the spring flood, can form a correct conclusion as to its extent."

ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FOR THE CONVENTION

An article from the Chicago *Daily Journal* was also read at the meeting. "Its only aim should be," said the *Journal,* "not to obtain or secure political capital for either of the great political parties that divide our country, but fearlessly to set forth those cardinal principles of public policy, in reference to appropriations for our rivers and harbors, in support of which the united West will rally with ardent enthusiasm." The *Journal* also suggested that the 4th of July, 1847, was the best time; and "whilst we have no disposition to be captious about the place of holding the convention," it continued, "we think Chicago has claims that cannot with propriety be overlooked. Its central position at the head of the vast lake trade and



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WILLIAM MOSLEY HALL

its intimate connection with the lake and river interests seems to point it out as the most convenient and appropriate place. It stands a connecting link between the different channels of communication, and we believe that more of the interests involved will be accommodated by the selection of Chicago than in the choice of any other place with which we are acquainted."

When one recalls that Chicago at that time had only a population of seventeen thousand souls, that the Illinois and Michigan Canal was still two years from completion, that there was not a mile of railroad or telegraph built in its vicinity, that its sole means of communication with the East was by steamers on the lake and by stage lines, that travel to the interior was all by horse-drawn vehicles, we may form some idea of the abounding confidence in its future that was felt by the inhabitants and leading men of Chicago, a confidence that was fast coming to be shared by multitudes in all parts of the country.

At the meeting in New York, above referred to, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, the great and rapidly increasing trade and commerce of the Western Lakes and Rivers, which at the present moment are more than one-half of the foreign commerce of the country, and fully equal in amount to our coasting-trade, should command the protection of our National government; and

"Whereas, it is of the first importance to have a concert of action of the friends of this great interest in order to present it to our National legislature in a proper light; therefore

"Resolved, that we heartily approve of the recommendation of the Western press, for a Convention of all the interests involved in Lake and River navigation, proposed to be held in the summer of 1847.

"Resolved, that we recommend Chicago as the most suitable point for holding said Convention."

The recommendation to hold the Convention at Chicago, contained in the above resolutions, met with almost unanimous approval by the various commercial bodies and public assemblages which took action on the subject.

PRESIDENT POLK'S COURSE CONDEMNED

When President Polk vetoed the River and Harbor bill, August 3d, 1846, he little thought of the storm of adverse public opinion that would be raised in consequence. Of the items in that bill which affected the navigation interests of Lake Michigan, one was for an appropriation of eighty thousand dollars to improve the harbors at Racine, Little Fort, Southport, Milwaukee, and Chicago, all included. Michigan City was mentioned in a separate item of appropriation, the amount named being forty thousand dollars. "Some of the objects of the appropriation contained in this bill," said the president, "are local in their character, and lie within the limits of a single state; and though in the language of the bill they are called harbors, they are not connected with foreign commerce, nor are they places of refuge or of shelter for our navy or commercial marine on the ocean or lake shores."

The Chicago *Daily Journal,* in its issue of August 19th, 1846, was outspoken in its denunciation of the president. "His real hostility to the bill can not be concealed by such shallow subterfuge," it said. "The objects of improvement lie north

of Mason and Dixon's line, and would benefit the North and West, whose growing prosperity is hateful to the slave-owners of the South. . . . Three times already has the whole policy of this government been changed at the command of the South, all its business broken up and deranged, because the slave-owner was jealous of the prosperity of the free states. They were rising in prosperity, growing rich in commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and great in intelligence, whilst the South, with the curse of slavery upon her, was standing still or going backward."

The *Journal* returned to the subject in its later issues. "The lakes, from their peculiar position, require not the presence of armed agents of government for the protection of the commerce that is borne upon their surfaces. All they require is a shelter for the mariner from the effects of the strife of the natural elements, not from the ill effects that too generally succeed a wrangling among nations. But even this boon has been denied by the enlightened(!) statesmanship of James K. Polk, who interposes his veto to the construction of that shelter, because he wants the money for the Mexican War!"

The editorial wrath of the *Journal* found an echo in many places. The movement soon became too general to be guided by any one man. William Mosley Hall, who had traveled from St. Louis to the East in September, 1846, holding many conferences in the cities he passed through, was undoubtedly a prime mover in the cause of River and Harbor improvements. The people took it up and called meetings at many points—Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Michigan City, and in eastern cities,—passing resolutions and appointing committees. The press of the East and West made a live issue of it, until it attracted the attention of the leading statesmen of the day. Some of those who expressed their sympathy with the movement were Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton, Silas Wright, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and many others who attended the convention, whom we will mention further on.

CONVENTION PRELIMINARIES

On the 13th of November, 1846, a meeting was held at the Court House in Chicago, "to make preliminary arrangements for holding the convention in this city, the coming season." Mark Skinner was made president of the meeting. Several committees were appointed, one on the address, consisting of seven persons, of which John Wentworth was chairman; a committee of correspondence, consisting of the same number, of which Norman B. Judd was chairman; and a committee of arrangements, consisting of one hundred, William B. Ogden being the chairman of this committee. The address was prepared by John Wentworth, and is a forceful presentation of the entire subject. The address is printed in full in Fergus' Historical Series, number eighteen; also in Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities." Some portions of it are here given:

"The movers in this matter have been, from the first, like the undersigned, of entirely different politics, and, so far from there being, even in the remotest degree, any political design in the contemplated convention, one of the chief objects of it is to call together for a common object the men of all parties, and to convince the people everywhere that the improvements desired are not now, never have been, and never should be, connected with party politics, in the ordinary use of that term. . . .

"The construction of harbors upon our Northern Lakes, as well as upon the Atlantic, with the improvement of our great rivers, where commerce is of a national character, necessarily involves no question of party difference. . . . This subject has never entered into any presidential canvass, since each party has always taken it for granted that the candidate of the other was above suspicion upon a matter of such preeminent importance. The first congress that ever assembled under the present constitution, many of whose members helped to frame it, passed a law defraying all expenses which should accrue after the 15th of August, 1789, in the necessary support, maintenance, and repairs of all lighthouses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk, before the passage of this act, at the entrance of, or within any bay, inlet, harbor, or ports of the United States, for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe. General Washington signed this bill; and bills for the continuance of such works were also successively signed by Presidents, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.

"The first Lake Harbor bill was signed by Mr. Monroe. He never raised the constitutional question, nor do the congressional debates of those days show that any members of either branch of Congress made any distinction between salt and fresh water improvements, or between foreign and domestic commerce. All were at that time acknowledged alike deserving of the fostering care of the general government, as they also were during the administrations of the younger Adams, General Jackson, and Mr. Van Buren. . . .

"Is it necessary to protect our domestic as well as foreign commerce? Shall we protect the lesser and neglect the greater? For the past three years, petitions have been presented to Congress in vain. The present Secretary of War, [William L. Marcy], in his official reports, has recommended in vain; and the whole topographical corps has estimated in vain. Our bills have invariably been vetoed, and we have been unable to secure two-thirds of the popular branch.

"Confident that there is wanting a knowledge of the necessity of these improvements among the people or their representatives, since all efforts at success have failed, it has been thought that a General Convention and consultation, with personal observation, might do much for us. There is not a state in the Confederacy but that touches the lakes, the ocean, or the great rivers of the West. The lakes line almost our entire northern frontier, and separate us from a foreign country; and the rivers, like arteries, run through the whole country, constituting an extent of navigation sufficient to reach round the globe.

"These great waters, for whose safe navigation this Convention is called, are soon to be united by the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal. The commerce of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of New York, of New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and, indeed, of the whole country, thence becomes in a great measure connected. . . . It is a notorious fact that statements, during the pendency of harbor and river bills before Congress, are made on the highest personal authority, which never would be made if the authors had any personal observation of the great inland waters of this country. . . . Delegates in attendance will not only have the advantages of their own observation to take back with them, but they can profit others, meeting them here by a consultation, as to the best means of redressing existing wrongs. Having done this, they can impart the proper feelings to their neighbors, and thus aid in arousing the people to take this matter into their

own hands, and see that their chief interests are no longer neglected. It is confidently hoped that a more intimate acquaintance with the claims of these great waters, formed by men congregated for this special purpose from all parts of the Union, will result in sufficiently convicting and awakening the public mind to secure the constitutional majority, should a harbor bill ever again be vetoed. . . .

"Although the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers will be the prominent subject before the Convention, yet whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the West, and to the development of its resources will come properly before it, and all plans and suggestions will be freely entertained. The Committee invite a general attendance from all sections of the Union, and tender in behalf of their fellow-citizens, the hospitalities of the City of Chicago to such as, impelled by a common interest, see fit to honor them by their presence on the occasion."

This address was signed by John Wentworth, George Manierre, J. Young Scammon, I. N. Arnold, and Grant Goodrich.

ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION

In attendance upon the Convention were Horace Greeley, then editor of the New York *Tribune,* and Thurlow Weed, editor of the Albany *Evening Journal.* Both of these men sent long reports to their papers. Greeley's first letter was dated July 5th, 1847, and was printed in the *Tribune* issued on the 17th, thus showing that the time required for its transmission through the mails was twelve days. Chicago had been filling up with delegates for ten or fifteen days previously to the beginning of the sessions. "When we arrived on the 'Oregon,' at sunrise, yesterday morning," writes Greeley, "there was scarcely a spare inch of room in any public house. But the citizens had already thrown open their dwellings, welcoming strangers in thousands to their cordial and bounteous hospitality, the steamboats, as they came in, proffered their spacious accommodations and generous fare to their passengers during their stay. . . . At all events, the people of Chicago have earned a noble reputation for hospitality and public spirit.

"The grand parade took place this morning," continues the report, "and, though the route traversed was short, in deference to the heat of the weather, the spectacle was truly magnificent. The citizens of Chicago, of course, furnished the most imposing part of it—the music, the military, the ships on wheels, ornamented fire engines, etc. I never witnessed anything so superb as the appearance of some of the fire companies with their engines drawn by led horses, tastefully caparisoned. Our New York firemen must try again; they have certainly been outdone."

TWENTY THOUSAND PEOPLE IN ATTENDANCE

After giving a general account of those who were present, mentioning the names of prominent men, he says: "A judicious estimate makes the number present today twenty thousand men, of whom ten thousand are here as members of the Convention." Perhaps few persons in these latter days of Chicago's history can appreciate the magnitude of this gathering, described by Thurlow Weed as "undoubtedly the largest deliberative body ever assembled," occurring as it did before Chicago had yet emerged from its condition as a frontier trading town, without other facilities of communication than those we have mentioned, with a population less than any

ENTRANCE TO CHICAGO HARBOR, LOOKING WEST, 1911

one of sixteen cities of Illinois today, when twenty thousand people—more than its own entire population,—from all parts of the East, South and West, assembled here to deliberate upon the subject of the improvement of rivers and harbors. It is one of the greatest events of our history. It was an epoch in the city's commercial growth, a great wave wash of the fast rising tide, which has carried Chicago forward to its destiny, and, within fifty years from the time that convention was held, has made her the Metropolis of the West, a city of two million inhabitants, and the second city in the Union.

The people of Chicago had provided a spacious tent, above one hundred feet square, in which some four thousand persons could find seats. "The rest of the gathering," says Greeley, "were constrained to look in over the heads of those seated. At the close of one of the speeches on the first day, a very general call," says Greeley, "was made for Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, which could not be stilled. Mr. Corwin was finally sought out in the body of the convention, and conducted to the stand by Hon. John Wentworth. Although coming to the stand reluctantly, Mr. Corwin addressed the convention for nearly an hour in his own inimitable manner." He spoke of the wants and just demands of the West—the absurd folly of considering harbor improvements on salt water constitutional and on fresh water not so, a contention that had been effective in preventing improvements on the lakes by the government. He also spoke of "the mighty strides of the West to greatness and dominion, and the certainty that she who now implores will soon be in a condition to command."

In Greeley's report is not mentioned a most interesting episode immediately following Corwin's speech. As we have seen, Thurlow Weed, an admirer though often an adversary of Greeley, was also present and sending reports to his paper. Weed says that "When Mr. Corwin closed, there was a general call for 'Greeley,' whom Mr. Wentworth introduced to the convention. Mr. Greeley remarked that he had hoped that his reputation as a bad speaker would have saved him from the embarrassment of addressing so vast an assemblage.

"Mr. Greeley then spoke for half an hour with much effect in favor of the objects of the meeting. He was listened to with great attention, and warmly cheered in concluding. Every word that Mr. Greeley uttered was full of truth and wisdom."

Many speeches were made and the interest of the convention was maintained throughout the proceedings, which lasted three days. "Up to the last hour," says Thurlow Weed, "the crowd was a dense one, and every delegate stayed to the end."

DEMANDS FORMULATED BY THE CONVENTION

The resolutions adopted by the convention consisted mainly of an argument to show that internal navigation and trade was of as much national concern as foreign commerce; that the power granted to Congress by the Constitution "to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States" was applicable to the improving of rivers and harbors; that, in consequence of the peculiar dangers to the navigation of the lakes arising from want of harbors, and of the rivers from obstructions, the prompt and continued care of the Government to diminish these dangers is demanded; and that the appropriations heretofore made for the interior rivers and lakes have not been in a just and fair proportion to those made for the benefit of the Atlantic coast.

A letter from Daniel Webster, intended to be read at the convention, was received by the Committee of Correspondence on the day after the adjournment of that body. Had the Committee on Resolutions been in possession of this letter of Mr. Webster's, it would have had the benefit of its clear cut statements and forcible reasoning on the Constitutional question, to add strength to the resolutions recommended by them and adopted by the convention.

"A great majority of the people," said Mr. Webster, in the letter referred to, "are satisfied that the power to make these improvements does exist in the government of the United States, and that it is the bounden duty of the government to exercise that power.

"You have been pleased, gentlemen, to call a convention without regard to the distinctions of party. . . . I am glad to find that it is believed that persons belonging to a party which heretofore, as a party, has strenuously opposed Harbor Improvements, are now ready to join in measures for their support. I have no doubt, especially, that among the younger part of our fellow-citizens, who have not been, in times past, hopelessly committed on these subjects, a just and unprejudiced opinion is fast making its way. The truth is that of the two great parties which have divided the country, one has been for Internal Improvements, and one against them; but in this latter party individuals have been found, principally, I believe, from the Western and Northwestern states, who have voted for such improvements, and thereby created a majority in their favor in the House of Representatives, against the general voice of their party, and against the wishes and vetoes of the executive government.

"Broad and deep as has been the division of parties, yet these individuals have felt constrained, by a sense of duty and a clear conviction of what the public good requires, to reject the force of party ties, and vote with their opponents. This conduct is patriotic and honorable, and, I hope, will be imitated by others. Indeed, I should rejoice to see that which has so long been a party question become a national question, and a question which shall have but one side to it. I should rejoice to see no difference of opinion on a topic of such vital and general interest. This, however, I may perhaps not see; but I shall see, I am sure, the cause of Internal Improvements triumph by decided majorities. I shall see the Lake Harbors improved, and new ones constructed; I shall see the noble rivers of the West cleared of their obstructions; I shall see the great internal interests of the country protected and advanced by a wise, liberal, and constitutional exercise of the powers of government."

MR. LINCOLN AN ATTENDANT OF THE SESSIONS

Mr. Lincoln was present and attracted some attention. The Chicago *Daily Journal,* in its issue of July 6th, says: "Abraham Lincoln, the only Whig representative to Congress from this state, we are happy to see, is in attendance upon the Convention. This is his first visit to the commercial emporium of the state, and we have no doubt his visit will impress him more deeply, if possible, with the importance, and inspire a higher zeal for the great interest of River and Harbor improvements. We expect much from him as a representative in Congress, and we have no doubt our expectations will be more than realized, for never was reliance

placed in a nobler heart and a sounder judgment. We know the banner he bears will never be soiled."

In the course of his correspondence Mr. Greeley mentions the future great Emancipator. "In the afternoon, Hon. Abraham Lincoln, a tall specimen of an Illinoisan, just elected to Congress from the only Whig district in the state, was called out, and spoke briefly and happily in reply to Mr. Field." This refers to a speech made by David Dudley Field, of New York, who had taken the stand that a strict construction of the Constitution would not be consistent with improving rivers within the limits of a state, and denying "the right of the Federal Government to improve the navigation of the Illinois river, since that river runs through a single state only, or of the Hudson above a port of entry."

RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION REVIEWED

The results of the River and Harbor Convention, held at Chicago, July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1847, did not realize the hopes and expectations of its friends and promoters. The resolutions which were adopted at the close of its sessions were, in effect, an appeal to Congress for the improvement of the harbors of the Great Lakes, and for the clearing of the channels of navigable rivers. The River and Harbor bill before Congress in 1851, appropriating two million, three hundred thousand dollars for a great number of improvements, and which would have carried out the purposes of the convention, was strongly supported by Henry Clay, the greatest among the Southern senators, and by Daniel Webster, the greatest among Northern senators. But the jealousy manifested by the Southern statesmen of the period towards the rapid commercial development of the North and the West had, by this time, reached an acute stage, and by means of dilatory proceedings while the bill was under consideration they were able to defeat the strongly expressed will of the people, and the bill failed entirely.

The holding of the convention at Chicago, however, served the purpose of attracting the attention of the country to the advantages possessed by this city, the large number of delegates and visitors assembled on that occasion giving evidence of the wide interest already felt, and being the means of extending the fame and reputation of the city far and wide throughout the Union. While there was no immediate action taken by Congress on the demands formulated in the convention resolutions, the ultimate influence was invaluable in directing the public opinion of the country towards the great subject of river and harbor improvements; and the resulting discussions, then and thereafter occurring, contributed to the ultimate settlement of its status under the constitution, which before had been uncertain. Calhoun and others were opposed to "internal improvements" at the expense of the general government, "unless three or more states were benefited," a distinction which Webster argued was absurd; but in later years the improvement of rivers and harbors without such a restriction came to be fully recognized as within the power of Congress to provide for.

FLOOD OF 1849

A flood occurred in the Chicago river on March 12th, 1849, which caused more serious damage to shipping, bridges and other property, than any event of a like nature in the history of the city. At that time the Desplaines river, in seasons of

high water, flowed over the divide, and mingled its waters with those of the Chicago river, a condition, happily, no longer possible since the construction of the great Drainage Channel, and the diversion and control of that previously intractable stream. The following account is condensed from Blanchard's description of the event.

After two or three days of heavy rain, which had been preceded by heavy snow storms, the citizens were alarmed by reports that the ice in the Desplaines river had broken up, that its channel had become gorged with it, that this had dammed up its waters causing them to flow into Mud Lake, and thence into the Chicago river. The ice in the latter river now began breaking up, and soon the main channel was blocked at various points, seriously threatening the vessels and steamers tied up along the wharves. Each owner or person in charge at once sought the safety of his vessel, strengthening the lines by which they were moored, and all waited with anxiety the result of the breaking of the ice-jam.

The river soon began to rise, the water lifting the ice to within two or three feet of the top of the wharves, when, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, loud reports as of distant artillery were heard towards the southern extremity of the town, indicating that the ice was breaking up. Soon, to these sounds were added those proceeding from crashing timbers and snapping hawsers. In quick succession were heard the voices of men calling to the crews of vessels and canal boats to escape before it would be too late, while crowds of people hurried to the banks of the river to witness the destruction going on. It was not long before the craft of all descriptions in the river, except a few which had been secured in the one or two little creeks which then connected with the main channel, were swept with resistless force towards the lake.

JAMS OF ICE AND WRECKAGE

As fast as the channel at one spot became jammed with masses of ice and vessels intermingled, the whole mass would dam the flood, which, rising in the rear of the obstruction, would propel vessels and ice forward with the force of an enormous catapult. Every lightly constructed vessel would at once be crushed like an egg-shell, canal boats would disappear from sight under the mass of ships and ice, and come into view below in small pieces, strewing the surface of the boiling flood. At length a number of vessels were violently precipitated against the bridge at Randolph street, then a comparatively frail structure, which was torn from its place in a few seconds and forced into the channel of the river. The gorged mass of natural and artificial materials, of ice and general debris, kept on its resistless way to the principal and last remaining bridge in the city, at Clark street. This structure had been constructed on piles, and it was supposed would prevent the vessels already caught up by the ice from being swept out into the lake. But the momentum already attained by the great mass of ice and wreckage, which had even lifted some of the vessels bodily out of the water, was too great for any ordinary structure of wood, or even of stone or iron, to resist; and the moment this accumulated material struck the bridge, it was swept to utter destruction. The crash could be heard all over the city.

SCENES OF DESTRUCTION

The scene below the bridge at Clark street after the mass of material had swept by was terrific. The cries and shouts of the people, the crash of timbers, the toppling over of vessel masts, the terror-stricken crowds of people assembled in the adjoining streets, were sights and sounds never to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. At State street, where the river bends, the mass of material was again brought to a stand, the ice below resisting for a time the accumulated pressure. Some of the stronger vessels still withstood destruction, while around them smaller craft were breaking up and adding numerous fragments to the general ruin.

Beyond this gorged mass the open river and lake appeared in view, and it was then that the efforts of some of the bolder spirits among the citizens began to be effective in an effort to relieve the pressure. Arming themselves with axes, a number of men sprang upon the vessels thus jammed together, and at the risk of their lives, succeeded in detaching the vessels at the lower end of the mass of wreckage and ice, so that one by one some ten or twelve of the larger vessels floated free towards the open lake. Among those who were foremost and most fearless in this dangerous service the following names of citizens are mentioned: Alvin Calhoun, brother of John Calhoun, founder of the Chicago *Democrat,* R. C. Bristol, of the forwarding house of Bristol & Porter, Cyrus P. Bradley, subsequently sheriff and chief of police, and Darius Knights. Their successful efforts were greeted with loud cheers from the crowds on shore. Once in the lake the vessels were secured, in some cases by dropping the anchors, and in others by being brought up at the piers with the aid of hawsers.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

"Yesterday morning," said the *Democrat,* "the scenes in the river, between Haddock's warehouse and Fort Dearborn, were most melancholy. Piled indiscriminately, in some places, lay vessels, most of them as fine craft as float upon the lake, a mass of entangled wreck. Between them lay pieces of canal boats a bow sticking out here and a stern there, and a mass of wreck in other places, ground up into pieces small enough for kindling wood. Tall spars here and there lay across the decks, and ropes, chains etc., in inextricable entanglement, lay knotted and twisted in all directions. Some forty crafts of various kinds were wrecked or injured, and formed one of the most costly bridges ever constructed in the West, and the only one that Chicago now boasts of. Crowds of people were at the wrecks yesterday, and crowded the decks of the various vessels. Many ladies were not afraid to venture over the novel causeway, beneath which the water roared, falling in cascades from one obstruction to another, the whole forming the most exciting scene, perhaps ever witnessed. We understand several daguerreotype views of the vessels in their present position were taken."

This allusion to the new art of taking views with a camera, which has since had so wonderful a development, is an interesting one. The host of photographers, amateur and professional, who would have flocked to the scene of such a disaster, if it were to occur in these days, may well be imagined.

The following additional particulars are gathered from the files of the *Journal,* as printed in Andreas' history. "At about ten o'clock the mass of ice in the South

Branch gave way, carrying with it the bridges at Madison, Randolph, and Wells streets—in fact, sweeping off every bridge over the Chicago river, and also many of the wharves. There were in port four steamers, six propellers, twenty-four brigs, two sloops, and fifty-seven canal boats, many of which have been either totally destroyed or damaged seriously. The moving mass of ice, canal boats, propellers, and vessels was stopped at the foot of Clark street, but withstood the pressure only a moment, crashing vessels and falling spars soon giving evidence of the ruin which was about to follow. A short distance below, the river was again choked, opposite Kinzie's warehouse; vessels, propellers, and steamers were piled together in most indescribable confusion. A number of vessels are total wrecks, and were carried out into the lake a mass of debris.

"A boy was crushed to death at the Randolph street bridge, a little girl was killed by the falling of a topmast, and a number of men are reported lost upon canal boats which have been sunk, and upon the ice and bridges as the jam broke up. The bridge over the lock at Bridgeport is gone. The wharves all along the river have sustained serious injury. A son of Mr. Coombs was lost at Madison street bridge, and James L. Millard had his leg badly fractured while on board his vessel. One poor fellow on a canal boat waved his handkerchief as a signal of distress, a long distance out in the lake, during the afternoon; but there was no boat which could be sent to his assistance. The vessels were without their riggings, and the engines of the steamers were out of order."

ALL THE BRIDGES SWEPT AWAY

The city authorities went to work vigorously to replace the bridges, not one of which remained in existence. Present relief was obtained by means of ferries. A ferry was at once established at Randolph street, and in one place a canal boat lay across the river, which was made available for crossing on foot. A schooner was used at Clark street, and at other streets farther down the river ferries were installed. In the following June, Madison street bridge was opened to travel, and soon after a new bridge at Clark street was ready for use. Within a couple of months thereafter new bridges had replaced all those swept away by the flood.

In the year 1849, when the flood occurred, Chicago had been incorporated as a city twelve years. Its population was twenty-three thousand, and the city was growing by leaps and bounds. The Illinois and Michigan Canal had been completed the year before and was entering upon a prosperous career. Communication with the East was mainly by way of the lakes, as it was yet some years before the advent of the railroads. Lake steamers were doing an enormous business in the transportation of passengers, and the lake vessels were the carriers of western products to the eastern markets.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

The first number of the Chicago *Tribune* was issued on July 10th, 1847. The gentlemen associated in its establishment were Joseph K. C. Forrest, James J. Kelly, and John E. Wheeler. The name Tribune was adopted at the suggestion of Mr. Forrest. "The origin and establishment of the Chicago *Tribune*," said Mr. Forrest in later years, "were the initiation of an entirely new departure, not only in journalism, but in politics in Chicago and the Northwest. The creation of the

Republican party is as much due to the establishment of the Chicago *Tribune,* as to any other one cause."

"The first edition of the *Tribune,*" says Andreas, in his "History of Chicago," "was but four hundred copies, worked off by one of the editors as pressman, upon a Washington hand-press." Soon after its establishment Forrest and Kelly retired from the *Tribune,* and it was continued under the editorial charge of Thomas A. Stewart, who had bought an interest in the paper. On August 23d, 1848, John L. Scripps purchased a one-third interest, the firm becoming Wheeler, Stewart and Scripps. On May 22, 1849, the office was entirely destroyed by fire, and two issues of the paper were missed. This experience was repeated at the time of the Great Fire of 1871, when there were no issues for two days, and again in July, 1898, when there were no issues by any of the daily papers printed in the English language for four days, this interruption being caused by a strike the particulars of which are mentioned elsewhere in this history. These omissions were the only ones that have occurred in the daily issues of the *Tribune* for over sixty-three years.

Regular telegraphic dispatches began to be received and published in the *Tribune* on December 6th, 1849, this paper being the first to make use of them. Mr. Wheeler sold his interest in the paper to Thomas J. Waite on June 30th, 1851. Mr. Scripps sold his interest, June 12th, 1852, to a "syndicate of leading Whig politicians." Morning and evening editions were issued for a time, the latter, however, being soon discontinued. Mr. Waite died on August 26th, 1852, and his interest was purchased by Henry Fowler. Timothy Wright and General J. D. Webster also became associated in the ownership of the paper on March 23d, 1853.

On June 18th, 1853, Joseph Medill came from Cleveland and purchased a share in the paper, and it was then published under the proprietorship of Wright, Medill & Company. On the 21st of July, 1855, Thomas A. Stewart retired from the partnership, and on the 23d of September following, Dr. Charles H. Ray and John C. Vaughan assumed editorial charge. At the same time Alfred Cowles became a member of the firm. On March 26th, 1857, Mr. Vaughan withdrew, and the partnership name became Ray, Medill & Company.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS

In order to understand the subsequent history of the *Tribune* it is necessary to go back to the year 1852, when John L. Scripps sold his interest in the *Tribune* as above related. A few months after severing his connection with the *Tribune,* Scripps, having associated himself with William Bross, started the Chicago *Democratic Press,* the first issue of which appeared September 16th, 1852. The Chicago *Democrat,* under the editorial charge of John Wentworth, was then in existence, and continued publication until 1861, when it was finally discontinued. The similarity of names is likely to cause confusion in the minds of readers, but it should be remembered that they were two distinct publications. The *Democratic Press* was at first a supporter of Senator Douglas, but in time became estranged from him; and finally, in June, 1856, it hoisted the Republican flag. Having thus come into substantial agreement with the political doctrines advocated by the *Tribune,* the two papers were consolidated under the name of the Chicago *Press and Tribune.* The date of the first issue of the paper with this name was July 1st, 1858.

THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE

The consolidation of the *Democratic Press* with the *Tribune,* was accompanied, as stated above, by the change of its name to that of the *Press and Tribune,* the proprietors of the *Democratic Press* taking an interest in the new combination. It was during this period that the *Press and Tribune* showed great enterprise in news collecting. It contained full reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates which were printed with unusual promptness, the reporters being Henry Binmore and Robert R. Hitt. The expenses incurred were, however, very large and for a time seriously crippled the financial resources of the paper.

The name of *Press and Tribune* continued in use over two years, until, on October 25th, 1860, the word Press was dropped from the title, and the paper became once more the Chicago *Tribune.* The legislature soon after granted a charter to Charles H. Ray, Joseph Medill, Alfred L. Cowles, John L. Scripps, and William Bross, under the name of the Tribune Company, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars.

THE ORIGINAL PAPER OF THAT NAME

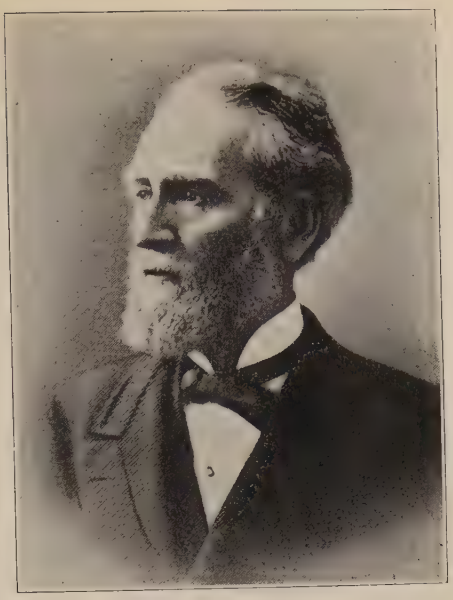
The history of the Chicago *Tribune,* as we have seen, dates from July 10th, 1847, but there was a newspaper of that name which had a brief existence in Chicago, several years before the date mentioned. An account of its beginning and career, together with a fac-simile of one of its issues, is given in Andreas' "History of Chicago," volume 1, pages 378 and 403, and is as follows: "On April 4th, 1840, appeared the *Weekly Tribune,* published by Charles N. Holcomb & Co., in the third story of the Saloon Building, corner of Lake and Clark streets. The pages of the paper were eighteen by twenty-four and three-fourths inches in size. Of this newspaper, the first to be called the *Tribune* in the United States, Edward G. Ryan, subsequently chief justice of Wisconsin, was editor, and it is said of this gentleman that he was one of the very ablest writers ever in Illinois. The *Tribune* was of very excellent typographical appearance, and was a decided credit to its management during the early days of journalism. In the early part of 1841, the forms were sold to Colonel Elisha Starr, of Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee *Journal* arose from the debris of the *Tribune.* Jonathan Carver Butterfield, one of the oldest printers in the city at the time of his death, July 7th, 1854, worked on this paper, and K. K. Jones was roller boy and carrier."

Thus there was an interval of six years after the discontinuance of the *Weekly Tribune* above spoken of, before the *Chicago Daily Tribune* began publication.

THE TRIBUNE'S LATER HISTORY

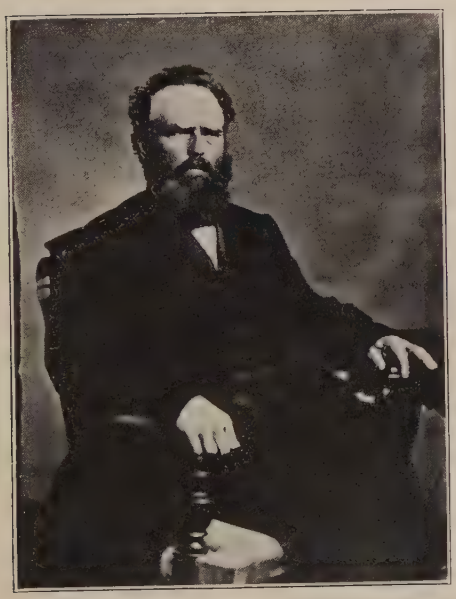
"During the Civil War, the *Tribune,*" says Andreas, "never for one moment faltered in the belief that the Union arms would be successful. . . . It was among the first, if not the very first newspaper, to urge the emancipation of the slaves. . . . Its editors and chief writers during this time were William Bross, Dr. Charles H. Ray, John L. Scripps, Joseph Medill, Horace White, and James W. Sheahan. Mr. Scripps was appointed postmaster in 1861, when his editorial connection with the paper ceased, and, in January, 1865, he sold out his stock to Horace White, who at that time became editor-in-chief." In 1874, Mr. Medill secured a controlling interest in the *Tribune,* and it remained in his control until

TRIBUNE BUILDING



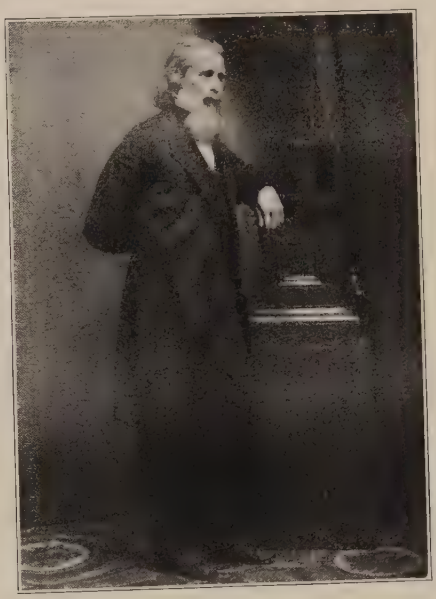
JOSEPH MEDILL

Mr. Medill was connected with The Tribune from 1853, when he came to Chicago from Cleveland, until his death in 1899. Since 1874 the controlling interest was in his hands.



WILLIAM BROSS

Resident of Chicago from 1848 until his death in 1890. He was a journalist, and with John L. Scripps founded the Democratic Press in 1852, which was consolidated with The Tribune in 1858, Mr. Bross retaining his connection with the new concern.



JOHN L. SCRIPPS

Journalist and a resident of Chicago from 1847 until his death in 1866. He was connected at first with The Tribune, founded in 1847, then with William Bross, he established the Daily Democratic Press in 1852, which was consolidated in 1858 with The Tribune under the name Press and Tribune, Mr. Scripps remaining one of the editors. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him postmaster at Chicago, and in this position he served until 1865.

his death on March 16th, 1899. This control is continued by members of his family to the present day.

"The growth of the paper in business and influence, from the beginning of his connection with it," says a writer in the "Historical Encyclopaedia of Illinois," "was one of the marvels of journalism, making it easily one of the most successful newspaper ventures in the United States, if not in the world." At his death Mr. Medill left these explicit injunctions to his heirs: "I desire that the control of *The Tribune* shall never leave the Medill family. I want *The Tribune* to continue to be after I am gone, as it has been under my direction, an advocate of political and moral progress, and in all things to follow the line of common sense. I desire *The Tribune* as a party organ never to be the supporter of that party which sought to destroy the American Union, or that exalts the state above the nation."

(Printed in the Supplement of the *Tribune* Feb. 12th, 1900.)

"Springfield, June, 15th, 1859.

"Press and Tribune Co.,

Gentlemen:—Herewith is a little draft to pay for your Daily another year from to-day. I suppose I shall take the Press & Tribune so long as it and I both live, unless I become unable to pay for it. In its devotion to our cause always, and to me personally last year, I owe it a debt of gratitude, which I fear I shall never be able to pay. Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln."

THE STORY OF DAVID KENNISON

Among the less conspicuous monuments in Lincoln Park there is one which marks the final resting place of a Revolutionary hero, whose name was David Kennison, sometimes spelled Kinnison. The history of Kennison, and how it happens that his grave is in Lincoln Park, is an interesting one. The spot is marked by a granite boulder, the top of which is some three or four feet above the surrounding turf, and riveted to the boulder is a bronze tablet with this inscription: "In memory of David Kennison, the last survivor of the 'Boston Tea Party,' who died in Chicago, February 24th, 1852, aged 115 years, 3 months, 17 days, and is buried near this spot. This stone is erected by the Sons of the Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution." The monument is located about seventy-five feet from the sidewalk on North Clark street, directly opposite Wisconsin street.

As is well known this portion of Lincoln Park was used as a city cemetery from 1837 to 1865, but on the latter date burials were stopped by action of the Common Council, and the bodies of those already interred were removed to Rosehill and other cemeteries. There were a number, however, whose remains were allowed to remain or were overlooked, and among the latter were those of David Kennison.[1] In Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution" a portrait and fac-simile of his signature is shown by which it appears that he spelled his name Kinnison before he came to Chicago, in 1842. However, such references as are found in Chicago spell the name as it appears on the monument.

[1] Illinois Historical Society Publications, No. 8, p. 291; also Fergus, No. 28, p. 114.

LOSSING'S ACCOUNT OF KENNISON

Lossing, writing in 1850, says that Kennison or Kinnison as he spells it, was at that time living in Chicago, and was in his one hundred and fourteenth year. "Through the kindness of a friend at Chicago," writes Lossing, "I procured the daguerreotype [which is reproduced in his volume], and the following sketch of his life from his own lips. The signature was written by the patriot upon the manuscript." It is from this sketch that the following is largely compiled. Previous to 1773, Kennison was living in Lebanon, Maine, and "was one of seventeen inhabitants of Lebanon who, some time previous to the 'Tea Party,' formed a club which held secret meetings to deliberate upon the grievances offered by the mother country. . . . Similar clubs were formed in Philadelphia, Boston, and the towns around. With these the Lebanon club kept up a correspondence." The colonists had determined that no tea should be received in American ports because of the tax which the British government insisted should be paid, and, when the news came that three ships laden with tea had arrived in Boston harbor, the Lebanon club "repaired to Boston, where they were joined by others; and twenty-four of them, disguised as Indians, hastened on board, twelve armed with muskets and bayonets, the rest with tomahawks and clubs." The tea was thrown into the harbor, together with the similar cargoes on the two other ships, and the "tea party," which had increased to some hundred and forty participants, returned to the landing place and marched in perfect order into the town, preceded by drum and fife. It is related that the British admiral was at the house of a Tory during the time that the tea was thrown overboard, and that when the party marched from the wharf he raised the window and said: "Well, boys, you've had a fine, pleasant evening for your Indian caper, haven't you? But mind, you have got to pay the fiddler yet!" "Oh, never mind," shouted Pitts, the leader, "never mind, squire. Just come out here, if you please, and we'll settle the bill in two minutes." The populace raised a shout, the fifer struck up a lively air, and the admiral shut the window in a hurry.

Kennison's name is mentioned by Lossing, in the list of those who were members of the famous "Boston Tea Party." In the sketch given of him Lossing, commenting upon the great age to which he had attained, says that he was descended from a long-lived race. "His great-grandfather, who came from England at an early day, and settled in Maine, lived to a very advanced age; his grandfather attained the age of one hundred and twelve years and ten days; his father died at the age of one hundred and three years and nine months; his mother died while he was yet young. . . . He was taught to read after he was sixty years of age, by his granddaughter, and learned to sign his name while a soldier of the Revolution. He was in active service during the whole war, only returning home once from the time of the destruction of the tea until peace had been declared. He participated in the affair at Lexington, and, with his father and two brothers, was at the battle of Bunker Hill, all four escaping unhurt.

KENNISON AT BUNKER HILL

"He was within a few feet of Warren when that officer fell. He was also engaged in the siege of Boston; the battles of Long Island, White Plains, and Fort Washington; skirmishes on Staten Island, the battles of Brandywine, Red Bank,

and Germantown; and, lastly, in a skirmish at Saratoga Springs, in which his company (scouts) were surrounded and captured by about three hundred Mohawk Indians. He remained a prisoner with them one year and seven months, about the end of which time peace was declared. After the war he settled at Danville, Vermont, and engaged in his old occupation of farming. He resided there about eight years, and then removed to Wells, in the state of Maine, where he remained until the commencement of the last war with Great Britain. He was in service during the whole of that war, and was in the battle of Sackett's Harbor and Williamsburg. In the latter conflict he was badly wounded in the hand by a grape-shot, the only injury he received in all his engagements.

"Since the war he has lived at Lyme and at Sackett's Harbor, New York. At Lyme, while engaged in felling a tree, he was struck by one of the limbs, which fractured his skull and broke his collar-bone and two of his ribs. While attending a 'training' at Sackett's Harbor, one of the cannon, having been loaded (as he says) 'with rotten wood,' was discharged. The contents struck the end of a rail close by him with such force as to carry it around, breaking and badly shattering both his legs midway between his ankles and knees. He was confined a long time by this wound, and, when able again to walk, both his legs had contracted permanent 'fever sores.' His right hip has been drawn up out of joint by rheumatism. A large scar upon his forehead bears conclusive testimony of its having come in contact with the heels of a horse. In his own language, he 'has been completely bunged up and stove in.'

"When last he heard of his children, only seven of the twenty-two were living. These were scattered abroad, from Canada to the Rocky Mountains. He has entirely lost all trace of them, and knows not that they are still living.

MOVES TO CHICAGO

"Nearly five years ago he went to Chicago with the family of William Mack [given in Fergus' list of 'Old Settlers prior to 1843,' as William Champion Mack], with whom he is now living. He is reduced to extreme poverty, and depends upon his pension of ninety-six dollars per annum for subsistence, most of which he pays for his board. Occasionally he is assisted by private donations. Up to 1848, he has always made something by labor. 'The last season,' says my informant, 'he has gathered one hundred bushels of corn, dug potatoes, made hay, and harvested oats. But now he finds himself too infirm to labor, though he thinks he could walk twenty miles a day by 'starting early.'

"He was evidently a very muscular man. Although not large, his frame is one of great power. He boasts of 'the strength of former years.' Nine years ago, he says he lifted a barrel of rum into a wagon with ease. His height was about five feet ten inches, with an expansive chest and broad shoulders. He walks somewhat bent, but with as much vigor as many almost half a century younger. His eye is usually somewhat dim, but, when excited by the recollection of his past eventful life, it twinkles and rolls in its socket with remarkable activity.

"His memory of recent events is not retentive, while the stirring scenes through which he passed in his youth, appear to be mapped out upon his mind in unfading colors. He is fond of martial music. The drum and fife of the recruiting

service, he says, 'daily put new life into him.' 'In fact,' he says, 'it's the sweetest music in the world. There's some sense in the drum, and fife, and bugle, but these pianos and other such trash I can't stand at all.'

"Many years ago he was troubled with partial deafness; his sight also failed him somewhat, and he was compelled to use glasses. Of late years both hearing and sight have returned to him as perfectly as he ever possessed them. He is playful and cheerful in his disposition. 'I have seen him,' says my informant, 'for hours upon the sidewalk with the little children, entering with uncommon zest into their childish pastimes. He relishes a joke, and often indulges in 'cracking one himself.'

"At a public meeting, in the summer of 1848, of those opposed to the extension of slavery, Mr. Kennison took the stand and addressed the audience with marked effect. He declared that he fought for the 'freedom of all,' that freedom ought to be given to the 'black boys,' and closed by exhorting his audience to do all in their power to abolish slavery."

KENNISON'S CALL ON THE EDITOR OF THE DEMOCRAT

The *Democrat,* in its issue of September 19, 1848, printed the following notice. "We had a call yesterday from David Kennison, the only surviving participant in throwing the tea overboard in Boston harbor. . . . We consider him the greatest curiosity of the day, and almost the last link between the American colonies and the United States."

KENNISON'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF IN A LETTER TO THE DEMOCRAT

Kennison addressed the following communication to the *Democrat,* some time in the year 1848, which recites the leading events of his career, some of which is a repetition of the foregoing account printed in Lossing's book.

"Sir: As several persons have been to see me to know how I was going to vote, I wish to get from you the use of the *Democrat* to tell the people what conclusion I have come to in the present condition of my country, as I probably shall never have another opportunity of voting. I have thought much of the subject, knowing my responsibility to God and my country. If I live till the 17th day of November next, I shall be one hundred and twelve years old.

"I was born at Kingston, New Hampshire, and my father moved to Lebanon, Maine, when I was an infant. I was a citizen of that place when, at the age of about thirty-three [he must have been thirty-seven in the year 1773, when the event he is about to mention occurred], I assisted in throwing the tea overboard in Boston harbor. I was at the battle of Bunker Hill and stood near General Warren when he fell. I also helped roll the barrels, filled with sand and stone, down the hill as the British came up.

"I was at the battles of White Plains, West Point, and Long Island. I helped stretch the chain across the Hudson River to stop the British from coming up. I was also in battles at Fort Montgomery, Staten Island, Delaware, Hudson, and Philadelphia. I witnessed the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and was near West Point when Arnold betrayed his country and Andre was hung. I have been under Washington (for whom I frequently carried the mails and dispatches), Pres-

MEMORIAL IN LINCOLN PARK TO DAVID KENNISON, A MEMBER OF "THE BOSTON TEA PARTY."

cott, Putnam, Montgomery and Lafayette. I now draw a pension of eight dollars a month for services in the Revolutionary war.

"When the last war broke out [War of 1812], I was living at Portland, Maine, when I enlisted and marched to Sackett's Harbor, and was in battle at that place, and also at other places, and now bear the marks of a wound received in my hand in that war. I voted for Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren and Polk, and have thought that I ought to vote for Mr. Van Buren at this time. I am a strong 'free soil' man and spoke at the free soil meeting in this city on the Fourth of July last. I have always been a Democrat and think it is too late to change now, even if I had a disposition, which I have not. I have made up my mind that Mr. Van Buren stands no chance of an election, and that voting for him will endanger the success of the other Democrats in this field, and so give us a Whig for president; hence I shall cast my vote for General Lewis Cass for president and General William O. Butler for vice-president, and advise all other Democrats to do the same. DAVID KENNISON."

KENNISON RANKS AMONG THE CHARACTERS

Kennison was one of the "characters" in Chicago in the early times. He came here in 1842, having then attained the age of one hundred and six years. In a sketch written by Mr. Stanley Waterloo for the Chicago *Tribune,* September 5, 1909, he describes his appearance. "Tall and erect, and with white hair that stood up like that of Andrew Jackson, though it curled slightly, with keen eye, and composed manner, he was one to attract attention. . . . He was consulted often as an authority on matters beyond the direct knowledge of most living men, and numerous were his contributions to and corrections of the history of the revolution."

One of his still surviving children, a daughter whom he had entirely lost sight of, rejoined him in his last years and was with him to the end. On the publication of Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution" in 1848, in which is given an extended account of the Boston "Tea Party" and the participants therein, this daughter was made acquainted with her father's place of residence and that he was still living. She came at once to Chicago where "she smoothed the patriarch's pillow in his passage to the grave."

At the time of his death in 1852, the *Democrat* gave an account of his last hours, and suggested that the wish he had expressed for a military funeral should be respected. These wishes were regarded to the letter. Waterloo says in his article above quoted from: "The council voted him a lot in the city cemetery. His funeral in the Clark Street Methodist church was an imposing one; and to the music of drum and fife and band, escorted by the local military companies, and 'the Pioneers' in bearskin caps and carrying axes, his body was borne to the cemetery, where the military rites concluded with the prescribed volley over the grave."

A HERO OF TWO WARS

Like many others among the pioneers whom we have met with in this history, Kennison was rude and unlettered, but he was one of the thousands who bore arms in the war establishing our liberties, and in the "Second War of Independence"

he bore an humble but effective part. It was an appropriate act on the part of the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution to seek out and mark the grave of this Revolutionary hero with a granite boulder and tablet of bronze; and it is a privilege to have his grave and monument in our most lovely park, and for us here to record the story of his life.

CHAPTER XIX

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE EARLY DAYS—FIRST SERMON PREACHED IN CHICAGO—THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHICAGO—ST. MARY'S CHURCH ORGANIZED—DEDICATION OF FIRST ST. MARY'S—THE EARLY MISSIONARIES—ST. MARY'S JUBILEE—CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES—MEMORIES OF OLD ST. MARY'S—THE PAULIST FATHERS—THE LAETARE MEDAL—FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—DEDICATION ADDRESS—GOING TO CHURCH IN 1834—PROGRESS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH—THE METHODIST CHURCH—EARLY EDIFICES—METHODIST CHURCH BLOCK—PASTORS OF THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH—DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE FIRST CHURCH—THE NORTHWESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE—EDITORS OF THE ADVOCATE—ST. JAMES EPISCOPAL CHURCH—BISHOP PHILANDER CHASE—REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH—FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH—CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM—JEWISH CONGREGATIONS—A. D. FIELD'S RECOLLECTIONS—PIONEER PREACHING.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE EARLY DAYS

IN LOOKING over the period of the building up of the small community, a natural question is one concerned with its religious life, if there were any here at the time. We have seen how the voyage of discovery in 1673 was in part a missionary enterprise, and that the presence here of Father Marquette, working among the Indians in the winter of 1674-5, was the first regular ministration of religion. Father Marquette's death, in the spring of 1675, left a blank in the record until the appearance of Father Pinet and Father Bineteau, in 1699. Their house was built on the banks of a small lake, "having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other," as described by St. Cosme, this locality being identified by Mr. Frank R. Grover as at the place since known as the "Skokie." This mission was abandoned two years later. Here and there through the records, we obtain glimpses of occasional visits of the missionary priests passing to and from the Illinois, but no regular mission station was established at this place for a century or more.

During the period between the building of the first Fort Dearborn in 1803, and its evacuation in 1812, there is no account of religious activity of any kind. Among the officers in charge of the fort no mention of a chaplain appears, and if there were any form of religious exercises they were confined to small groups of which we find no record. After the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, in 1816, no sign of religious life appears until 1822, when the Reverend Stephen D. Badin, a Catholic priest of Baltimore, visited Chicago, and during his visit baptized Alexander Beaubien,

then an infant, in Fort Dearborn. This was the first baptism in the future Chicago of which we have any knowledge.[1]

It may be remarked in this place that it is somewhat hazardous in writing history to mention any event, building or improvement of any character as the "first" of its kind, as it is very often found that later information discovers still earlier instances. Anything that is *first* is interesting, but, as the Scriptures say, "Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof."

THE FIRST SERMON IN CHICAGO

The Reverend Isaac McCoy, a Baptist Clergyman, relates in his book, "History of Baptist Indian Missions," that on the ninth of October, 1825, he preached the first sermon, as he was informed, "ever delivered at or near that place."[2] It required a considerable amount of courage in those days, in the rough and ready life of the frontier, for a man to avow himself a religious man or a believer in any form of religion; but among the soldiers and inhabitants there were a devoted few whose countenance and support of religious services and mission work could be depended upon.

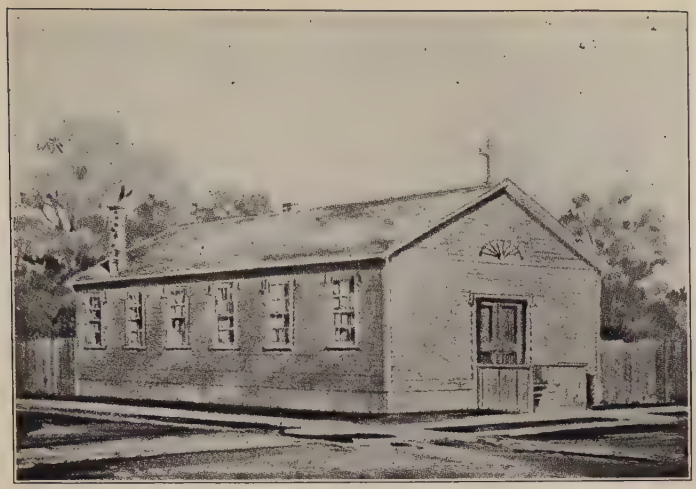
In the year 1831, a Methodist exhorter by the name of William See, employed as a blacksmith by David McKee, "held forth" on Sundays in the little schoolhouse at Wolf Point, "less to the edification of his hearers," says Mrs. Kinzie, "than to the unmerciful slaughter of the King's English." He was a man, however, of unblemished character. "He did what he could to prepare the way for the more efficient, though not more meritorious work done by his immediate successors."[3] In this year, the Reverend Stephen R. Beggs came to Chicago from Plainfield, Illinois, where he was among the first settlers, and held meetings at the fort and at the schoolhouse before mentioned, the result of which was the formation of a class. From this beginning the Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago entered upon its splendid career of religious prosperity and usefulness.[4]

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHICAGO

St. Mary's Church is the oldest church organization in Chicago, dating from the 17th of April, in the year 1833. The priest appointed to take charge of the newly organized church society, Father St. Cyr, arrived in Chicago from St. Louis, on the first of May following. We have compiled this account largely from a history of St. Mary's Church, printed in 1908, by Hon. William J. Onahan, a distinguished layman in the Catholic church. Mr. Onahan came to Chicago in 1854, and has been prominent in the business and public life of the city, as well as a devoted son of the church of his faith.

Mr. Onahan has been honored by two Popes with the distinction of Papal Chamberlain, and is one of the holders of the Lætare medal, conferred upon him in 1890, by the faculty of the University of Notre Dame. This medal is bestowed every year upon a member of the Catholic laity, man or woman, who may be dis-

[1] Andreas: "History of Chicago," I, 288.
[2] Cited by Hurlbut, "Chicago Antiquities," p. 198.
[3] Andreas: "History of Chicago," Vol. I, p. 114 .
[4] Beggs: "Early History of the Northwest," p. 87.



FIRST ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ERECTED BY
FATHER ST. CYR, 1833

SECOND ST. MARY'S CHURCH

tinguished in furthering the interests of morality, education and citizenship. In a later portion of this chapter the history and description of this medal will be given.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH ORGANIZED

The Catholic residents of Chicago in 1833 began a movement for the formation of a church. It must be borne in mind that among the inhabitants at that time were many Canadian French, brought up in the Catholic faith, as well as others who were quite willing to aid and support a priest to minister to the wants of the people of that faith, if he should be sent to them. A petition was prepared and signed quite numerously, the petition and signatures being given in full, as follows:

"To the Right Reverend Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of the State of Missouri at St. Louis;

"We, the Catholics of Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, lay before you the necessity there is to have a pastor in this new and flourishing city. There are here several families of French descent, born and brought up in the Roman Catholic Faith, and others quite willing to aid us in supporting a Pastor, who ought to be sent here before other sects obtain the upper hand, which very likely they will undertake to do. We have heard several persons say and assure were there a Pastor here they would join our religion in preference to any other. We count about one hundred Catholics in this town. We will not cease to pray until you have taken our important request into consideration.

"[Signed:] J. V. Owen and Family, J. B. Beaubien and Family, J. Laframboise and Family, J. Pothier and Family, A. Robinson and Family, P. Leclere and Family, R. Laframboise and Family, C. Laframboise and Family, J. Chassut and Family, A. Ouilmet, L. Bourasse, C. Taylor, J. B. Maranda and Sisters, L. Chevalier and Family, P. Walsh and Family, J. Mann and Family, J. Caldwell, B. Saver, J. B. Babba, J. B. Proulx, J. B. Jalevy, J. B. Durveher, A. Taylor, L. Franchere, Major Whistler's Family, M. Beaubien, J. B. Bradeur, M. Smith, A. St. Ours, B. Duplat, Ch. Munselle, J. Hondorf, D. Asgood, Nelson P. Perry, John Hogan, D. Vaughn."

The original paper is endorsed April, 1833. "Petition of the Catholics of Chicago; received the 16th, answered the 17th."

RESPONSE TO THE PETITION

The Bishop of St. Louis, Joseph Rosatti, promptly granted the request of the petitioners, and appointed Father John M. I. St. Cyr, a young man who had just been ordained to the priesthood, and who was then thirty years of age. This was his first appointment, and he entered upon it with the enthusiasm characteristic of the missionary. St. Cyr was born in France and received his education there. He had only been in America two years when he was assigned to duty as the first priest at Chicago, and it proved a fortunate selection. He made the journey from St. Louis, part of the way by boat, and part across country on horseback, and even on foot on the last stage of the journey.

Father St. Cyr celebrated his first Mass in Chicago, May 5, 1833, in a little log house, the home of Mark Beaubien, one of the petitioners. The new pastor

at once set to work to provide a suitable church, and within a short time he had raised the needed funds and obtained the material, the required lumber being brought on a scow from St. Joseph, across the lake. Augustine D. Taylor was both architect and builder of the modest edifice, for which he received the munificent sum of four hundred dollars, which was paid to him, as he subsequently declared, all in silver half dollars. An Indian woman cleaned and prepared the building for the dedication, or rather for the celebration of the first Mass. John Wright, a Presbyterian, afterwards a deacon in the First Presbyterian church, assisted Taylor in framing the little Catholic church. The building stood on a location near the southwest corner of State and Lake streets.

DEDICATION OF THE FIRST ST. MARY'S CHURCH

Though a small and inexpensive church edifice, it was not completed until October. At the dedication service there were present about one hundred persons. The walls and ceiling of the church were not plastered, and only rough benches were made for the congregation, while a simple table served for altar. The outside of the church was not painted, and it had neither steeple nor bell tower. Some time later an open tower was placed at one end of the roof, and a small bell, about the size of a locomotive bell of the present day, was hung within it.

In 1836 some trouble arose about the title to the land on which the church stood, and it was removed to a new location at the corner of Michigan avenue and Madison street. Here the building was enlarged, but soon after it was again removed to the southwest corner of Wabash avenue and Madison street. A new church, the pro-cathedral, was built on this location in 1843, and the old structure once more removed, this time to the westward on the same block. The new church was of brick, fifty-five feet wide, one hundred and twelve feet long and included a wide portico, the roof of which was supported by four Ionic columns. The cost of the new building was four thousand dollars. St. Xavier's Academy, under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, at 131 Wabash avenue, was later built on the adjoining lot south of the church.[6]

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES

While St. Mary's may be regarded as the earliest church organization in the city, it must not be forgotten that a missionary priest of the Catholic church was one of the discoverers of the region, wherein is now located the city of Chicago. Father Marquette celebrated mass in his hut on the banks of the river, during the winter of 1674-5, at a spot which has been marked with a memorial cross in recent years. For more than a century Catholic missionaries followed each other in their visits to this region. As Bancroft says, "not a lake was penetrated, not a headland turned in the Northwest, but a Jesuit led the way." The sacrifices made by these early missionaries, the perils braved by them, and the trials they endured, may be better understood when one reads the records of their labors. "The country itself presented a thousand obstacles," writes Shea, "there was danger from flood, danger from wild beasts, danger from the roving savages, danger from false friends and danger from the furious rapids on rivers." And in the midst of these

[6] Hurlbut, 602.

dangers many lost their lives, willing martyrs to the cause to which they were devoted.

THE ZEAL OF THE MISSIONARIES

"The history of St. Mary's church and parish," said Mr. Onahan, in the "Jubilee Address," in June, 1908, "is in a measure the narrative of the growth of the Catholic church in Chicago, and of the progress of this wonderful city. . . . The prodigies of religious and material development we have lived to witness have been brought forth in the past seventy-five years." Further on in his address Mr. Onahan said: "But I do not need to lay stress on the fact that the Catholic church has been the pioneer of Christianity here, as elsewhere throughout this continent. American history abounds with the proof and testimony. American historians acknowledge it, American geography significantly in nomenclature demonstrates it. From the beginning of the Christian era down to the present it has been so in every land, no distance or danger has deterred the Catholic missionary, and today, as in the past, they penetrate with fearless resolution and undaunted courage to the frontiers of civilization and far beyond its limits, in order to carry the light of the Gospel, and the blessings of Christian faith, to the benighted and barbarous tribes and nations."

MR. ONAHAN'S JUBILEE ADDRESS

It is not often that we find so eloquent an expression of what the Catholic church stands for in relation to its own people, and the people of the community in general, as is found in this Jubilee Address delivered by Mr. Onahan, to which we have referred above. When we remember that more than half of the population of our city today are adherents of the Catholic faith, we may listen with profound respect and attention to this intelligent and broad minded representative of so numerous a constituency. We quote below some striking passages from the address.

CATHOLIC CHURCH INFLUENCES

"I do not need to speak of the influence of the church on individual members of the congregation through its sacred rites, its sacraments, and ceremonies. Only the Catholic can comprehend what these mean to him and to his soul. His church is to him something more than an auditorium or lecture hall. For the Catholic his church is the House of God, and so there attaches to the place of Catholic worship peculiar and distinctive reverence.

"What then has been the influence of St. Mary's and of the Catholic church in Chicago, throughout the past seventy-five years? The religious teaching and ministrations in our churches today is the same as taught and practised by Father St. Cyr and the early missionaries—the same Christian doctrine; the same sacred rites; the same principles of faith, hope, and charity. Now, as then, the Catholic priest is laboring for the salvation of souls—striving to make men more perfect Christians, consequently better citizens, and more valuable members of society. See what this church has done here in our midst for religion, for education, for temperance and for the sacred cause of charity. I cannot detain you with elaborate details and statistics. Briefly then, I may say we have in Chicago a Catholic popu-

lation approximating one million, comprising representatives of every race and nation, worshipping in nearly two hundred churches.

CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES

"We have an attendance in our parochial schools, colleges and academies of one hundred thousand, where the knowledge of God and His commandments is daily taught; and we may point with pride to the multiplied asylums and institutions which are provided for every form and phase of human infirmity and affliction; for the orphan and the foundling; reformatories for the erring and the wayward; homes for the aged poor; hospitals for the sick and the infirm. How has it been possible, considering our condition and resources, to establish and multiply all these prodigies of religious zeal and holy charity? How meet the burdens which their support imposes?

"Only by the self-sacrificing spirit and the generous liberality of the Catholic laity—men and women. Priests and bishops and archbishops initiate, plan, and direct these matters with unfailing zeal and wise judgment; but these evidences of religious faith and charitable zeal which are to be seen in every quarter of the city could not be possible without the indispensable support and willing co-operation of the loyal Catholic laity. We have happily had in the past priests and bishops who gave splendid examples of religious ardor, of splendid qualities and character. They were without exception equal to their high responsibilities, to the duties and necessities of the situation in which they were placed; and the same is conspicuously true of the late and the present authorities of this great archdiocese. We have reason to be proud of the administration and progress of the church in our day. . . .

A DISTINGUISHED ARCHBISHOP

"I must not omit to mention the name of a distinguished member of the American hierarchy who has acknowledged that it was in Old St. Mary's the suggestion and inspiration first came to him of a vocation for the holy priesthood. In the early '50s a young Irish lad was attending the school attached to the church and the classes were held in the original frame building—the first church of 1833, built by Father St. Cyr. The priest who had charge of the catechism class in examining the boys, one day, was so struck by the correct answers and the readiness of a young Irish lad that after school hours he took him aside and questioned him: 'Where,' he asked, 'did you learn your lessons in the catechism?' 'In the County Kilkenny, where I came from,' was the answer.

"Impressed by the ingenuous manner of the youth and by his precise and exact knowledge of the Christian doctrine the father said to him: 'Would you not like to be a priest?' Whatever may have been the answer, the suggestion at all events made an impression on the boy. The thought of the sacred ministry—of a vocation for the priesthood—had never up to that moment entered the boy's head. He went home and told his father and mother what the priest had said to him. Shortly after the family moved to St. Paul. The bishop there soon after came to know this boy, and being similarly impressed by the character and promise of the youth, gained the consent of his parents and sent him to France to pursue his studies for the priesthood, in an ecclesiastical seminary. That young Irish lad

who received the suggestion of his vocation in Old St. Mary's is now the great and famous John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul. Do you not agree with me that this interesting fact is something Chicago and St. Mary's may well be proud of? . . .

RESPECT FOR CIVIL AUTHORITY

"The time has gone by when Catholics can be sneered at with impunity as 'foreigners' and 'Romanists.' Happily that vicious and mischievous spirit and temper has given way to a juster appreciation of the Catholic church in all that makes for the welfare of society and of the country. But for these foreigners where would the country be today? They have peopled and developed the great West, have made possible the stupendous material progress we see on every hand, and have contributed in no small degree to the welfare and stability of our institutions; and in this I include of course all European nationalities represented in the tide of immigration, whether Protestant or Catholic. . . . The Catholic church here, as elsewhere, teaches respect for authority, obedience to law and the due regard for property rights and interests. That church stands inflexibly for the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage tie, and consistently and persistently denounces the infamy of our abominable divorce system. The Catholic church is the strict guardian of the home and the family; imposes the obligation of a religious and moral training for the youth, and Catholics willingly assume the heavy burden which this duty involves. The church champions the cause of the poor against the injustice and exactions of capital, and while it pleads for right and justice in this regard, it equally insists on peace and order.

THE POWER FOR GOOD

"Thoughtful and conservative non-Catholics everywhere begin to see and to acknowledge the influence and power for good exerted by the Catholic church through its religious teaching and principles, and by the force of its potential organization. I could multiply notable examples and testimonies to demonstrate my assertion from the declarations of public men, and from notable writers and preachers, but the limit to which I must adhere will not admit of quotation from these sources and authorities.

"If I have referred to the value and importance of the great foreign contigent in our population and what the country owes to this tide of immigration, I am no less conscious of what the foreigner owes to America. For him and for them it has proved to be, indeed, the Promised Land! America has given in the past generation welcome to all comers, no matter how poor and forlorn their condition. It has opened the gates of opportunity to the immigrant from every country who sought the privileges of this hospitable land. . . . Loyalty and devotion to this republic, its institution, its laws, and its flag is an essential and peremptory duty for every citizen, but especially for those who have sought its shelter and protection coming from other countries, and who are enabled to share its privileges and take advantage of and enjoy its beneficent opportunities.

MEMORIES OF OLD ST. MARY'S

"Dear Old St. Mary's! How many precious and hallowed associations are recalled to mind by the mention of the old time church—memories and associa-

tions of earlier years, of friendships and companionships formed in the days when these ties seemed truer and kindlier and more enduring than those formed in later years! . . .

"Many present tonight were no doubt confirmed in the old church by one or another of the early bishops. And before the altar of that dear old cathedral how many are present who, like myself, look back with interest to the joyful day when they pledged vows of love and fidelity to a dear one who was to be thenceforward a devoted companion for life—the light and joy of a happy home through all the coming years. Yes, there are gracious and tender memories associated with dear Old St. Mary's which touch and thrill some heart-strings on this occasion. Sadly and reverently, too, we recall with emotion the memory of the friends and companions who have gone before us to the eternal shores, who were associated with the old church in earlier days. I dare not trust myself to recall the familiar names and gracious memory of those who in their day were potential figures in our Catholic circle and activities.

LATER DAYS OF ITS HISTORY

"What of the New St. Mary's? You all know its history, how the one-time fashionable Plymouth Congregational church was purchased by Bishop Foley to take the place of the Old St. Mary's destroyed in the great fire. You can recall the succession of pastors of the present church from that time to the present. . . .

"It was a fortunate day for the parish when the archbishop invited the Paulist Fathers to take charge of St. Mary's; more than this it was a happy event for Catholicity in Chicago. Placed here in the center of the commercial activities of this vast population, these zealous Fathers have the opportunity to exert a powerful and far-reaching influence for good. In the midst of the bustle and confusion, this church stands as an impressive monitor to remind the multitude that there are duties in our daily life more important than dollars; that there is a hereafter as well as a present life.

THE WORK OF THE PAULIST FATHERS

"The Paulist Fathers have made an impressive mark already in the Catholic history of the country. . . . Like other religious orders the mission of the Paulist Fathers is to save souls, to make the truths of religion better known, and to this end they employ the pulpit and the press. We all owe a debt of special gratitude to these Fathers for what they have done in the cause of Catholic literature, to promote the publication of high-class Catholic books and the circulation of admirable magazines and periodicals. . . .

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

"Twenty-five years hence the Catholics of Chicago will no doubt celebrate in a statelier and more majestic St. Mary's, in a still greater Chicago, the centenary of that first church. I am sure the preachers and orators of that occasion will recall, as we do, the memory of the earlier Catholic Pioneers—the faithful and loyal Catholics who built that first little frame church in the early Chicago, and the men and women who labored in the later times to uphold the standard of the faith,

often amid trials and difficulties, and were themselves steadfast to religion and duty. Those of the future time will, I am sure, pay to those who bore the heat and burden of the day, the due tribute of respect and homage.

"It has been my privilege, under God's favor, to have witnessed the three jubilees of St. Mary's, those of 1858, of 1883, and of 1908. The first of these was not, as well as I can recall, formally celebrated. In the last two I have the honor to have had part and voice. I can scarcely indulge the expectation of having part in the centenary. Who can prophesy how great and powerful the Catholic church will be in the greater Chicago in 1933—then, as in the past, faithful to her God-given mission, the savior of society, the benefactor of mankind, the church that teaches men how to live and shows them how to die!"

PASTORS OF ST. MARY'S

From the period of its organization to the present time, the pastors of St. Mary's have been as follows:

1833 to 1839—Rev. J. M. I. St. Cyr.
1840 to 1841—Rev. James O'Meara.
1842 to 1844—Rev. Maurice de St. Palais.
1845 to 1850—Rev. William J. Quarter.
1851—Rev. P. J. Donahue.
1852—Rev. —— Fitzgerald.
1853 to 1854—Rev. P. T. McElhearne.
1855 to 1856—Rev. Matthew Dillon.
1857—Rev. J. Larkin.
1858 to 1861—Rev. T. J. Butler.
1862 to 1863—Rev. Dr. McMullen.
1864 to 1871—Rev. T. J. Halligan.
1872—Rev. Edward Gavin.
1873 to 1877—Rev. P. M. Noonan.
1878 to 1889—Rev. Joseph P. Roles.
1890 to 1903—Rev. E. A. Murphy.
1903 to 1910—Paulist Fathers.

THE LAETARE MEDAL

A brief history of the institution of the Lætare Medal and a description of the medal itself will here be given. The medal is conferred annually by the Faculty of the University of Notre Dame as a tangible mark of honor that shall bear witness to its recipient of the approbation and sympathy of Notre Dame. It was settled in the beginning that the honor should be conferred on Lætare Sunday, and that the material symbol should be a gold medal and an address.

The custom of awarding the Lætare Medal was inaugurated at Notre Dame in 1883, when the faculty decided that a medal should be given each year to some member of the Catholic laity distinguished for furthering the interests of morality, education, and citizenship. The practice was inspired, no doubt, by a similar custom which has prevailed in Europe since the thirteenth century; instituted by the popes, who each year give a golden rose, blessed by the Pontiff, to some Euro-

pean whose services to religion or humanity were deemed worthy of recognition. The rose is blessed on the Mid-Sunday of Lent, and its presentation is accompanied by a benediction which in early times was conveyed in the following form: "Receive from our hands this rose, beloved son, who, according to the world, art noble, valiant and endowed with great prowess, that you may be still more ennobled by every virtue from Christ, as a rose planted near the streams of many waters; and may this grace be bestowed on you in the overflowing clemency of Him who liveth and reigneth, world without end."

SIGNIFICATION OF THE NAME

The medal derives its name from the day on which it is bestowed, Lætare Sunday,—so called because the Introit of the Mass for that day begins with the word, Lætare, meaning "Rejoice." This day was selected in accordance with the European custom, as the purpose to be attained in both cases is nearly identical. The medal itself is of gold, and is of artistic design and finished workmanship. The bar from which the disc is suspended is lettered "Lætare Medal," and the inscription: "*Magna est veritas et prævalebit*—Truth is mighty and shall prevail," appears on the face of the disc. Upon the reverse side, the names of the University and the recipient are inscribed. The address presented with the medal is painted and printed on silk, and is a record of the special reasons for which the person has been chosen.

Doctor John Gilmary Shea, the historian, was the first to be honored with the distinction, and the names of the subsequent recipients represent the very flower of the American Catholic laity, as is evident from the following list:—Patrick J. Keeley, architect; Eliza Allen Starr, art critic; Gen. John Newton, civil engineer; Patrick V. Hickey, editor; Anna Hanson Dorsey, novelist; William J. Onahan, publicist; Daniel Dougherty, orator; Major Henry W. F. Brownson, soldier and scholar; Patrick Donahoe, editor; Augustin Daly, theatrical manager; Anna T. Sadlier, author; William Starke Rosecrans, soldier; Doctor Thomas A. Emmet, physician; Hon. Timothy Howard, jurist; Mary Gwendolen Caldwell, philanthropist; John A. Creighton, philanthropist; William Bourke Cockran, lawyer and orator; John B. Murphy, surgeon; Charles J. Bonaparte, statesman; Richard C. Kerens, philanthropist; Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, philanthropist; Francis Quinlan, surgeon; Katherine E. Conway, editor; James C. Monaghan, educator; Mrs. Frances Christine Fisher Tiernan, writer; Maurice Francis Egan, United States Minister to Denmark.

One of the conditions of the bestowal of the medal is that the favored one has no intimation of the honor to be conferred on him until the week preceding its public announcement.

MEDAL CONFERRED UPON MR. ONAHAN

The conferring of the Lætare Medal upon Mr. Onahan is recorded in the "Notre Dame Scholastic," for March 22, 1890; as follows: "The honor which the University of Notre Dame confers each year on a distinguished Catholic American was this year sent to William J. Onahan, of Chicago. The choice of the Trustees and Faculty of the University was, when announced, enthusiastically endorsed, and by no persons more earnestly than by the Most Rev. Archbishop Feehan

LÆTARE MEDAL
MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRAEVALEBIT

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PRESENTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

and the many friends of Mr. Onahan among the prelates. On Lætare Sunday, the Rev. J. A. Zam, Vice-President of the University, and Dr. M. F. Egan, Professor of English Literature, arrived at Mr. Onahan's house in Chicago, about five o'clock, with Gregori's exquisitely painted address. They found Mr. Onahan, his private secretary, Mr. Duffy, and Mrs. and Miss Onahan at home, but with only a vague idea of what was to take place. Shortly afterwards, the Rev. E. A. Higgins, S. J., and Rev. J. M. Hayes arrived. Father Higgins acted as special delegate for the Archbishop, and presented the medal, after Dr. Egan had read the address, in a few eloquent and well-chosen words. Mr. Onahan was much affected. 'It humiliates me,' he said, 'to receive such an honor, which recalls to me what I ought to have done, not what I have done.'" Sir Launfal, at the end of his "Quest for the Holy Grail," could have given no more characteristic expression of true Christian humility.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE MEDALISTS

"It is a cardinal principle at Notre Dame," says a writer in the "Notre Dame Scholastic," for March 16, 1901, from whom we have already largely quoted, 'that to be a good Catholic a man must be a good citizen. The part that anyone takes in public affairs is, of course, largely determined by his environments and ability. If these are favorable to an active participation in public matters he is bound in duty not to hold aloof. An active part in the affairs of the municipality or nation, however, is certain to beget criticism both favorable and adverse. But adverse criticism does not signify, by any means, that the one criticised is wrong. The fundamental consideration is, *honesty of purpose;* and if that is indubitable, the civic honor is untarnished. . . . Men and women have been honored, and the number of vocations is increased with the addition of nearly every name. Birth, social position, wealth, have received absolutely no consideration in the selection of the Lætare Medalists. There is only one requirement, but that is absolute—worth."

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

On June 26, 1833, Reverend Jeremiah Porter organized the First Presbyterian church at Chicago, with twenty-six members. Mr. Porter was an army chaplain and had come to Fort Dearborn with troops from Fort Brady (Sault Ste. Marie), in May, 1833. The Home Mission Society of the Presbyterian church had already requested Mr. Porter to see if there were any settlements on the shore of Lake Michigan where the gospel might be preached.

Major John Fowle, in command of the troops from Fort Brady, had arrived in a schooner on the 12th of May, but owing to the roughness of the lake the troops and others did not land until the next day. On the morning of the following Sunday, the 19th, Mr. Porter preached a sermon in the fort, and in the afternoon in Father Jesse Walker's log house, at Wolf Point. Mr. Porter, in his journal, writes: "The first dreadful spectacle that met my eyes on going to church was a group of Indians sitting on the ground before a miserable French dramshop, playing cards, and as many trifling white men standing around to witness the game."[7]

[7] Andreas: "History of Chicago," Vol. I, p. 300.

A BUILDING PROVIDED

After the organization of the church regular services were held in the log house at "the Point," that is, Wolf Point. Measures were soon taken to erect a church edifice for the use of the society. A lot was chosen on the west side of Clark street between South Water and Lake streets, just north of the Sherman House. This was described as "a lonely spot, almost inaccessible, on account of surrounding sloughs and bogs." [8] On this lot was erected a frame building about twenty-five by thirty-five feet in size, the cost of which was six hundred dollars. This church was dedicated January 4, 1834, and notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the thermometer showing twenty-four degrees below zero, a fair congregation was assembled, and the sermon was preached by Mr. Porter. The Chicago *Democrat* of January 21, 1834, gives an account of the exercises, with a portion of the discourse. The editor says that Mr. Porter "descanted very ably on the importance of houses for public worship," and then "proceeded, with great clearness and beauty, to contrast the present and past conditions of this rapidly rising village. 'But recently,' said the preacher, 'these fields and floods, fair as the first finished work of nature, were claimed as the rightful inheritance of the roving savage. . . . Here then were witnessed but heathen rites and sports. . . . No Sabbath then was known, no day of sacred rest.

"'But now, how changed!' exclaimed the preacher. 'The untutored native, an enemy in war, a friend in peace, has yielded all his claims to his more powerful friends. He has retired before the tide of emigration. A town has risen like magic on the soil where recently he danced, the only occupant. These fields that echoed the war-whoop and yell now hear the voice of prayer and praise to the living God. Instead of rites offered to unknown gods and devils, now the Sabbath, as it returns weekly, sees a solemn assembly gathered to hear what God the Lord shall speak. The substantial dwelling and the delightful family altar have taken the place of the comfortless lodge, from which issued the voice of drunken mirth and senseless revelry.'" [9]

The reverend speaker then continued his discourse seasoned with appropriate quotations from the Scriptures, and towards its close he uttered this solemn warning: "How glorious is the prospect of this town, if the people will hear and obey the commandments of the Lord. It shall stand beautiful for situation a joy and rejoicing, while the sun and moon shall endure. But if they refuse and rebel, and covet the luxuries and crimes of the cities whose names only stand on the page of history, it shall fall like Babylon." [10]

GOING TO CHURCH IN 1834

Until this house of worship was completed the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians held their regular services in a small frame building erected by the Baptists at the corner of Franklin and South Water streets. Though the house built by the Baptists was also used as a schoolhouse, its main purpose was the holding of religious services, and therefore it antedated the church built by the

[8] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 609.
[9] Ibid., p. 613.
[10] Ibid., p. 614.

Presbyterians. "Those were the days of brotherly love," said a letter writer in recalling old times.[11] When a church had to be built nearly all the inhabitants lent willing aid. A difference of creeds in those days was no barrier to giving assistance either in money or labor.

When attending services the church-going people encountered difficulties which the letter writer above referred to, in speaking of the Presbyterian church on Clark street, describes as follows: "The approaches to the building, for some months after its completion, were rather miry, nor was there any bridge over the river in those early days." (A bridge was built however about that time at Dearborn street.) "Those pious worshippers, who came over from the 'Northern Liberties' braved the angry flood in a canoe. That famous ferry which was ordered by the united wisdom of the County Commissioners' Court, to be kept running 'from daylight to dark without stopping,' was located too far up the stream to be available.

"After escaping the 'perils of the deep,' and clambering up the muddy bank, they renewed their courage for the passage of 'Dole's Corner' on a round stick of timber, over a pool of very ambiguous depth, to the fence of a certain yellow house, then known as Dr. Goodhue's office, after which, by skilfully meandering fences, a certain bridge, made by spare seats, was reached, and thence to the door of the sanctuary." The singing was led by one Sergeant Burtiss, from the garrison. Indeed a large part of the membership of the church was recruited from the military people. "Since those days," continues our humorous letter writer (who sent his communication to the *Democratic Press* in the "fifties," but whose name has not been preserved), "this building has traveled, and lost its identity in accummulations to its bulk. The carpenter's saw and hammer, have, of late years, been the only music therein, where Burtiss used to lead."[12]

GROWTH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The church grew rapidly from the first, so that at the time Mr. Porter left it, in 1835, it had one hundred members. There was considerable difficulty in finding a successor to Mr. Porter, who had accepted a call to Peoria in the fall of 1835, and several clergymen, then resident in the East, were invited to take charge of the church. Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, Connecticut, was one of these. He took the letter he received to a member of his congregation, with the remark, "I've got a letter from some place out west, called Chicago, asking me to come there and preach. Can you tell me where it is?" Upon being informed that it was in a great swamp west of Lake Michigan, he decided to remain in Connecticut.[13]

The pastor of the Baptist church, Reverend Isaac T. Hinton, acted as pastor of the Presbyterian church for some time afterwards. In 1837, however, Reverend John Blatchford was installed as pastor, and remained two years. He was succeeded by Reverend Flavel Bascom, who disapproved of the location of the church on Clark street, saying that "it was too far out on the prairie." A new site was

[11] Hurlbut: "Chicago Antiquities," p. 615.
[12] Ibid., p. 615.
[13] Andreas: "History of Chicago," I, 301.

found at the southwest corner of Clark and Washington streets, to which the church building was removed in 1843, and at the same time enlarged. In 1849 a new structure, a substantial brick building, was completed. This building was occupied up to the time of the Great Fire of 1871.

Mr. Bascom remained as pastor of the First Presbyterian church for ten years, removing to Galesburg, Illinois, in 1850. He was succeeded by Reverend Harvey Curtiss, who continued in charge for eight years. In 1859, Reverend Zephaniah M. Humphrey succeeded to the pastorate, and remained until 1868. In that year he was succeeded by Reverend Arthur Mitchell.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The first Baptist church was organized October 19, 1833, with nineteen members, by Reverend Allen B. Freeman. A building had already been erected by the Baptists before the organization of the society, through the efforts of Dr. John T. Temple, who had raised the necessary funds by subscription. This building was situated near the corner of Franklin and South Water streets; it was a two-story frame structure, the upper story for school, the lower for religious purposes, and cost about nine hundred dollars. It was known as the "Temple Building," and was used by the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists alike until the Presbyterian church was ready for occupancy.

The Reverend Mr. Freeman was an earnest and efficient laborer, and, besides the church in Chicago, organized four others in neighboring districts. He died December 15, 1834, and was buried on the West Side near the North Branch at Indiana street, in a little burial ground surrounded by a picket fence. "The little enclosure was a prominent object," said one writing to the newspaper in later years, "on the otherwise unoccupied and open prairie, up to 1840 or later."[14]

During the year 1835 Reverend Isaac T. Hinton became the pastor of the Baptist church. He was an able and highly-esteemed preacher, a warm-hearted and genial man. John Wentworth, who came to Chicago in 1836, describes him as "an original." "Unlike clergymen now called sensational," says Wentworth, "he never quoted poetry nor told anecdotes nor used slang phrases for the purpose of creating a laugh. . . . He was a man who never seemed so happy as when he was immersing converted sinners in our frozen river or lake. It is said of his converts that no one of them was ever known to be a back-slider. If you could see the cakes of ice that were raked out to make room for baptismal services, you would make up your mind that no man would join a church under such circumstances unless he joined to stay.

"Immersions were no uncommon thing in those days. One cold day about the first part of February, 1839, there were seventeen immersed in the river at the foot of State street. A hole about twenty feet square was cut through the ice, and a platform was sunk, with one end resting upon the shore. . . . But recently our Baptist friends have made up their minds that our lake has enough to do to carry away all the sewerage of the city, without washing off the sins of the people."[15]

[14] Andreas: I, 316.
[15] Fergus: No. 7, p. 43.

THE SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE FIRE

It was situated at the northwest corner of Wabash Avenue and Washington Street

In the year 1844, a brick edifice was constructed at the southeast corner of Washington and La Salle streets, on the site now occupied by the Chamber of Commerce building, for the use of the Baptists, at a cost of forty-five hundred dollars. This building was destroyed by fire in 1852, but no time was lost in providing a new structure on the same site which was dedicated November 12, 1853. The new building cost thirty thousand dollars and was a handsome and commodious church edifice ornamented with a tall spire, a familiar object in the pictures of Chicago as seen from the courthouse tower in Hesler's famous photographs. In 1864, this building was taken down and removed piecemeal, and re-erected at the southwest corner of Monroe and Morgan streets on the West Side, where it became known as the Second Baptist church, the First church finding a new location at the corner of Wabash avenue and Hubbard court. The Second Baptist edifice still stands at this time fulfilling the purposes for which it was erected. The First Baptist escaped the great fire of 1871, but was destroyed by fire in July, 1874. Another building was erected in 1876, at the corner of Thirty-First street and South Park avenue, which remains in use at the present time.

The pastors of the Baptist church were:
1833 to 1834—Rev. Allen B. Freeman.
1835 to 1841—Rev. Isaac T. Hinton.
1842 to 1843—Rev. Charles B. Smith.
1843 to 1845—Rev. E. H. Hamlin.
1845 to 1847—Rev. Miles Sanford.
1847 to 1848—Rev. Luther Stone.
1848 to 1851—Rev. Elisha Tucker, D.D.
1852 to 1856—Rev. John C. Burroughs, D.D.
1856 to 1859—Rev. W. G. Howard, D.D.
1859 to 1879—Rev. William W. Everts, D.D.
1879 to 1881—Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D.
1882 to 1901—Rev. Poindexter S. Henson, D.D.
1903—Rev. Austen K. de Blois, D.D.

THE METHODIST CHURCH

The first Methodist church building was erected in 1834. It was located on the North Side, at the corner of North Clark and North Water streets, mistaken prophets having foretold that the town was to be there. The contract for its construction was signed on June 30, 1834,[16] which provided for a frame building twenty-six by thirty-eight feet in size, posts twelve feet high, a sheeted and shingle roof, seats with broad backs, a neat pulpit, a platform for a table and chairs, with "a rail of separation down the middle." The cost was to be five hundred and eighty dollars.

Before the construction of this church, mission services had been held in the Reverend Jesse Walker's double log house, at Wolf Point, and at John Watkins' schoolhouse, on the North Side. Walker had been appointed by the Illinois Methodist Conference as superintendent of "the mission work from Peoria to Chicago," and the Reverend Stephen R. Beggs, of Plainfield, was associated with him in this work.

[16] Blanchard: "Northwest and Chicago" (Ed. 1881), p. 646.

After the completion of the church on the North Side the Reverend Peter R. Borein carried on a successful work and brought the membership up to the number of ninety.[17] Borein is thus described by Grant Goodrich: "As an effective preacher, I have never heard his equal. I have heard men of more varied learning, of more brilliancy and depth of thought, and more polished diction, but none of that moving, winning power that seized the heart, wrought conviction and made his hearers willing captives."[18] In the year 1835, the Society was incorporated as the "Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago."[19]

The North Side was then struggling for supremacy. Many of the finest buildings in the new town were erected here, and it seemed as though the main business portion would here be established. The ground was higher and drier, and the naturally wooded surface presented a more attractive appearance than the low and level stretch of prairie on the South Side. However, the business interests continued to favor the south bank of the river in an increasing degree and the abandoned stores and hotels were evidence of the change which has since taken place.

CHURCH MOVED TO THE SOUTH SIDE

In the year 1836 the society secured land at the southeast corner of Clark and Washington streets, at first under an agreement to purchase; later this land was given to the society by the Canal Commissioners.[20] The building that had been in use on the North Side was removed, in 1838, to the new location, the removal across the river being effected by the use of scows. Although considerably enlarged after its arrival, it was found necessary in 1843 to erect a new building. This was done at a cost of twelve thousand dollars. The new building was sixty-eight by ninety-five feet, with a stone basement eight feet in height and walls thirty feet high. The spire was one hundred and forty-eight feet in height and the auditorium seated one thousand persons.[21] The Reverend Hooper Crews was pastor of the congregation in 1840, Nathaniel P. Cunningham in 1842, and William M. D. Ryan in 1844.

The system known as the itinerancy, as practiced in the Methodist church, accounts for the greater frequency of pastors in that denomination than in that of others. John Wesley said "We have found by long and consistent experience that a frequent exchange of teachers is best. This preacher has one talent, that another; no one whom I ever yet knew has all the talents which are needful for beginning, continuing and perfecting the work of grace in a whole congregation."

"While this itinerancy has its disadvantages," said Bishop Matthew Simpson, in his "Cyclopaedia of Methodism," "in the frequent removal of preachers, and in the breaking up of associations with the church, it has the advantage of removing pastors without the friction which frequently occurs in other churches." Up to the year 1840, Chicago had been within the jurisdiction of the Illinois Conference, but after that date it became one of the circuits of the Rock River Con-

[17] Robinson: "History of Rock River Conference," p. 47.
[18] Ibid., p. 47.
[19] Andreas: "History of Chicago," I, 326.
[20] Gale: "Reminiscences," p. 359.
[21] Andreas: "History of Chicago," I, 326.

ference which had been formed in that year. In the year 1857, an act of the Legislature was approved changing the name of the society to the "First Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago," though it came to be popularly known as the "Clark Street Methodist Episcopal Church."

METHODIST CHURCH BLOCK

The building erected in 1843, was found to be inadequate to the growing needs of the society, and in 1858 it was determined to build a block in which there should be stores and offices to rent, as well as an auditorium for the use of the congregation. This form of church structure has become a distinct peculiarity of this society, and its policy in this respect has resulted in making it into one of the best income producers of any institution of the church. The Methodist church block was erected, in 1858, on this plan, and an auditorium to provide a seating capacity for two thousand persons. The block cost seventy thousand dollars, and at once an income was provided which not only supported the society itself, but enabled it to extend aid to its sister churches in the denomination.

The progress made by the early churches in the first few years of their existence is very impressive, and indicates in a forcible manner the moral and religious growth of the city. Here we see a church, within ten years of its chrysalis state as a station in the "mission work from Peoria to Chicago," in a community just emerging from a village to a city, expending twelve thousand dollars for a building in which to seat one thousand persons; and in fifteen years thereafter its growth was so great that a structure costing seventy thousand dollars, with a seating capacity of two thousand, took its place; and all this besides assisting new societies in their work as the city expanded.

The Methodist church block was entirely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871, but the next year another took its place on still larger lines, at a cost of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Up to 1910 the First Methodist church had contributed seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars from its income in aid of other churches.

NAMES OF PASTORS

The pastors of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, since its beginning in 1834, have been as follows:

1834—Jesse Walker.
1835—John T. Mitchell.
1836—Otis F. Curtis.
1837—Peter R. Borein.
1839—Semphronius H. Stocking.
1840—Hooper Crews.
1842—Nathaniel P. Cunningham.
1843—Luke Hitchcock.
1844—Wm. M. D. Ryan.
1846—Chauncey Hobart.
1847—Philo Judson.

1848—Richard Haney.
1850—Stephen P. Keyes.
1852—John Clark.
1854—Hooper Crews.
1856—James Baume.
1858—William F. Stewart.
1860—Otis H. Tiffany.
1863—Chas. H. Fowler.
1866—William C. Dandy.
1867—John A. Gray.
1869—William H. Daniels.
1872—Hiram W. Thomas.
1875—Samuel A. W. Jewett.
1876—Matthew M. Parkhurst.
1876—William A. Spencer.
1879—John Williamson.
1882—Robert M. Hatfield.
1885—William A. Spencer.
1886—Henry W. Bolton.
1890—William Fawcett.
1893—H. D. Kimball.
1897—John P. Brushingham.
1906—Ernest W. Oneal.

THE "DIAMOND JUBILEE"

The First Methodist church held its "Diamond Jubilee" in November, 1910, celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of its organization. In the "Souvenir Program" is printed a historical sketch of the church which is an interesting summary of the facts previously related here, and with some additional particulars. It is as follows:

"The day of first things is always of supreme interest. So it is written down here that the first Methodist sermon was preached in Chicago in 1828. The first Methodist class was formed early in 1831 at the log house of Wm. See, the village blacksmith. The first Methodist church was organized June 16, 1831, by Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, and was composed of ten members. The first Methodist Watch Night service was held December 31, 1831. The first Quarterly Meeting and the first Sacramental Service were conducted in January, 1832. The first Methodist Sunday School was formed in 1834. The first Methodist church building was of logs, and was put up in 1834 at North Water and Clark streets, at a cost of $580. In 1839 this structure was moved across the river on scows to the lot at South Clark and Washington streets, which is still owned and occupied by the Society. In 1845 the original structure was replaced by a brick one at a cost of $12,000. In the year 1857, by act of the Legislature, the charter was enlarged to enable the Society to erect a building partially for commercial purposes, and in 1858 a composite building, containing, beside auditorium, stores and offices, was erected at a cost of $70,000. In 1865 the charter was again amended so that all the income,

except $1,000 and parsonage rent, could be devoted to the building of Methodist churches in the city of Chicago. The structure erected in 1858 stood until swept away by fire in 1871, whereupon the present one was erected at an expense of $130,000.

"This famous old church has been one of the great influences in the moral progress and development of Chicago and the source of the wonderful progress and strength of Methodism in the city. Many converted at her altars have come to great usefulness and influence down the decades, such as Abner R. Scranton, the founder of Grace church, and Mrs. Eliza Garrett, the benefactress of the Institute which bears her name, beside a number who have gone into the work of the ministry. Her laymen were the moving spirits in the establishment of the Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute, while most of the institutions of Methodism in Cook county bear the mark of their great hearted wisdom. Such men as George C. Cook, Grant Goodrich, Orrington Lunt and Dr. John Evans, can never die. 'Embalmed in their works their spirits walk abroad.' The names and deeds of ministers who have preached from this historic pulpit and prompted to and assisted in her great enterprises, are known and revered throughout the land.

"This church is justly called 'the Mother of Chicago Methodism,' for 158 out of 214 churches now largely owe their existence to her generosity, which up to date figures close to $725,000. She enjoys the preeminence of being the only downtown church within the 'loop' that maintains open house and regular church services all the year round. Standing where she was placed in 1839 at that corner 'where cross the crowded ways of life,' she is peculiarly the exponent and guardian of evangelical Christianity at the center of this great city.

"Her Board of Trustees is especially constituted by provision of her charter, which provides for nine members, and requires that there be three from her own membership, three from Trinity church, and three from Methodism at large in Chicago. These men have always been prominent and active leaders, whose names were well known throughout the church. Today this Board is composed of the following, in order of their election and years of service: Charles Busby, J. S. Harvey, Arthur Dixon, H. A. Goodrich, J. B. Hobbs, John Johnston, D. C. Alton, O. H. Horton, M. A. Allen.

"Because of the gradual extension of the business district and the consequent pushing back and out of the homes until now there are none within one mile in any direction, the membership has necessarily greatly dwindled. However enough devoted men and women remain to officer and work a Sunday School that enrolls 325, gathered from the river sections, and an Epworth League and a Junior League, which live and serve with great enthusiasm and blessing. Conversions and baptisms are not unknown nowadays at her altar, while thousands of transients every year find sanctuary within her walls. It is our delight to give special mention of two men whose names have been 'plowed' into the history of this church during the last forty-five years. And absolutely without their knowledge we honor here the names of Arthur Dixon and Horace A. Goodrich. Day and night, year in and year out, they have given their lives to this church. And whatever of sacrifice, and business sagacity, and integrity, and large heartedness, and open handedness were necessary to make First Church the radiating focus of untold blessings, these men have put into it."

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* issued its first number in 1853, Reverend James V. Watson, D. D., being the first editor. He died in 1856, and was succeeded by Reverend Thomas M. Eddy, D. D. In 1864, Reverend Arthur Edwards, D. D., succeeded Dr. Eddy, and continued in charge until his death in 1901. In choosing a successor to Dr. Edwards the usual precedents were departed from and David D. Thompson, a layman, was chosen editor of the *Northwestern*. Mr. Thompson filled the editorial chair with great ability until 1908, when he met an untimely death by accident on November 10th of that year. Mr. Thompson's career is an unusually interesting one and a sketch of his life is appended to this chapter. The Reverend Charles M. Stuart, D. D., became his successor as editor in charge of the *Northwestern*.

SKETCH OF DAVID D. THOMPSON

As we have seen from the previous account, Mr. Thompson was editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* from 1901 to 1908. Mr. Thompson was born April 29, 1852, in Cincinnati, Ohio, and from his boyhood had been identified with the publishing business. In the early '90s he came to Chicago and was made assistant editor of the *Northwestern* under Dr. Arthur Edwards, the editor-in-chief. In 1901, on the death of Dr. Edwards, he was chosen to the editorship, although a layman. Previously only regularly ordained ministers of the Methodist church had held that position. He was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal church in Evanston, where he resided up to the time of his death.

In November, 1908, he went to St. Louis to attend the sessions of the Missionary Society of the church. As he was crossing a street near his hotel with an umbrella raised, for it was raining at the time, he heard the signal from an approaching automobile, and unfortunately stepped backwards. The driver of the machine had turned towards the curb to avoid a collision, but this movement brought him directly in front of the automobile which struck him with so much force that he was carried in an unconscious state to the hospital, where he died on the 10th of November, 1908.

Mr. Thompson was a frequent and acceptable visitor at the White House in Washington, where he was invited to luncheon on several occasions with President Roosevelt and Secretary Cortelyou, and conferred on subjects in which they had a common interest. Mr. Thompson was especially interested in a measure, introduced in Congress, to confer medals upon E. W. Spencer, now living at Neenach, California, and Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, who as young men had performed efficient lifesaving work on the shore of Lake Michigan near Evanston, when the *Lady Elgin* and other vessels were wrecked during the sixties. At the time of the rescues it was not customary to give official recognition for such services, as it is at the present day. This measure had the warm personal support of the President and the distinguished Secretary of War; but up to the present time the measure has failed to become a law.

Mr. Thompson received the degree of Doctor of Laws from McKendree College in 1903. He was considered one of the greatest laymen of the Methodist church.

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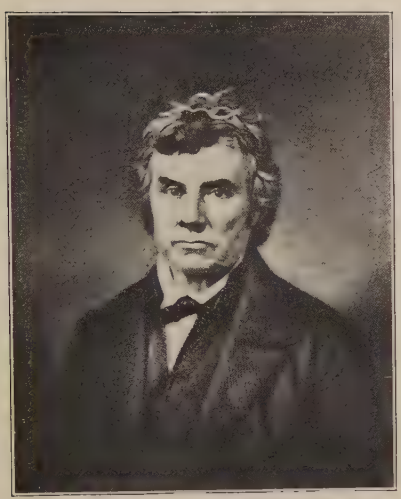
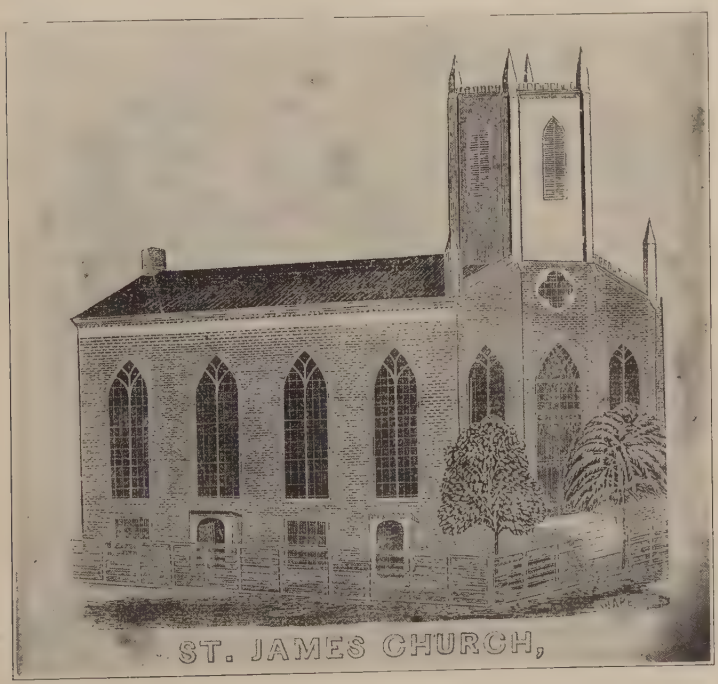
TRINITY CHURCH



PETER CARTWRIGHT

MOST REV. JAMES E. QUIGLEY, D. D.



At his funeral president-elect Taft sent a floral offering, and many heartfelt tributes were published in the papers, or adopted in the form of resolutions by various bodies. In the memorial service at St. Louis one of the speakers said that "this man's influence was given to the cause that lacked assistance, and was thrown steadily against the wrongs that need resistance."

In the untimely death of Dr. Thompson the church lost a valuable worker, and the community a shining example of moral worth and of eminent religious character.

ST. JAMES EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The first brick church edifice in the city was built by the Episcopalians on the North Side, at the corner of Cass and Illinois streets, in 1837. This was built by the St. James Episcopal church society, which had been organized in October, 1834, and whose meetings had been held in the building known as "Tippecanoe Hall." The Reverend Palmer Dyer conducted the services at first, but soon afterwards he went to Fort Snelling as an army chaplain. He was succeeded by Reverend Isaac W. Hallam, who remained until 1843.

On June 25, 1837, the new building was dedicated by Bishop Philander Chase. The building was Gothic in style forty-four by sixty-four feet in size, with a square tower in which was a bell, and cost $15,500. One of the features of the new church, in which the congregation took especial pride, was a large pulpit built of mahogany, eighteen feet wide, six feet deep, and of portentous height. Before the pulpit was the reading desk, and farther in front was the communion table. Above the pulpit were painted on the wall the letters I. H. S., common among Christian churches, as is well known. As John H. Kinzie was a large benefactor of the church, having given the lot on which it was built and contributed towards its construction, the initials above mentioned were mistaken by a visitor at the services for those of Mr. Kinzie. "How do you like our church?" was asked of the visitor. "Very much indeed," he replied, "but is it not a little egotistical, and won't the people think it a little vain in John to put his initials so conspicuously over the pulpit?"

Bishop Philander Chase, who had been in charge of the diocese since 1835, was a remarkable man in all respects, a man of great religious zeal, of indomitable perseverance, and the most successful pioneer of the Episcopal church in the West. He had been chiefly instrumental in establishing Kenyon College in Ohio some years before, having made a special journey to England to procure funds for the purpose. A few lines quoted from a student's song describes his activities in the early days of that institution:

"He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,
He sailed across the stormy seas.
He begged at every noble's door,
And also that of Hannah More.
The king, the queen, the lords, the earls,—
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,
Until Philander had enough,
And hurried homeward with the 'stuff.'"

Removing to Illinois, Bishop Chase became interested in the cause of higher education in this state and founded a college near Peoria, which he named Jubilee College, where Judge Harvey B. Hurd, well known as the codifier of our Illinois statutes, received his education. In behalf of this institution Bishop Chase made another voyage to England and was successful in procuring funds for the new institution from his many friends across the water.

ANECDOTES OF BISHOP CHASE

The bishop was a giant in stature, measuring six feet, four inches in height, and weighing nearly three hundred pounds. Mrs. Nellie Kinzie Gordon, a daughter of John H. Kinzie, has written her recollections of him. "He was a zealous Christian," she says, "who never spared himself in the service of the Lord, but he was very domineering, irascible, and intolerant of contradiction. . . . There being no railroads, the bishop was compelled to make the tour of his diocese in his own big coach, and he generally came to grief on the trip, as the roads were fearful. When he arrived in Chicago he always came straight to our house, and usually appeared with broken bones as the result of an upset."

On one occasion he had arrived on a Friday at the house of Mr. Kinzie, then situated at the corner of Michigan and Cass streets. He had as usual, met with an accident between Naperville and Chicago, "which had finished up his last ribs," as Mrs. Gordon relates. Having taken to his bed, he was supposed to be disabled from any further duties until he should recover from his injuries. "On Saturday evening, however," continues Mrs. Gordon, "he came into the library and remarked to my father, who was the senior warden of St. James church, 'John, my son, I shall preach tomorrow.' 'Why, bishop,' my father exclaimed, 'I don't think you will be able to stand that.' 'I don't mean to stand, my son,' replied the bishop, 'I shall preach, but I shall sit down, and I desire you to see that a seat is arranged for me in the pulpit.'"

Upon the small platform in front of the pulpit the wardens placed an old fashioned square wash stand, and draped it with some red moreen. On the top they placed a cushion, and here the bishop, with the help of Mr. Kellogg, the rector, and the wardens, was safely boosted. After the services had proceeded a short time "the bishop unfortunately gave himself a little hitch. It was fatal! Off slipped one leg of the washstand, the bishop was flung as from a catapult head first into the middle of the chancel, followed by the washstand, revealed in its nakedness. The congregation was breathless with horror at the catastrophe, while poor Mr. Kellogg seemed paralyzed with fright." But the bishop was used to all varieties of falls and tumbles, and with the help of those who came to his assistance he slowly began to rear up his massive form, and was again carefully hoisted upon the washstand, and resumed his discourse, which took him an hour and a half to deliver.

Bishop Chase died in 1852, and was succeeded by Reverend Henry J. Whitehouse. "Bishop Chase filled the Episcopate of Illinois," says Andreas, "for seventeen years. The summary of his acts is as follows: He ordained to the priesthood, seven; to the deaconate, twelve; he consecrated sixteen churches, and confirmed nine hundred and fifteen individuals."

THE SECOND EDIFICE

The large increase in membership rendered the brick building, at the corner of Cass and Illinois streets, too small for its purposes, and in 1857, after twenty years of occupancy, the St. James society abandoned the old church and took possession of its new edifice on the southeast corner of Cass and Huron streets, which had been completed at a cost of sixty thousand dollars, exclusive of the lot on which it was placed.

An interesting souvenir of the Civil War is the bell now in use on St. Mark's church, situated at the corner of Thirty-sixth street and Cottage Grove avenue. During the war the chaplain of the military prison, known as Camp Douglas, applied to the Government for funds to build a chapel for the use of the prisoners, and secured $2,300 out of a fund of $60,000, called the "Prisoners' Fund." The war closed soon after the completion of the chapel. The bell provided for the use of the chapel was in part made of coins largely contributed by the Confederate prisoners and other friends. These coins, silver and copper, were melted down and molded into a bell at Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1864. St. Mark's church is the direct successor of the little chapel built for the garrison and prisoners during the period of the war.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH

In 1871, Charles Edward Cheney, who had been rector of Christ church (Protestant Episcopal) since 1860, issued a protest against the findings of an ecclesiastical tribunal which had found him guilty of omitting certain portions of the ritual in services conducted by him. He was sentenced to be suspended from the ministry until he should profess contrition. This he declined to do and the protest referred to became famous in church history under the name of the "Chicago Protest." In this document he said that he entered his "solemn protest against the constitution, the mode of procedure, the rulings and the verdict of the ecclesiastical court by which my so-called trial has been conducted. From its decision and verdict, and from the sentence this day pronounced, I appeal to the judgment of Protestant Christianity and the Supreme Tribunal, before which all must appear."

Dr. Cheney was tried again for "contumacy," because he continued to officiate as rector of Christ church in obedience to the resolution adopted by the warders and vestrymen of that church to continue as such. One of his defenders in this trial was Melville W. Fuller who, associated with other counsel, objected to the jurisdiction of the court, but the objection was overruled. The charges against Cheney were sustained and he and the congregation of his church were thus forced into an alliance with the Reformed Episcopal church, which soon after became a separate branch of the denomination. Dr. Cheney was consecrated missionary bishop of the Northwest in December, 1873; and in 1878 he was made bishop of the Synod of Chicago which position he holds at the present time.

In 1875, Samuel Fallows became rector of St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal church, Chicago, and soon came to be recognized as one of the most eloquent pulpit orators of the day. Under his charge St. Paul's church has become prosperous and influential among the churches of the city. In 1876, Dr. Fallows was elected bishop having the jurisdiction of the West and Northwest, which was afterwards made a part of the Synod of Chicago. He has been elected eight times

presiding bishop, and is now the Coadjutor-Bishop of the Synod of Chicago. Bishop Fallows is known not only as an able and impressive public speaker but enjoys also a high reputation as an author of a number of learned works in various fields of thought.

Among some of the more important works written by Bishop Fallows may be mentioned "Synonyms and Antonyms," "The Life of Samuel Adams," "Popular and Biblical Encyclopedia," "Science of Health," and "Health and Happiness."

THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

The First Unitarian society was organized June 29, 1836, and eight hundred dollars was at once subscribed for the purchase of a lot. Meantime services were held at various places, at first in the Lake House on the North Side. Miss Harriet Martineau was on a tour through the West at this time, and attended these services, which she refers to as follows: "We were unexpectedly detained over Sunday in Chicago, and Dr. F. [Dr. Charles Follen] was requested to preach. Though only two hours' notice was given, a respectable congregation was assembled in the large room of the Lake House, a new hotel then building. Our seats were a few chairs and benches, and planks laid on trestles. The preacher stood behind a rough pine table, on which a large Bible was placed. I was never present at a more interesting service, and I know that there were others who felt with me."

In October, 1839, Reverend Joseph Harrington became pastor of the society, and the next year set to work to build a church. A lot was purchased on the south side of Washington street, between Clark and Dearborn streets, eighty by one hundred and eighty feet in size, for which the sum of five hundred dollars was paid. On this lot was built in 1841, the church edifice, forty-two by sixty feet, at a cost of forty-two hundred dollars. The building was ornamented with a spire in which was a bell, which, with the exception of the small bell on St. Mary's church, was the first church bell in Chicago. "It was the first bell in Chicago," says Andreas, "that could be heard to any considerable distance, and was depended upon by other churches to denote the time of Sunday services. It was also used as a fire alarm bell until 1853, when the First Baptist church was erected at the corner of Washington and La Salle streets, and the bell belonging to it, being a larger and more powerful one, superseded the 'little bell' on the Unitarian church in case of the necessity of sounding a fire alarm." The bell in the Baptist church spire was used for this purpose until the courthouse was completed in 1856, in the tower of which was hung a heavy bell which thenceforward discharged the functions of a fire alarm bell.

The Reverend Robert Collyer often preached in this church during the following years. In 1862 the building of the First Unitarian church was destroyed by fire, and soon after a new location was sought on Wabash avenue, near Hubbard court, on which a new building was erected in 1863. In 1866, Reverend Robert Laird Collier became pastor. The similarity of the name of the latter to that of Robert Collyer, the famous pastor of the Unity church—both belonging to the same denomination,—has caused endless confusion with readers, and even with writers who had no personal knowledge of the men, both preachers being men of force and great ability and often mentioned in the public prints.

Unity church was an offshoot from the First Unitarian society, and in 1859 a building was erected on the corner of Chicago avenue and North Dearborn street (as it was then called), and Robert Collyer became its pastor. In 1867 a new location was found on the corner of Walton place and Dearborn avenue, where a beautiful structure of cut stone with double spires was erected. This church met the common fate in the fire of 1871, but was afterwards re-erected on the same lines, and stands to the present time, though devoted to other uses.

In the recollections of A. D. Field, referred to elsewhere, he speaks of the building erected by the First Unitarian society, as follows: "In the summer of 1841 the Unitarians built the first really elegant church, except the Episcopal, in the city. It was of frame, but had a tall spire in which was a bell. In 1845 and '46, the city hired a man to ring this bell at 12 o'clock. You could see that beautiful spire and hear that bell in any part of the city. Years after, I was passing along and undertook to find that Unitarian church. I had hard work to find it. On the corner of Washington and Clark, and east on Washington were brick blocks towering upward, and in a notch between them stood, almost out of sight, overshadowed by the buildings, that church that was once the land mark of all the country around."

THE CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

The Chicago Society of the New Jerusalem was formed on the 7th of September, 1843, at the house of J. Young Scammon, with three members, namely, Mr. Scammon, his wife, Mary A. H. Scammon, and Vincent S. Lowell, a resident of Elgin, these being all the "New Church" people in Chicago or its vicinity at that time. A "platform" was adopted, consisting of the "three essentials" of the church, as contained in Emanuel Swedenborg's treatise on Divine Providence. These were, "First, the acknowledgement of the Divinity of Our Lord; Second, the acknowledgement of the Sancity of the word; and Third, the life which is called Charity,"—Charity being further defined in the following language: "According to the life which is charity every man has faith; from the word is the knowledge of what life must be; and from the Lord is reformation and Salvation." This denomination, usually spoken of as the Swedenborgian church, "has no uniform liturgy or discipline," says a writer in the "American Cyclopaedia," "each society being left to itself, very much on the Congregational system."

One of the first acts of the society was the securing of a lot on which to erect a church. The lot obtained was on the northeast corner of Adams street and Wabash avenue, seventy-six by one hundred and seventy-six feet in size. This lot was obtained as a gift from the Canal Commissioners, in the following manner: "There existed in Illinois, in 1843," says Rudolph Williams, the author of a history of the "New Church," "a law under which, in towns located where there were Illinois and Michigan Canal lands, organized churches could, without cost, obtain a title to a lot for a church building. This privilege, it was understood, would become inoperative in Chicago with the expiration of that year."

A record of the proceedings of the first meeting of the society was made and certified. The Reverend John R. Hibbard, who was pastor of the New church from 1849 to 1877, says in his volume, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," that when Mr. Scammon, with the certified record of the organization of the society, applied

to the Canal Commissioners for a lot, "they were rather astonished and inclined not to give a lot to a church so few in number; but Mr. Scammon insisted, saying that, although now very small, the New Jerusalem was destined to become the largest, if not the only church in the world. The trustees yielded and gave the lot."

A large measure of prosperity was enjoyed by the Swedenborgians, and their numbers increased rapidly. The first person to be baptized after the formation of the society was Joseph K. C. Forrest, well known in our early annals; and in the long roll of those who became connected with the church of the New Jerusalem are the names of many who were prominent as citizens and in the affairs of Chicago.

JEWISH CONGREGATIONS

In 1849 the Jews, who had begun to arrive in considerable numbers during the previous few years, "erected a synagogue on Clark street between Quincy and Adams streets, on a lot they had leased," says Andreas. "At the expiration of their lease they bought a lot on the northeast corner of Adams and Wells streets, upon which they erected a second synagogue. This was in 1855. Here they remained until 1865, when, the house becoming too small, they sold the property and bought a church on the corner of Wabash avenue and Peck court. In this church they worshipped until it was destroyed by the great fire of 1871. The first minister of this congregation was Reverend Ignatz Kunreuther, who became pastor in 1849. In 1855 he was succeeded by Reverend G. Schnerdacher, and he was succeeded in 1856 by Reverend G. M. Cohen. The following gentlemen then successively officiated as ministers of this congregation; Reverends L. Lebrecht, L. Levi, M. Mauser, M. Moses, and L. Adler. The pastorates of all except the last were quite short. Mr. Adler was called in 1861, and remained until 1880."

SINAI CONGREGATION

The history of Sinai Congregation which follows is based upon Mr. H. Eliassoff's very interesting and complete account printed in the "Reform Advocate," under date of May 6th, 1911.

On Sunday, June 20, 1858, in the office of Greenebaum Brothers, then at Number 45 Clark street, the "Yuedische Reform Verein" was instituted. Here were laid the foundation stones of the Sinai Congregation. The main purpose of the Jewish Reform Society was "to awaken and cultivate truer conceptions of Judaism, and a higher realization of Jewish religious life."

This movement was agitated from time to time among the Jews of Chicago until the fall of 1860, when a considerable number of the members of the older congregations, finding their efforts for reform within the circles of the orthodox organizations had proved fruitless, withdrew and established the "Sinai Congregation." The charter of the Congregation was dated July 20, 1861. The services were held on Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath, as formerly, the change which was afterwards made to Sunday not being ventured upon at this time.

A noteworthy section of the constitution adopted by the reform organization was as follows: "Prayers for the restoration of the Mosaic cult of sacrifices, for the return of an Israelitish nation as such to Palestine, the coming of a personal

ST. JAMES CHURCH

SINAI SYNAGOGUE

HOLY NAME CATHEDRAL

THIRD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST,
SCIENTIST

Messiah, the bodily resurrection of the dead, shall not be engrafted in the service of the Congregation." Dr. B. Felsenthal accepted a call to the spiritual leadership of the young Congregation and became its first Rabbi.

The first temple was a frame building, a former Christian church, located on Monroe street, between Clark and La Salle. This temple was dedicated on June 21, 1861, by Dr. S. Adler of New York. The first public divine service was then held by the young Congregation. Dr. Felsenthal occupied the pulpit of Sinai Congregation for three years, and on June 17, 1864, he preached his farewell sermon.

NEW LOCATION SECURED

The second temple of the Congregation was located on Third avenue (now Plymouth place) and Van Buren street, and was dedicated in the spring of 1863. One of the features of the dedication was that "all members, by common consent, took off their hats for the first time during divine services," thus definitely breaking away from the old Jewish custom of keeping hats on at such times.

Dr. Chronik was elected in 1865, and became Rabbi of the Congregation. During the incumbency of Dr. Chronik the transfer of the Saturday Sabbath to Sunday was advocated by him. In one of his lectures he said that "it was the only remedy for the preservation and dissemination of prophetic Judaism." Such transfer, however, was not made until some years later, the Jewish people not yet being ready to adopt the innovation. Dr. Kaufman Kohler was the next incumbent, arriving on the scene just after the great fire of 1871, when the temple was in ruins after that disastrous conflagration. A new site was purchased in 1872, at the corner of Indiana avenue and Twenty-first street. Sunday services were inaugurated by Dr. Kohler, the Congregation having wisely come to the conclusion that Sunday services were "a necessity for the preservation of Judaism in America." It was not until the 8th of April, 1876, that the new temple was dedicated, the total cost of the new edifice reaching the sum of $128,000. Dr. Kohler resigned in 1879.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF SUNDAY WORSHIP

At a special meeting of the members of Sinai Congregation, held February 19, 1880, the following resolution, giving official recognition to Sunday services (though already in practice), was adopted:

"Resolved, that inasmuch as circumstances over which we have no control prevent a large number of our members and young Israel especially from attending public worship on the Biblical Sabbath, this Congregation considers it an imperative duty to continue to hold services on the common day of rest, and to this end it shall be the duty of the incoming minister to attend to all functions of his station on Sabbaths and festivals and to deliver lectures before this Congregation on every Sunday."

So important is this question of the expediency of holding Jewish services on Sunday regarded that the opinions of a number of leading men in the Jewish world are here quoted bearing on the subject. Said Dr. Kohler on one occasion: "We have no right to say, 'Starve, rather than come on the Christian Sabbath day to the Synagogue to be fed on Heaven's manna.'" Dr. Sale once said in substance: "If we believe that we may not observe any other day than the one

that was held sacred by our ancestors, I do not see how we can possibly achieve the fruits of this Sabbath observance under the conditions of modern society. With all of our wailing, with all of our impotent wringing of hands, with all our imbecile and inane appeals to a sentiment that will not re-echo in our minds and our hearts, we will accomplish nothing. We will simply be wildly beating against the portals of our future, but we will not enter the promised land of prophetic Judaism, which means humanity."

THE COMING OF RABBI HIRSCH

It was in July, 1880, that a new star appeared on the firmament of Sinai Congregation. At this time Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, son of Dr. Samuel Hirsch, also an eminent Jewish Rabbi, was elected minister of the Congregation, and soon after entered upon the discharge of his duties in which he has continued down to the present time. The Congregation began almost immediately to increase its membership, the new members all occupying representative positions in the Chicago Jewish community.

Owing to the large increase in numbers the Congregation, in 1892, determined upon having the temple entirely remodeled. Mr. Eliassoff, in his account of the services conducted by Dr. Hirsch, after the temple had been reopened, writes: "Dr. Hirsch seemed inspired. The fiery eloquence of his words when he delivered his sermon entitled, 'The Two Books,' perfectly enthralled the souls of his listeners." A brief passage from the sermon referred to is quoted:

Dr. Hirsch said: "To the sacred inspiration of this hour, to the solemn appeal of this house, let me bid you welcome. We return after prolonged absence to our home. At the threshold meets us the New Year to usher us to the new Temple. The presence of this herald is a warning to remember the caution: Rejoice in fear, not that the conceit possesses us that excessive joy must be ransomed by corresponding depth of grief. To such dread we are not slaves. The fetters of this heritage of remote days do not weigh down the wings of our soul, though in such bondage the brightest even among the sun-kissed minds of Greece were paying homage to tyrant fear. We know that the exultations as well as the lamentations of mortal tongues are neither challenge nor charm to storm or lightning, to tide or wave, to fire or plague; not by such modes may either their fury be aroused, or their ravages stayed."

A NEW TEMPLE DEDICATED

In April, 1911, the old temple at Indiana avenue and Twenty-first street was abandoned in view of the approaching completion of the new and beautiful edifice on the corner of Grand boulevard and Forty-sixth street. The new temple was erected at an outlay of $400,000, the ground upon which it is built having cost $80,000. The membership of the Congregation is placed in a recent report at five hundred and eighty-one, and the affairs of the society are in all respects in a flourishing condition. After thirty-one years of continuous service Dr. Hirsch is still the presiding genius of this splendid religious enterprise, secure in the affections of his people and in the enjoyment of an exalted reputation in the community.

FIELD'S RECOLLECTIONS

The following account of early times in Chicago is compiled from A. D. Field's recollections left in manuscript form some years since with the Evanston Historical Society. We have given elsewhere portions of Field's recollections, but as this portion refers to the early churches, it may be regarded as an interesting supplement to the sketches previously given.

"Among the early settlers," he says, "were the Beaubien family—John B., Mark and Medore. I knew all of them. Mark kept the Sauganash hotel in 1836. Charles Taylor and his two brothers, Anson and Augustine Deodat (usually called Deodat Taylor), were Catholics, as were also the Beaubiens. These people and others built the first Catholic church in Chicago, in 1833.

"Reverend Jesse Walker had built a log house at Wolf Point as early as July, 1831, in which the Methodists, as well as the Presbyterians, held services. This structure was a dwelling and schoolhouse combined. It was in the house that Jeremiah Porter, of the Presbyterian church, held services, in 1833, before the completion of the first edifice of the Presbyterian church. The latter building was situated on the west side of Clark street, between Randolph and Lake streets. It was seated with benches and was used for both church and school purposes. I attended school in this building in the fall of 1835 and winter of 1836. This church was dedicated in January, 1834.

"When I joined the Clark street Methodist church in Chicago, in the fall of 1842, there was one lone Methodist Society in the city. The pastor, N. P. Cunningham, and the Presiding Elder, Hooper Crews, lived in the city; besides them there were no other Methodist preachers nearer than Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, Naperville and Joliet.

"Now, in 1900, there are more than a hundred Methodist churches and preachers on this ground. It is a curious fact that there is probably not a vestige left of any building or bell that I ever saw or knew in 1845 and previously thereto.

"The Chicago fire of Oct. 9, 1871, swept out everything I had ever seen, even the ground on which I trod has been buried eight feet deep by the raising of the city in 1858. The lake, the beautiful lake, is all that is left.

"There were two or three things in which all the Chicago churches were a unit. They were all orthodox on the following: The pews were all straight pews, as high as the backs of the people and had doors. You went into your rented pew and closed the door and buttoned it. The pulpit was a 'preach-pen.' If a preacher knelt down in the pulpit he could not be seen. He went up three or four steps, went into the pulpit and shut the door and buttoned it.

"The churches were lighted with lard oil lamps. In cold weather the oil would harden white. The sexton (we did not have janitors then) would go about before church time with a bottle of spirits of turpentine in which was a stick or swab. He would smirch the wick with turpentine, light his match and coax the lamp-wick into the flame. The lights were dimmer than a tallow candle and the churches of evenings would look as dismal as a torch lighted cave."

PIONEER PREACHING

The fervency and directness of religious appeals made by the "circuit riders," and the Evangelists of various denominations are picturesque features in the life

of the early settlers throughout the West. The preaching of these men had a deep influence on the people, softening the rough manners of the settlers and bringing into their lives a higher standard of living and thinking. Peter Cartwright, a well-known figure in the pioneer days of Illinois, was a preacher of wide renown, spending more than forty years of his life traveling over the state on horseback or in a conveyance, holding services in cabins, schoolhouses, and at camp-meetings. He also found time in his busy life to serve a term in the Illinois State Legislature of 1828-9. Many stories of Cartwright are told of his powers as an exhorter and preacher, and also of his prowess in quelling disorders at camp-meetings, not hesitating to use force to eject disturbers, or meet them in combat.

Cartwright made effective use of the "fire and brimstone" argument in his sermons, as well as of the more benign truths of the gospel story. In Grierson's "The Valley of Shadows," a book depicting life in the mid-century period in Illinois, one of the pioneers says of his preaching: "Brother Cartwright tuck right holt, ez ye might say, en swung 'em till their feet tetched perdition." Like sturdy old John Knox of Scotland, he made no distinction in rank or sex when he believed he had a message to deliver. Once Andrew Jackson came into a meeting where Cartwright was preaching, and the Presiding Elder whispered to the preacher, "That's Andrew Jackson." But the preacher, in the full fervor of his discourse, shouted, "Who's Andrew Jackson? If he's a sinner God will damn him the same as he would a Guinea nigger." It is a satisfaction to mention that "Old Hickory" took no offence at this language, but on the contrary invited him to dine with him at the close of his services and congratulated him on his sincerity and high moral courage.

In Grierson's book, above referred to, the author relates that in the course of a camp-meeting address Cartwright pointed straight at one of the women, who was showing signs of emotional interest, and said: "Ye're at the crossroads, sister; ye'll have to choose one or t' other; en the years en the months are gone fer most of ye, en thar's only this here hour left fer to choose. Which will it be? Will it be the road that leads up yander, or the one that leads down by the dark river whar the willers air weepin' night en day?" Driving home the effects of the rude eloquence, he takes an illustration from a 'coon hunt, familiar enough to his hearers. "Sinners," he says, "is jes' like the coon asleep in that tree, never dreamin' of danger. But the varmint war waked all on a sudden by a thunderin' smell o' smoke, en had to take to the branches. Someone climbs up the tree en shakes the branch whar the coon is holdin' on." The preacher then slung his handkerchief over his left arm, and continued; "A leetle more, a leetle more, *a l-e-e-t-l-e more,* en the varmint's bound to drap squar' on the dogs." He shook his arm three times, letting the handkerchief drop, and with dramatic solemnity and in measured accents continued, "— down to whar the wailin' en gnashin' air a million times more terrible 'n the sufferin's of that coon."

SENTENCES OF EXCOMMUNICATION

"In early times, it was customary," said John Wentworth in one of his historical lectures, in 1876, "to excommunicate members of the church as publicly as

they had been admitted. . . . I remember in the early times here of a clergyman's dealing, at the close of his service, with a member, one of our well-known citizens, somewhat after this fashion: 'You will remember, my hearers, that some time ago Mr. Blank was proposed for admission to this church, and, after he had passed a favorable examination, I called upon every one present to know if there was any objection, and no one rose and objected. It becomes my painful duty now to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon him, and to remand him back to the world again with all his sins upon his head.'

"Whereupon a gentleman rose in his pew and said: 'And now the world objects to receiving him.' On which bursts of laughter filled the house, and the precise status of that man was never determined."

DR. DYER AND THE GOAT

A story is told of Dr. Charles V. Dyer, a member of the Swedenborgian Society, which held its meetings in the old Saloon building in 1850. Some goats were kept by residents in the vicinity, and, according to the eccentricities of that animal, were frequently met with in most unexpected places. They were even encountered in the stairway to the upper rooms of the Saloon building, then the most elegant structure in the city. On one occasion Dr. Dyer was seen driving the goats away from the entrance to the place of worship, when some person remarked to him, "You have goats in your congregation?" "No, sir," replied the doctor, "ours is the only congregation in town which turns them out."

HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES

An adequate and complete history of all the churches in Chicago would require a volume or more to do it justice. The general reader is presumably interested in the beginnings and progress of the religious life of the city rather than the history of particular churches, each of which has a history of local interest only. We have chosen to give a history of the pioneer churches only, such, for example, as have had their beginnings before the year 1850, and following the evolution of one single church as representing all the churches of its denomination. On this plan we have attempted to outline the history of those denominations which had established themselves in Chicago before the period named above.

CHAPTER XX

SLAVERY ISSUES IN CHICAGO

SLAVERY IN ILLINOIS—FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—ITS BANEFUL EFFECTS—MRS. STOWE'S REMARKABLE BOOK—BLACK CODE OF ILLINOIS—SALE OF A NEGRO IN CHICAGO—SET AT LIBERTY AFTER SALE—ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN CHICAGO—THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD—GREAT NUMBERS OF RUNAWAY SLAVES—MEETINGS TO DENOUNCE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—SENATOR DOUGLAS APPEARS ON THE SCENE—CAUSES A TEMPORARY REVERSAL OF SENTIMENT—REVIEWS THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW—ANSWERS AWKWARD QUESTIONS—DOUGLAS OFFERS RESOLUTIONS TO SUPPORT THE OBNOXIOUS LAW—SUCCEEDS IN GETTING THEM ADOPTED—SHOWS WONDERFUL POWER IN SWAYING AUDIENCES—OPPOSITION MEETINGS HELD—PUBLIC MEETINGS SIX NIGHTS IN SUCCESSION—REVIEW OF THE EXCITING EVENTS OF THE WEEK.

SLAVERY IN ILLINOIS

ALTHOUGH by the Ordinance of 1787 slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, there had been found a way by slave owners, under a so-called "Indenture Law," enacted while Illinois was under a territorial form of government, to hold negroes and mulattoes to service, which was in effect the same as slavery.[1] When the state constitution was adopted, in 1818, it prohibited slavery, but the old indentures of negroes were recognized, though future ones of a similar kind were forbidden. Thus it came about that in the census reports for the four periods, 1810, '20, '30, and '40, Illinois was shown to have a slave population, one hundred and sixty-eight in the first of the years named, nine hundred and seventeen in the second, seven hundred and forty-seven in the third, and three hundred and thirty-one in the fourth. In the next census after 1840, there were no slaves enumerated.[2]

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

"The Constitution," says Von Holst, "had undeniably intended not only to give the slaveholders generally the right of claiming their fugitive slaves, but also to make their recovery as easy as was possible without infringing or endangering the rights of third parties."[3] The language of the Constitution referred to by Von Holst, was as follows:

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be dis-

[1] Boggess: Settlement of Illinois, p. 117.
[2] Appleton's Cyclopedia, art. "Illinois."
[3] Von Holst: Constitutional History of United States, III, 551.

charged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." (Art. IV, sec. 2.)

A writer in the "American Cyclopædia," commenting on this passage, says: "Although the word slave was not here employed, the purpose was to provide for the reclamation of slaves fleeing from their masters; and, in 1793, an act was passed by Congress to give effect to the provision by means of the arrest of any person claimed as a fugitive from slavery, and his return to the state from which he was found to have fled, after a summary judicial hearing. The repugnance to the institution of slavery on the part of large numbers of people in the northern states rendered this act of little practical value." [4]

The slaveholders of the South, chafing under their losses from runaway slaves, demanded a new law which would be more efficient than the old one, and after a long and bitter contention succeeded in procuring the passage of the notorious Fugitive Slave Law, in 1850. "The bill began," says Von Holst, who makes a summary of its provisions, "by charging with the execution of the law, commissions [i. e., 'United States Commissioners'] appointed by the circuit courts of the United States. . . . Equally with the judges of the circuit and district courts they were to take cognizance of plaints for the delivery of fugitive slaves, a provision the constitutionality of which was much attacked, because the Constitution did not give Congress a right to transfer judicial powers to officials who were not judges." All good citizens were commanded, if required, "to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law;" and whoever knowingly harbored or concealed a fugitive slave, in order to prevent his arrest, should be fined "not more than one thousand dollars and imprisoned not more than six months, and shall, in addition, if the slave escapes, pay the owner one thousand dollars. If the owner fears a forcible rescue of the slave awarded him, the official in whose hands the slave is, may, at the expense of the United States, employ as many men as he deems necessary and retain them according to his discretion, in order to prevent the rescue." [5]

BANEFUL EFFECTS OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

"From the standpoint of humanity, fairness and morals," continues Von Holst, "it needs no closer examination; it is enough to read its provisions through once attentively, in order to turn from it with horror and indignation. That the Democratic republic could bring itself to take part in such fashion for the slave-hunter and against his victim, and that it was made so fearfully easy for unscrupulousness, revenge, and greed, to convert free men and women into slaves, will always remain a deep stain in the history of the United States. 'Whom the Gods will destroy they first make mad.' The old saying had here received a striking confirmation in the case of the slavocracy. The Fugitive Slave Law was a deadly blow to it inflicted by its own hands, and this political side of the question was of infinitely greater significance than the constitutional quibblings." [6]

The Fugitive Slave Law had the effect of destroying every pacifying effect which it had been confidently predicted it would accomplish. It went beyond the re-

[4] Appleton's Cyclopedia, art. "Fugitive."
[5] Von Holst: III, 548.
[6] Ibid., 551.

quirements of the Constitution needlessly, and violated the principles of justice by providing no safeguard for the claimed fugitive against perjury and fraud. The procedure against the accused was "summary," and his own testimony was not to be admitted.[7] "Every case that occurred under it," says Rhodes, "every surrender of a claimed fugitive, did more than the Abolitionists had ever done to convert northern people to some part, at least, of abolitionist beliefs. Senator Seward, in a senate debate . . . had made a casual allusion to 'a higher law than the Constitution,' and the phrase was caught up. To obstruct, resist, frustrate, the execution of the statute, came to be looked upon by many people as a duty dictated by the 'higher law' of moral right. Legislatures were moved to enact obstructive 'personal liberty laws;' and quiet citizens were moved to riotous acts. Active undertakings to encourage and assist the escape of slaves from southern states were set on foot, and a remarkable organization of helping hands was formed, in what took the name of the 'Underground Railroad,' to secrete them and pass them on to the safe shelter of Canadian law. The slaveholders lost thousands of their servants for every one that the law restored to their hands.

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"

"The story of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, may fairly be counted among the products of the Fugitive Slave Law, and no other book ever produced an extraordinary effect so quickly on the public mind. In book form it was published in March, 1852, and it was read everywhere in civilized countries within the next two or three years. Its picture of slavery was stamped ineffaceably on the thought of the whole world and the institution was arraigned upon it, for a more impressive judgment than Christendom had ever pronounced before. That the picture was not a true one of the general and common circumstances of southern slavery, but that the incidents put together in the story were all possible, has been proved beyond doubt."

The story of Uncle Tom "created the overwhelming impression that it did," says Von Holst, "because its fiction was an entire truth. . . . The abominations of which an account is given in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' might all have been committed against the slaves, under the protection of the law. . . . That the laws sanctioned such abominations, and that it was sufficient to turn over the advertisement leaves of one of the great Southern newspapers for any year, in order to collect the original material from which such a story could be spun, was enough to brand the system, and to make the 'peculiar institution' as an institution, appear as a curse and as a frightful blot upon the civilization of the nineteenth century." [8]

It was not pretended, even by the most extreme abolitionists, that the story was a picture of the life to which the great mass of the slaves was condemned. But that it was an actual picture of what was possible, and even of what often happened, convinced the northern people to an increased degree of the evil and vicious tendencies of human slavery. "In this sense, the fiction was full of truth, and this is what its readers found in it. And this it was that, in a short time, gave the book

[7] Rhodes: History United States, I, 185—Fugitive Slave Act, Sec. 6.
[8] Von Holst: IV, p. 238; Ibid., p. 239.

a circulation, on both sides of the ocean, almost without a parallel in the history of the literature of any people."

THE BLACK CODE OF ILLINOIS

There was a series of acts which, taken together, are often referred to as the "Black Laws of Illinois," or the "Black Code of Illinois." The earliest was a set of laws passed by the Indiana Territorial Assemblies of 1805 and 1807, the governmental form under which the Illinois country was at that time administered, legalizing the holding of negroes and mulattoes in a form of service which was in effect nearly the same as slavery. These were called "Indenture Laws," and providing, as they did, for "voluntary" servitude, which was in practice never voluntary, it was argued that the Ordinance of 1787 permitted it.[9] As the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia and neighboring villages had enjoyed the right to hold slaves under the Virginia government, previous to its cession of the Northwest territory to the general government in 1784, it was generally held that they could retain their slaves. But other settlers claimed the same right. As one illiterate member said a few years later in the Legislature, whose name, strange to say, was John Grammer, "Having rights on my side, I don't fear, sir. I will show that ar proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal, and forninst the compact. Don't every one know, or leastwise had ought to know, that the Congress that sot at Vincennes garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers, and haint I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this state? Answer me that, sir."[10]

Though the state constitution had prohibited slavery, the slave holding party, in 1822, says a writer in the "Historical Encyclopædia of Illinois," "began to agitate the question of so amending the organic law as to make Illinois a slave state. To effect such a change the calling of a convention was necessary, and, for eighteen months, the struggle between 'conventionists' and their opponents was bitter and fierce. The question was submitted to a popular vote on August 2d, 1824, the result of the count showing 4972 votes for such convention, and 6640 against. This decisive result settled the question of slaveholding in Illinois for all future time, though the existence of slavery in the state continued to be recognized by the national census until 1840." The defeat of the convention which would have amended the state constitution, so that slavery would have been legalized, "marked an era in the life of the state and the nation," says Miss Lottie E. Jones, in her work, "Decisive Dates in Illinois History."

"Through all the various laws passed by the state legislature," says Andreas, "had run a peculiar code which precluded the residence of free negroes in the state, except under conditions little better than those of actual slavery. They were incompetent witnesses in any case where a white man was the plaintiff or defendant, and except that they could show free papers were subject to arrest, and imprisonment, and, after due advertisement, no master appearing, the negro so arrested was sold by auction for the costs of his arrest. The sale thus made placed him under as absolute control of his new master as though he had been a born slave in the South. The same penalties were provided for insubordination or other of-

[9] Harris: Negro Servitude in Illinois, p. 7.
[10] Fergus: Historical Series, No. 13, p. 11.

fenses, including that of running away, as for slaves; and throughout the code; 'slaves' and 'servants' (colored) were subject to the same penalties and restrictions."

But even before the final repeal of the "Black Laws" a decision of the Illinois Supreme Court had largely rendered them nugatory in effect. In 1845, the Supreme Court decided a case involving the validity of the law regarding indentured servants and the descendants of slaves of the old French settlers. In a suit known as "Jarrot vs. Jarrot," a so-called French slave, sued his mistress, Julia Jarrot of Cahokia, for pay for his past services. The Court declared that "a colored person may maintain an action of assumpsit for services rendered, and in such action his right to freedom may be tried;" [11] and further that "the descendants of the slaves of the old French settlers, born since the Ordinance of 1787, and before or since the adoption of the constitution of Illinois, cannot be held in slavery in this state."

This decision was based almost entirely upon the previous judgments of the Supreme Courts of other states to the effect that "residence in a free territory, where the master voluntarily settled with his slaves, entitled such negro servants to their freedom." [12]

"The effect of this decision," says Professor Harris, "was most fortunate for the negro. It not only admitted him to the right to sue (for his freedom) in the courts, but it practically rendered the holding of any negro indentured servants within the state illegal. For if Illinois was a free state, and if residence within her boundaries, when voluntary on the master's part, entitled a slave to his freedom, it would then be impossible for any citizen of the state to hold an indentured negro for any length of time in his service. Such at least was the interpretation which both the press and people of the state put upon the judgment in this case of Jarrot vs. Jarrot, and it was welcomed as a great triumph by all anti-slavery men." [13]

SALE OF A NEGRO IN CHICAGO

A negro was sold at public auction in Chicago in the year 1842, under the circumstances related below. The sale was made some years before the Fugitive Slave Law was enacted, under authority of the so-called "Black Laws of Illinois."

One Edwin Heathcock, a colored man, said to have been industrious and well-behaved, and a member of the Methodist Church, was working in a field on the North Branch of the Chicago river, having hired out as a laborer. While so employed a quarrel arose between himself and a fellow workman, which resulted in the arrest of the colored man on the ground of being in Illinois without free papers or having given bonds. The man was brought before Justice L. C. Kercheval, who committed him to jail. He was put in charge of Sheriff Samuel J. Lowe, in the jail on the northwest corner of the court-house square.

Heathcock was then advertised for sale in the Chicago *Democrat* for six weeks, with the usual cut of a runaway negro, bare-headed and a bundle over his shoulder on a stick. The day of the sale was to be Monday, November 14th, if no master appeared to claim him. On Saturday night preceding the sale, Zebina Eastman,

[11] Harris: Negro Servitude in Illinois, p. 117.
[12] Ibid., p. 118.
[13] Ibid., p. 118.

who was then publishing the new anti-slavery paper, the *Western Citizen,* met Calvin De Wolf, a young law student, and proposed to him a plan of giving greater publicity to the proposed sale, in order to bring home to the people of a free community the full nature of such a scandalous proceeding.

Together they went to the printing office of the former, where Mr. Eastman set up in type a handbill headed "A Man for Sale," giving the date and place of the Monday morning sale, and inviting the citizens of Chicago to be present. De Wolf stood behind the press and "rolled" while Eastman "pulled." Having finished this the two men went out and attached them to the board fence that surrounded the court-house square, where the people could see them as they passed to and from the churches on the following day. On Monday a crowd gathered in front of the jail and Sheriff Lowe appeared with the man whom the law required him to offer for sale.

The sheriff placed the man near him and announced that he was to be sold "to pay the expenses of his imprisonment." There were people enough present to have aroused a lively competition in making bids, if they had been so disposed; but in response to the sheriff's announcement and request for bids there was only an ominous silence. The sheriff, seeing the temper of the crowd, felt called upon to explain that he was only the agent of the law, and that as the man had been committed and had not proved his freedom, neither had any master proved that he was a slave, the law required him to sell the negro to pay expenses. Still no bids were received. Again the sheriff addressed the people: "Here is an able-bodied man; I am required to sell him for a term of service, for the best price I can get for him, to pay his jail fees. How much am I bid?" No responses were made, and the sheriff continued: "Gentlemen, this is not a pleasant job. Don't blame me, but the law; I am compelled to do it. If I can get no bids for this man I must return him to jail, and continue the sale at another time."

Finally the threat of putting the poor man back into jail prevailed so far that a voice was raised from the opposite side of the street, "I bid twenty-five cents." This bid came from Mahlon D. Ogden, a younger brother of William B. Ogden, Chicago's first mayor. Appeals were made in the usual manner for an increased bid. "Do I hear no more," said the auctioneer, "only twenty-five cents for this able bodied man;—only a quarter?" But no further bid was made, and the man was declared "sold to Mahlon D. Ogden for twenty-five cents." Mr. Ogden took out a silver quarter from his pocket and handed it to the sheriff, in presence of the crowd, and then called to the man whom he had bought: "Edwin, I have bought you, I have given a quarter for you, you are my man—my slave! Now, you go where you please." This brought a cheer from the crowd and Heathcock walked forth once more a free man. Eastman says in regard to this episode, "I believe it was the only slave sale that ever took place in Chicago."

The foregoing account has been condensed from a much longer one related by Andreas, and covers all the material portions of the occurrence. The "Black Code of Illinois" more fully described elsewhere, actually remained on the statute books until February 7th, 1865, when all the acts which composed it were swept away at once by an act which closed with the words, "the same are hereby repealed." This final act marked the end of those iniquitous laws, and Eastman, who had thus lived to see the full fruition of his early hopes and life-long struggles, commented upon

it in these glowing words: "This is one of the *immutable* laws, that stand forever! Every pigeon-hole of the legal archives was ransacked, and every taint of color in our laws searched out and buried forever."

EFFECTS OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW IN THE NORTH

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law was supposed by Henry Clay and others to settle for all time the controversy which had raged so long about slavery. But a warning voice was raised in the Senate by John P. Hale of New Hampshire, who said: "And now gentlemen flatter themselves that they have done a great deed for the peace of the country. . . . Sir, let not gentlemen deceive themselves. . . . There was a time when a set of men cried 'Peace, peace, but there was no peace'. . . . No, Sir, that peace will be short, and that rejoicing will most assuredly be turned into mourning. Gentlemen altogether mistake the character of the people whose sentiments have been violated, whose wishes have been disregarded, and whose interests have been trampled in the dust." As Von Holst, commenting on Hale's speech, says: "Here was the text for the history of the next ten years, the last years of *this* Union." [14]

The sentiment of the people of the West was expressed by Hon. George W. Julian, representative from Indiana in Congress, at that time. Addressing the southern members he said: "You hold three millions of your fellow beings as chattels. You deny them the principle of eternal justice, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The free states will observe faithfully the compromises of the Constitution; they will give up their soil as a hunting ground for the slave holders. But they will not actively co-operate against the unhappy victim of the tyranny. And if southern gentlemen mean to insist upon such active co-operation on our part as a condition of their continuing in the Union, they may as well, in my opinion, begin to look about them for some way of getting out of it on the best terms they can."

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT IN CHICAGO

The sentiment against slavery was strong in Chicago, and the ascendancy of the Democratic party declined to the vanishing point within two years after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. Zebina Eastman had identified himself with the anti-slavery party some years before, and had become a powerful factor in leading the sentiment against slavery. The *Western Citizen* was established by him in 1842. "Its call for freedom," says Professor N. D. Harris, "was ever clear, strong, effective. There was nothing radical or fanatical in the conduct of the paper." The policy of the new "Liberty party" was defined in the opening issue. "We wish to save this Nation," was its language, "from the evils and curse of slavery, and from the political degeneracy which has fallen upon us through the influence of a departure from the first principles of liberty."

At first, the cause espoused by Eastman and his fellow workers was an unpopular one, though gaining adherents as long as he continued the publication of his paper, which lasted until 1853. When the obnoxious Fugitive Slave Law was enacted the *Western Citizen* said in its issue of October 14th, 1850: "We have the

[14] Von Holst: Constitutional History of United States, Vol. III, p. 562.

same work before us that we marked out in 1848. Slavery is to be excluded from the Territories by law, it is to be abolished in the District of Columbia, the fugitive law is to be repealed, and the influence of the slave party as such is to be abolished."

A "Liberty Association" was formed by the colored people of Chicago "for the dissemination of the principles of human freedom," and all colored freedmen, then resident in the city, were urged to unite upon this subject, and join the association. The Chicago *Journal* in reporting the proceedings of the meeting, which was held in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, on Wells street, said that "there were over three hundred at this meeting, which was characterized by a degree of prudence and deliberation no less remarkable than commendable."

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CHICAGO

An incident which gave evidence of the popular feeling is mentioned by the *Western Citizen.* "On Tuesday last, October 15th, Mr. Uriah Hinch, of Missouri, appeared in the city in pursuit of several fugitives. Being himself a volunteer, and not personally acquainted with the persons he sought, he brought with him as an assistant, a trusty slave to aid him in the arrest and identification. He displayed his handbills describing the three colored persons, and sought for them openly. As soon as this was known he was waited on by some of our respectable citizens, and kindly informed that he was employed in an enterprise full of personal risk. In the meantime, the colored assistant found an opportunity to board a steamer in the harbor and to sail away to the Queen's dominions. Mr. Hinch heard of this fact, and also received an intimation that a coat of tar and feathers was preparing for him. In alarm he applied to Justice Lowe for protection, but was told that nothing could be done. An anti-slavery lawyer recommended immediate flight as the safest course." The complete discomfiture of Mr. Uriah Hinch, a name which reminds one of Dickens' "Uriah Heap," also a personage of unpopular traits, was thus accomplished, and he left Chicago never to return.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

"I believe," said Zebina Eastman, "I sent the first passenger on the Underground Railroad to Chicago, but he had to go *through* Chicago, not alone into it to get to freedom." Mr. Eastman further relates that, in the fall of 1839, he was living in the little town of Lowell, in La Salle county, and that on a very cold morning in October a farmer came to him saying that he had met a strange person down on the river bank, who, upon his approach, aimed a gun at him with a warning to keep back, and that he believed he was a fugitive of some kind, perhaps a runaway slave.

Mr. Eastman asked the farmer to go back, and if he was a black man, to tell him he was among friends, and bring him up with him. The farmer soon returned with the stranger who, as he suspected, was a half-terrified negro, clad in rags and skins, and armed with an old shot-gun. Other neighbors gathered about, and the poor negro, becoming reassured, was given food and plans made for his safety and to aid him in his escape; for, though he would not admit it, he was regarded as a runaway slave.

He was concealed in a barn and soon opened his heart and disclosed a story of sufferings and wrongs, and of his final escape from an Alabama plantation. He

knew that his destination must be Canada, but could only grope his way in a northerly direction.

The next night the farmer who had given him shelter took him to the next nearest station on what became the great "Underground Railroad," and which later had so many branches centering in Chicago. They reached Ottawa, and thence each night some sympathizing person would convey the fugitive to a station farther on his road. In this way he was given shelter and food at Plainfield, at Cass, at Lyons, and finally at Chicago, where he was placed in the care of Dr. Dyer. After caring for him a little while, the good doctor thought it advisable to give him a chance to see Canada and placed him on board the steamer 'Illinois,' in command of Captain Blake, with a secret intimation, no doubt, to the captain as to the character of his passenger. After being well on his way, the captain made a tour through the vessel and professed great surprise at finding a negro among the fireman, and made awful threats in consequence. The difficulty of landing the poor fellow on Canadian shores made this dissimulation necessary, for among the passengers were some Southerners who would observe the captain's disposition of the negro.

The captain then announced his determination to "kick him off the boat at the first port he came to." So coming into the Detroit river, he made a grand circuit, as if to show off his fine boat to the admiring Southerners on board, and ran it into a port on the Canada shore, where he had no passengers to leave, but where he furiously dragged the negro from the lower regions and energetically "kicked him off" to freedom.

THE VAST NUMBERS OF RUNAWAY SLAVES

Meantime the losses to the South by the escape of slaves to free territory were severe, and increased the irritation between the sections. A member of Congress, in 1850, said in a speech on the subject, that "the extent of the loss to the South may be understood from the fact that the number of runaway slaves now in the North is stated as being thirty thousand, and worth, at present prices, a little short of fifteen millions of dollars. . . . It was stated in the newspapers the other day that a few counties in Maryland had, by the efforts of the abolitionists, within six months, upon computation, lost one hundred thousand dollars' worth of slaves. A gentleman of the highest standing from Delaware assured me the other day, that that little state lost each year at least that value of such property in the same way."

The route of the fugitives, of course, terminated in Canada, because only there were the fugitives perfectly safe from their pursuers. In a footnote to Von Holst's "Constitutional History," volume III, page 552, he says: "The names of the 'stations' [on the 'Underground Railroad'], and those in charge of them, were known only to those concerned, but the slave who was near enough to a fort or to the border of a free state to have the possibility of escape, and who had the courage for the venture, could always learn the addresses. He could rely absolutely upon the devotion and secrecy of the agents. The fugitives and their helpers often showed an ingenuity and daring bordering on the marvelous. The time will yet come when, even in the South, due recognition will be given to the touching unselfishness, simple magnanimity, and glowing love of freedom of these 'law-breakers on principle,' who were for the most part people, without name, money or higher education."

GROWTH OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT

The people of Chicago were greatly stirred when they came to realize the full significance of the Fugitive Slave Law of September 18th, 1850. In an address read before the Chicago Historical Society by the late Charles W. Mann, January 29th, 1903, a spirited account is given of the manner in which the Chicago Common Council took action, condemning the law and passing resolutions which are noteworthy as an expression of the prevailing sentiment on the subject. There were nine wards at that time, each ward having two aldermen.

At the Council meeting, Monday night, October 21st, 1850, Alderman Amos G. Throop offered a set of resolutions which began, in the preamble, by asserting that "the late act of Congress purporting to be for the recovery of fugitive slaves virtually suspends the right of *habeas corpus* and abolishes trial by jury," that the act "violates the provisions of the Constitution," and that "the laws of God should be held paramount to all human compacts and statutes." With this preliminary statement the resolutions declare that "the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the free states who aided and assisted in the passage of this infamous law . . . merit the reproach of all lovers of freedom; and are only to be ranked with the traitors Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot;" and that "the fugitive slave law . . . is a cruel and unjust law, and ought not to be respected by an intelligent community, and that the Council will not require the police to render any assistance for the arrest of fugitive slaves."

These resolutions were adopted by a vote of nine to two. "Thus the question," says Mr. Mann, "was placed before the public for discussion, and the response came quickly." The *Democrat,* in its issue the next day, announced that a mass meeting would be held that evening at the City Hall "to give an expression of public feeling in opposition to the abominable and infamous fugitive slave law." At an early hour on Tuesday evening, the City Hall was filled to its utmost capacity. Officers of the meeting were Thomas Richmond, president; Alexander Loyd, Luther Marsh, Dr. Eriel McArthur, Eri B. Hurlbut, Richard K. Swift, and James M. Morrison, vice presidents; A. G. Throop, Carlos Haven, Mr. McArthur, secretaries. The committee was composed of George Manierre, Robert H. Foss, Charles Walker, Nathan H. Bolles, N. Norton, George A. Ingalls, L. C. Paine Freer, Dr. B. McVickar, and Isaac N. Arnold. These are names familiar to many old Chicago residents, and are fairly representative of the influential element of that day.

MEETING OF CITIZENS OPPOSED TO SLAVERY

George Manierre, the chairman of the committee, presented the resolutions, which were in the same spirit as those passed by the Common Council the evening before. They began by declaring the fugitive slave law unconstitutional and void, "first, because Congress has no power under the Constitution to legislate on the subject, that the clause under which the power is claimed contains no grant of the power of legislation and is simply a prohibition on the states whereby they are forbidden to discharge fugitives from labor by any law or regulation by them enacted; and, secondly, because it is in express violation of the fundamental rights of trial by jury, suspends the writ of *habeas corpus,* and abolishes the right of appeal from the decision of an inferior court." Further it was declared that "we recognize no

obligation of a moral or legal value resting on us as citizens to assist or countenance the execution of this law;" that such laws are an "attempt to impose infamous duties on conscientious citizens and compel them to do the devil's work under the guise of constitutional obligation."

The resolutions in the strong language above quoted were followed by others equally pointed and direct. "Resolved," they continue, "that we are summoned to withstand the execution of this law not only by the consideration of the claims of our suffering fellow men upon our sympathies and aid, but by a proper regard for our personal liberties; as this law is no respecter of persons or complexions, making no distinctions between whites and blacks, bond or free. That we, as the friends of universal liberty, are admonished of the necessity of repeated and continuous agitation on the great subject of human slavery while a free speech and a free press are yet ours. . . That the portion of our citizens who have escaped from bondage by their own act have become free men; that all laws seeking to hold them in chains or renew their captivity are founded in force and contempt of natural rights, and are not binding upon them, because they are not party to them; and that by the laws of nature, and that higher law enthroned above the Constitution, the law of God, they would be justified in using all means which may be necessary to their personal security on free soil—that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

The reading of the resolutions was interrupted by frequent cheers, and the outburst of enthusiasm showed the sympathy of the audience. James H. Collins, a lawyer of Chicago and a man of strong anti-slavery opinions, made a speech in which "he affirmed that the law suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, and was especially infamous as it required every freeman to track the fugitives. Mr. Collins closed by defying the law and trampling a copy of it under his feet, to the delight and admiring cheers of his hearers."

ENTRANCE OF DOUGLAS ON THE SCENE

Senator Douglas was present at the meeting, but it seems his presence was not noticed until after the reading of the resolutions, as he had come in late. It may well be imagined that he was not pleased with the course which public sentiment was taking, having himself supported the obnoxious bill in its passage through Congress. As soon as he was observed there were loud calls for him, in response to which he said, "that he had not intended to make any speeches while in Chicago, but that he could not pass over the personal charges made in the Council resolutions on Monday evening, and invited all interested to attend a meeting at the City Hall Wednesday, October 23d, when he would explain the nature of the law and his reasons for voting in favor of it."

The men of that generation were alive to the importance and significance of public measures and public questions, to a degree little realized in these times of a calmer flow in the affairs of the state and nation. It is well for us that the men of former times so resolutely grappled with the issues presented to them, and, through seasons of seemingly endless debates, followed by turmoil and strife, arrived upon the firm ground of settled questions and accomplished results. But in following the changes of sentiment, as one leader or another becomes prominent and influential in guiding the course of public opinion, we are obliged to lament the fickleness

and vacillation of men who are usually intelligent and whose patriotism is unquestioned.

SENATOR DOUGLAS CAUSES A TEMPORARY REVERSAL OF SENTIMENT

The following is quoted from the pamphlet published by the Chicago Historical Society, containing Mr. Charles W. Mann's address before that society, in 1903.

"The City Hall was crowded to its doors Wednesday evening, October 23d, upon the occasion of Senator Douglas' speech in defense of the fugitive slave bill. Douglas' popularity was at its height. He had succeeded in passing the Illinois Central Railroad bill, from which much was hoped and more to be realized. Douglas was elected to the Senate at the age of thirty-three, and was now thirty-seven years old. The genius and ability of Douglas expanded under opposition. He gloried in a fight; and of all his triumphs it seems to me that none is greater than that of Wednesday, October 23d, 1850. There was not the slightest evidence of weakness or of yielding in his speech. His logic, good-humor, sarcasm, and powers of persuasion never appeared stronger than at this time. He spoke for three hours and a half, and apparently convinced his audience, for they passed without a dissenting vote a series of resolutions drawn up by his own hand. Time will not permit more than a summary of the points of his argument. 'Congress, after a protracted session of nearly two months, succeeded in passing a system of measures, which are believed to be just to all parts of the republic, and ought to be satisfactory to the people. But the people in both sections of the Union are called upon to resist the laws of the land and the authority of the Federal Government even unto death and disunion.' Referring to the resolutions of the Council, Senator Douglas said: 'I make no criticism upon the language in which they are expressed: that is a matter of taste, and in everything of that kind I defer to the superior refinement of our City Fathers. But it cannot be disguised that the polite epithets of "traitors Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord and master for thirty pieces of silver" will be understood abroad as having direct personal application to my esteemed colleague, General Shields, and myself. The personal bearing of the resolutions is unimportant. It is a far more important and serious matter when viewed with reference to the principles involved and the consequences which may result.

THE COUNCIL'S ACTION SARCASTICALLY REVIEWED

"The Common Council of Chicago have assumed to themselves," continued the Senator, "the right and have actually exercised the power of determining the validity of an act of Congress, and have declared it null and void, upon the ground that it violates the Constitution of the United States and the laws of God. They have gone further: they declared by a solemn official act, that a law passed by Congress 'ought not to be respected by any intelligent community' and have called upon the 'citizens, officers, and police of the city' to abstain from rendering any aid or assistance in its execution. What is this but naked, unmitigated nullification? An act of the American Congress nullified by the Common Council of the City of Chicago! Whence did the Council derive their authority? I have been able to find no such provision in the city charter nor am I aware that the Legislature of Illinois is vested with any rightful power to confer such authority. I have yet to learn

that a subordinate municipal corporation is licensed to raise the standard of rebellion, and throw off the authority of the Federal Government at pleasure.

"This is a great improvement upon South Carolina nullification. It dispenses with the trouble, delay and expense of convening Legislatures and assembling conventions of the people, for the purpose of resolving themselves back into their original elements, preparatory to the contemplated revolution. It has the high merit of marching directly to its object, and by a simple resolution, written and adopted on the same night, relieving the people from their oaths and allegiance, and putting the nation and its laws at defiance. It has heretofore been supposed, by men of antiquated notions who have not kept up with the progress of the age, that the Supreme Court of the United States was invested with the power of determining the validity of an act of Congress passed in pursuance of the forms of the Constitution. This was the doctrine of the entire North, and of the nation, when it became necessary to exert the whole power of the Government to put down nullification in another portion of the Union. But the spirit of the age is progressive, and is by no means confined to advancement in the arts and physical science. The science of politics and of government is also rapidly advancing to maturity and perfection.

"It is not long since that I heard an eminent lawyer propose an important reform in the admirable judicial system of the State, which he thought would render it perfect. It is so simple and eminently practicable, that it could not fail to excite the admiration of even the casual inquirer. His proposition was that our judicial system should be so improved as to allow an appeal on all constitutional questions, from the Supreme Court of this state to two Justices of the Peace. When that shall have been effected but one other reform will be necessary to render our national system perfect; and that is, to change the Federal Constitution so as to authorize an appeal, upon all questions touching the validity of acts of Congress, from the Supreme Court of the United States to the Common Council of the City of Chicago."

DOUGLAS' REVIEW OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

The Senator then discussed the grounds of objection to the law as presented in the resolutions of the Council. "The objections to the law," said he, "are two in number; that it suspends the writ of *habeas corpus* in time of peace, in violation of the Constitution; and that it abolishes the right of trial by jury. How did the Council find that these two provisions were contained in the law? The law itself does not mention either subject. Is it to be said that an act of Congress, which is silent on the subject, ought to be construed to repeal a great constitutional right by implication? Besides, this act is only amendatory to the act of 1793. Both are silent upon these subjects.

"If this Construction is correct, then the writ of *habeas corpus* has been suspended and the trial by jury abolished for more than half a century without anybody discovering it." At this point some one in the audience asked what construction was to be put upon the clause whereby the certificate of the commissioner "shall prevent all molestation of said person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whatsoever." Mr. Douglas replied that

the law was intended "to determine whether the claimant had a certificate in due form, but did not touch the vital question of freedom."

"The new act neither takes away nor confers the right of trial by jury. That right," said Senator Douglas, "exists in this country for all men, black and white, bond or free, guilty or innocent. The only question is *when* shall this jury trial take place? The jury trial is always had in the state from which the fugitive fled. There is great uniformity in the mode of proceeding in the courts of the Southern states. There the question of freedom or servitude is tried by a jury, and every facility is offered to the negro to prove his case. The law of 1793 was passed by the patriots and sages who formed the Constitution. I have always been taught to believe that they were well versed in the science of government, devotedly attached to the cause of freedom, and capable of construing the Constitution in the spirit in which they made it."

THE SENATOR'S SKILL IN ANSWERING AWKWARD QUESTIONS

The attention of Mr. Douglas was called to the penalties under the new law.

"The two laws are substantially the same," he replied. "I can conceive of no act which would be an offense under the one that would not be punishable under the other. The only difference between the old law and the new is in the amount of the penalty, not in the principle involved."

A gentleman present desired an explanation of the object and effect of the record from another state provided by the tenth section.

"I am glad," said Mr. Douglas, "that my attention has been called to that section. It was said last night that this provision authorizes the claimant to go before a court of record of the county and state where he lives, and there establish, by *ex parte* testimony, in the absence of the fugitive, the facts of ownership, servitude, and escape; and when a record of these facts shall have been made, containing a minute description of the slave, it shall be conclusive evidence against a person corresponding to that description, arrested in another state, and shall consign the person so arrested to perpetual servitude. The law contemplates no such thing and authorizes no such results. The record is conclusive of two facts only:

"First, That the person named in this record does owe service to the persons in whose behalf the record is made.

"Second, That such person has escaped from service.

"The question of *identity* is to be proven here to the satisfaction of the commissioner or judge before whom the trial is had by other and further evidence. This is the great point in the case; the whole question turns upon it. All proceedings for the arrest of fugitives are necessarily *ex parte* from the nature of the case. It is no answer to say that slavery is no crime, and therefore the parallel between the fugitive slave and the fugitive from justice does not hold good.

"I am not speaking of the guilt or innocence of slavery; I am discussing our obligations under the Constitution of the United States. We are obliged by our oaths to see every provision of the Constitution carried into effect. We have no right to interpose our individual opinions and scruples as excuses for violating the supreme law of the land as the Fathers made it. Will any gentleman point out the provision in the old law for securing and vindicating the rights of the free man, that is not secured to him in the act of the last session?"

OTHER QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Some one in the audience called attention to the provision for paying the expense of returning the fugitive out of the United States Treasury. "Ah, it is a question of dollars and cents," replied the Senator. "I was discussing the question of human rights. Is it possible that this momentous question, which only forty-eight hours ago was deemed of sufficient importance to authorize the City Council to nullify an act of Congress, and raise the standard of rebellion, has dwindled down to a petty dispute as to who shall pay the costs of the suit? This is too grave a question for me to discuss on this occasion. I confess my utter inability to do it.

"Yesterday the Constitution of the ocean-bound republic had been overthrown; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended; trial by jury abolished; pains and penalties imposed upon every humane citizen who should feed the hungry and clothe the naked; the law of God had been outraged by a Congress of traitors, and the standard of rebellion, raised by our City Fathers, was floating in the breeze, calling on all good citizens to rally under its sacred folds and resist with fire and sword,—the payment of costs of suit upon the arrest of a fugitive from labor!"

Another person then asked why a new law was passed if the old one was so much like it, and why the slave-holders voted for the new law rather than to retain the old one, if the new law was more favorable to freedom. Mr. Douglas replied to this by referring to a decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring that the old law had become inoperative, and that the judges of the United States courts were the only officers who could execute the law. This reference was to a decision of Justice Story of the United States Supreme Court, in the case of a runaway slave arrested in Pennsylvania, in 1837, to the effect that the law of 1793, the "old law," was not sufficiently explicit; and the law had therefore become practically "inoperative," as Douglas said. A new law was necessary to enforce the provisions of the Constitution and protect the free blacks.

Mr. Douglas said he could answer the second question with a great deal of pleasure. The Southern members voted for the new law because it was a better law. "They are as anxious to protect the rights of the free black men as we are. The real objection is not to the new law, nor to the old one, but to the Constitution itself. Those of you who hold these opinions do not mean that the fugitive shall be taken back. This is the real point of your objections. You would not care a farthing about the new law, the old law, or any other law, or what provisions it contained, if there was a hole in it big enough for the fugitive to slip through and escape. The whole catalogue of objections would be moonshine if the negro was not required to go back to his master. Frankly, is not this the true character of your objections?" Upon a general answer in the affirmative, Senator Douglas read the clause in the Constitution as follows:

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

"This is the supreme law of the land speaking to every citizen. The command is imperative. So long as we live under the Constitution and claim its protection,

we cannot avoid it. We must stand by the Constitution with all its compromises, or we must abolish it and resolve each state back into its original elements. It is therefore a question of union or disunion. Are we prepared to execute faithfully and honestly the compact our fathers have made for us? For my part, I am prepared to preserve inviolate the Constitution as it is with all its compromises; to stand or fall by the American Union, clinging with the tenacity of life to all its glorious memories of the past and precious hopes for the future."

RESOLUTIONS OFFERED BY DOUGLAS ADOPTED

The audience was completely swayed and won over to the views of Mr. Douglas in this "the ablest speech of his life," and when he presented a set of resolutions, which he had prepared in advance, they were adopted without a dissenting voice. These resolutions were as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of the Union to maintain, and preserve inviolate, every provision of our Federal Constitution.

"Resolved, That any law enacted by Congress, in pursuance of the Constitution, should be respected as such by all good and law-abiding citizens, and should be faithfully carried into effect by the officers charged with its execution.

"Resolved, That so long as the Constitution of the United States provides that all persons held to service or labor in one state, escaping into another state, 'shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom the service of labor may be due,' and so long as the members of Congress are required to take an oath to support the Constitution, it is their solemn and religious duty to pass all laws necessary to carry that provision of the Constitution into effect.

"Resolved, That if we desire to preserve the Union, and render our great republic inseparable and perpetual, we must perform all our obligations under the Constitution, at the same time that we call upon our brethren in other states to yield implicit obedience to it.

"Resolved, That as the lives, property and safety of ourselves and our families depend upon the observance and protection of the laws, every effort to excite any portion of our population to make resistance to the due execution of the laws of the land, should be promptly and emphatically condemned by every citizen.

"Resolved, That we will stand or fall by the American Union and its Constitution, with all its compromises, with all its glorious memories of the past, and precious hope of the future."

An additional resolution was offered by Buckner S. Morris, and also adopted:

"Resolved, That we, the people of Chicago, repudiate the resolutions passed by the Common Council of Chicago upon the subject of the fugitive slave law passed by Congress at its last session."

In the next issue of the Chicago *Journal* the following comments were made on the speech: "Senator Douglas said last night that the fugitive slave law did not abolish trial by jury, did not suspend *habeas corpus,* was no worse than the old law, in fact was rather a protection to the slave than otherwise. We have no

doubt he was sincere in his opinions, but if the people have been so deceived in the reading of the law, it is ample time they were enlightened. The law may be all right enough if the people could only comprehend it, but with all the light that has been thrown upon it, we still confess to an obtuseness. If this law is what its champion claimed for it last night, it is due to the country that it should have been made as clear to the minds of the people as it was to his own. We are by no means convinced that it is any the less infamous in its provisions and its spirit."

THE COUNCIL TAKES FURTHER ACTION

But the Common Council were not so easily quelled by the mighty Douglas. An adjourned meeting was held Thursday, October 24, for further action on the resolutions of the 21st.

Alderman Dodge moved to reconsider the vote at the last meeting on the passage of the preamble and resolutions regarding the fugitive slave law. Alderman Hamilton offered the following order, and moved to lay it on the table for further action:

"*Ordered,* That the Clerk be directed and requested to expunge from the records of the Council the preamble and resolutions adopted at the late meeting of the Council on the evening of the 21st, in reference to the act of Congress passed at its late session, commonly known as the fugitive slave law." This order was tabled until November 29th, and is the action of the Council which Senator Douglas construed as a repudiation of the resolutions of October 21st.

THE GREATEST MEETING OF THE WEEK

Public interest was now raised to a high pitch, and the largest meeting of this eventful week was held on Friday evening, October 25th, "to express opinions concerning the fugitive slave law and to hear arguments in opposition to those expressed by Senator Douglas."

The first speaker, James H. Collins, confined himself to the two points of trial by jury and the writ of *habeas corpus*. He said in part: "The new law contains an expression more comprehensive and inclusive than the writ of *habeas corpus*—the summary process. By the law the claimant cannot be molested by any process. The provisions are very explicit and cannot be mistaken or misconstrued. The bill provides for a summary trial, and a summary trial always means a trial without jury. The commissioner is the sole judge in the case, and from his decision, however corrupt it may be, or however based on false affidavits, there is no appeal."

The principal speaker of the evening was Edmund Channing Larned, a prominent lawyer of the city. He spoke for over an hour in direct answer to the arguments of Senator Douglas, and to the great delight of the audience. Referring to Douglas, he said:

"One high in the councils of the nation says that it is the duty of every citizen who respects the Constitution to aid in carrying out and enforcing the fugitive slave law—a law which I do not hesitate to declare the most infamous ever passed by the representatives of a free people. I cannot give my aid and sanction to that law, and I stand here not as a partisan and a politician, but as an American citi-

zen speaking to an assembly of his fellow citizens to give the reasons why I condemn that law and refuse to give any aid to its enforcement. I am no friend of violence. I am no disorganizer or advocate of mob law.

"A law passed to carry out a constitutional provision is not therefore constitutional. I respect the compact our fathers made. I acknowledge the force of its compromises, and am willing to carry them out in the letter and spirit. Whenever a proper and constitutional law shall be passed by Congress, I shall be obliged, much as I deplore slavery in our midst, to give such a law my unequivocal sanction and support. I am not contending against the Constitution, but against this law. The section of the Constitution upon which this law is based was made necessary, because, by the common law of England, a slave would have been free the moment he entered a free state. This section gave the owner a standing in court. He was permitted to establish on free soil and among free men the ownership of a human being, and empowered to take him away.

"The compact which our fathers made and to which we are held is this: That they would pass no law discharging the slave from his servitude, and that when the right of a claimant had been made out by competent evidence and in a legal manner, the slave shall be delivered up to his master.

"The Senator says that the right of trial by jury is not taken away because the act does not say one word about it. The act takes it away because it provides another and different mode of trial—a summary trial is not a jury trial.

"The Senator says that the right of trial is given by the Constitution, and cannot be taken away by implication, therefore there is a trial by jury under this act.

"What is that trial by jury? A right to try the question of identity. A blessed boon to freedom. Is that the point to be tried? The question is not whether Tom Jones is Tom Jones, but whether Tom Jones is a slave. It is the question of slavery or freedom that we want tried. Senator Douglas compared this act with that referring to fugitives from justice.

"A fugitive from justice is arrested and delivered up to whom—a hungry creditor, a vindictive foe, or an interested slave holder? No. Into the hands of the law. Into the keeping of the officers of the law until he is presented to the grand jury, indicted, arraigned, and tried according to the law of the land. Are there any such proceedings under this law? No. The action of the commissioner is final; he adjudges the accused to be a slave, pronounces the sentence, inflicts the doom, turns him over to his master, and the matter is ended finally and forever. Is this the law? Is this justice? Is this the Constitution? God forbid that any man should so disgrace and blacken the names and memories of that glorious old band of heroes and patriots.

"The writ of *habeas corpus* can be used only to determine whether the certificate granted by the commissioner is legal in form. Is this all that the writ of *habeas corpus* amounts to? Was it for such a miserable technicality as this that our fathers for long ages contended? Did they mean that the writ should only give power to look at the seal and signatures of á Star Chamber Court? It is a mockery to talk about this being a privilege of *habeas corpus*.

"But Mr. Douglas said that this law is no more than the law of 1793. He tells you that this bill is better than the law of 1793. Why, gentlemen, when the hon-

orable senator was upon this part of the argument I began to doubt if I should not go home and thank God for the great blessing vouchsafed us in this new fugitive slave law. Yet in the sixty years in which this law has been in force our colored brethren have been pursuing their vocations in tranquillity and contentment. Now they are fleeing to Canada as fast as wind and steam can carry them. From East to West there has come one indignant burst of feeling.

"Now, did you ever see such stupid people, such a nation of fools and blockheads? Do they not see, can they not understand, that this is Senator Douglas' improved slave bill, that it is a great deal better than the old one, that it is not different from the old one, and has got new securities, designed specially for the benefit of fugitive slaves?

"Why did the South want a new fugitive slave bill? Because the old law was defective. It did not provide sufficient securities for the poor fugitives.

"The law of 1793 was not objected to: First, because it allowed the judge to try the case judicially and not ministerially. Then it was inoperative. Had it not been so, it would have created excitement similar to that caused by the present bill.

"Why should we be asked to give the institution of slavery peculiar privileges? Let the proper law be passed, giving the alleged fugitive all the safeguards and immunities provided by the common law, and I, for one will give it my conscientious and honest sanction and support."

A series of resolutions milder in tone than those adopted Tuesday evening were then prepared. Great excitement prevailed. Men were standing on chairs in various parts of the house, endeavoring to catch the eye of the chairman. The resolutions were put to vote and declared to be adopted amid great confusion. The meeting broke up without a regular motion to adjourn.

Another meeting was held Saturday evening to give expression to the other side of the question. The speeches were political and in praise of Senator Douglas. The meeting gradually dissolved without adjournment.

THE COUNCIL MEETING FIVE WEEKS LATER

Thus ended the most exciting week in the early history of Chicago. The sentiment of the people was not materially changed by the speeches of Senator Douglas and his friends, though their advice upon the observance of law and order was followed. The feeling that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God" was shown in one or two cases early in November, when Southern men came to Chicago in search of fugitives. People thought less of resistance, except in particular cases, and more of unceasing agitation for the repeal of the law and the exclusion of slavery from the Territories. The closing scene of the drama was thus announced in the *Journal*, Friday, November 29:

"The City Fathers meet tonight, as we learn, for the purpose of making a final disposition of the fugitive slave law. It is to be presumed that they will communicate the result to Congress, either by telegraph or express, as it would be calamitous for the wheels of government to stand still."

The Council minutes for November 29, 1850, read as follows:

"The Council met pursuant to adjournment. The object of the meeting was to consider the fugitive slave resolutions. The order offered by Alderman Hamilton, to expunge from the records resolutions which had been tabled by his motion, October 24, together with the substitute offered by Alderman Dodge for the original preamble and resolutions were then taken up and the question in order being the adoption, Alderman Dodge's substitute was approved by the following vote:

"Ayes—Adams, Milliken, Loyd, Sherwood, Richards, Throop, Haines, Sherman, Foss, Dodge and Foster.

"Nays—Page, Williams and Hamilton.

These substituted resolutions read:

"*Whereas,* The fugitive slave law recently passed by Congress is revolting to our moral sense and an outrage upon our feelings of justice and humanity, because it disregards all the securities which the Constitution and laws have thrown around personal liberty, and its direct tendency is to alienate the people from their love and reverence for the government and institutions of our country. Therefore

"*Resolved,* That as the Supreme Court of the United States has solemnly adjudged that state officers are under no obligations to fulfil duties imposed upon them as such officers by an act of Congress, we do not, therefore, consider it our duty to counsel the city officers of the city of Chicago, to aid or assist in the arrest of fugitives from oppression, and by withholding such aid or assistance we do not believe that our harbor appropriations will be withheld, our railroads injured, or our commerce destroyed, or that treason could be committed against the Government."

Alderman Hamilton introduced the following order:

"*Ordered,* That the clerk be directed and requested to expunge from the records of the proceedings of the said Council the resolutions in reference to the act of Congress at its last session, commonly known as the fugitive slave act." This order was lost by a vote of nine to three, and thus the Common Council stood by its earlier action by refusing to expunge the resolutions of October 21st from its records, and passing others reiterating its sentiments.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

The following brief summary of the events just narrated will be of interest:

September 18th, 1850. Passage by Congress of the Fugitive Slave Law.

October 21st, (Monday). The Common Council of Chicago passes resolutions denouncing the law.

October 22d, (Tuesday). Mass meeting of citizens strongly condemning the law.

October 23d, (Wednesday). Senator Douglas addresses a meeting of citizens, and a reaction in sentiment takes place. Resolutions are adopted to support laws passed by Congress, and repudiating the action of the Council.

October 24th, (Thursday). Adjourned meeting of the Council is held, and an

effort made to expunge the former resolutions from the records. The order is tabled, to be taken up November 29th.

October 25th, (Friday). Meeting of citizens in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. Resolutions adopted condemning the law and refuting Douglas' arguments.

October 26th, (Saturday). Meeting of the adherents of Mr. Douglas. Speeches made in praise of the senator.

. November 29th. The Common Council meets to consider the Fugitive Slave Law resolutions, and the pending order to expunge them from the records. The Council refuses to pass the order to expunge, and adopts additional resolutions confirming the former ones.